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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX

Archæological Society.

VOLUME III.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,

BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SONS, PARLIAMENT STREET.

Distributed gratuitously to Subscribing Members.

PUBLISHED BY JAMES PARKER & CO., 377, STRAND.

(TO BE OBTAINED BY THE PUBLIC THROUGH ALL BOOKSELLERS.)

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PREFACE.

Upon the completion of the Third Volume of the Proceedings of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society the Council take the opportunity of congratulating the Members upon the great advance which has been made in the position and prospects of the Society since the publication of the preceding volume; though the Council still desire earnestly to impress upon them the importance of individual action, especially in the introduction of new Members, and in the prompt report to the Hon. Secretary of any archæological discoveries: the prosperity of the Society may thus be not only maintained but extended, and the objects for which it was established will be advanced.

They believe that the present volume will be found fully equal to its predecessors, both in the number and style of the illustrations and in the value of its varied contents, which comprise Ecclesiastical and Civil History; Heraldry and Genealogy; Mediæval Architecture; Works of Ancient Art in Painting on walls and glass; Sculpture and objects in metal, wood, ivory, and fictile ware; Numismatics; and Topography, including City Companies, Charities, and

Manorial Rights, Privileges, and Customs. There is also a further instalment from the Heralds' Visitation of London and Middlesex, which subject it is intended to continue as funds permit. The volume also contains Reports of Proceedings at General Meetings from July 26th, 1865, to July 5th, 1869; together with an account of the Evening Meetings from March 4th, 1863, to June 14th, 1869.

In conclusion, the Council have to record their sincere thanks, on behalf of the Society, to those gentlemen who have so liberally contributed to the illustration of the present volume, whereby it has been embellished to a far greater extent than the unaided funds of the Society would have permitted.

OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY:
22, Hart Street, Bloomsbury,
1*st January*, 1870.

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Transactions

of the

London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

Vol. III. JUNE, 1866. Part VII.

MOOR HALL, IN HAREFIELD;

A CAMERA OF THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS OF S. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

By the Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.R.S.L., F.S.A., &c.

[Read at Heston, on Tuesday, August 9th, 1864.]

As the traveller journeys from Uxbridge through Denham to Harefield and Rickmansworth, about two miles from Denham and one from Harefield, the road takes him past Moor Hall, a place than which few in the neighbourhood of London have greater claims on our interest, how little soever it be known even

to professed and practised archæologists. The country itself is full of beauties, especially that part of it which introduces him to the subject of my present investigation. Through a long and level plain, rich with greenery even in the driest of summers, runs the Grand Junction Canal, which here has much of the beauty of a fine natural river, with its waters as clear as crystal, and its banks edged with cornfields and meadows in all the luxuriance of rural beauty. After passing the canal, a turn or two of the lane brings him to the spot of which I wish to present the reader with a pen and ink portrait. It obtained its name, I presume, from the aspect of its neighbourhood. It was, I believe, a moated house at the end of a long and open moor. Through a gate on the left hand, he may notice in the immediate foreground a piece of almost moorland, which, as he will perceive in a moment, once formed a continuation of the extensive plain across which he passed before reaching the canal, though at present lacking somewhat of its neighbour's verdure. In the centre is a pond, and over it a large and lofty elm sends out its branches far and wide. A winding path skirts the pond, and leads to what appears a substantial farm-house, built of brick, of two stories and a garret, topped by two large stacks of admirably constructed Elizabethan chimneys, whereof one, which has received some indifferent renovations, rises through the roof and divides the building into two almost equal portions. The roof itself, which includes the garret, is covered with tile, and is noticeable at the very first inspection for its high pitch and great solidity. Round the house, which is now divided into three tenements, and occupied by as many families, is a cottage-garden, rejoicing, when I last saw it, in pinks, larkspurs, july-flowers, and columbines, with abundance of kitchen produce in the rear. To the left of the dwelling, closely adjoining but not contiguous to it, is a structure, presenting at first sight the appearance of a barn, although, as the visitor notices three Early English lancets in its eastern gable-end, that nearest to the farm-house, he is led a moment afterwards to attribute to it a higher and sacred use. The lancets occupy, however, only the upper half of the wall, and were evidently intended to light

but the higher of two floors. Several other windows, of smaller dimensions but of the same period of construction, are visible in the side of the building. The height is nearly equal to that of the dwelling-house, and, like it, it has a high pitched roof covered with tile. Several barns of wood lie still further to the left, capable of holding a goodly amount of farm produce. In those parts of the rear which are visible between them and the ancient structure, the eye catches what appear to be the remains of a moat, of which the pond in front was a part, filled with marsh-marigold, flags, purple loose-strife, hemp-agrimony, and forget-me-not, and fringed with trees of various kinds. All, within a few hours of the time that I am writing, was lying silent and motionless under the cloudless beams of a mid-day sun, in apparent enjoyment of the glorious weather; and, indeed, at most times the place has—from a distance at least—an air of English peace and comfort, which, coupled with the picturesque evidences which it exhibits of ancient occupation, constitutes a scene that can hardly fail to please.

Such is the outside aspect of Moor Hall, in Harefield. But the point of special interest has yet to be stated. Within the Elizabethan and later walls of the dwelling-house lies, encased in all kinds of subsequent additions, the wooden skeleton—the timbers, in the walls and roof—of a house of the twelfth century. Moor Hall was a camera of the Knights Hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem. The dwelling-house was the abode of the officer who had the supervision of the estate, and his servants. And the adjacent building, which still exhibits on the plaster of its interior the red lines which were intended to represent ashlar, each of the squares at its east end bearing the additional adornment of a rose, and is, of course, mis-called by the neighbours, and even by Lysons himself, "the chapel," was the dry and commodious storehouse and granary in which the fruits of the estate were collected and carefully garnered, until the great Priory in London, with the manifold and continual demands of a vast establishment, required their transfer to its cellars and stables.

The place, then, although now presenting to most eyes little

else, save perhaps in the graceful lancets, than the aspect of the abode of some well-to-do farmer of our own time, was once the scene of the operations of a Community whose influence during several centuries was almost illimitable. It was here that the Order of S. John of Jerusalem exercised a kind of management where religion and worldly thrift went hand in hand, and exhibited a contrast to the ordinary character of religious brotherhoods, which, shared in even then by the Order of the Temple alone, has no existing counterpart in the times in which we live. So little resemblance, too, does the spot present to what we are in the habit of imagining was the invariable aspect of a monastic house, and yet so much does it disclose which is indubitably and unquestionably ancient, that a person to whom the system of its olden possessors was unknown would be sure to question the fact of its having been the abode of a Religious Society at all, and would imagine it to have been the house of some ancient knight, or at most the grange of some neighbouring abbey. And he would have been very near the truth in his conjecture, though with an absence at the same time of the key to the real difficulty, and the explanation of the architectural puzzle before him. A few words will not, therefore, be thrown away, if, before presenting him with its annals, I furnish the reader with a few details explanatory of the system of the Order to which the place belonged. The difficulty will vanish, and the puzzle be explained in a few short moments.

The Order of the Hospital was founded at Jerusalem about the year 1092, under the patronage of S. John the Baptist, and in the year 1100 the brethren's first house in England was built for them at Clerkenwell. Of course, the history of the Order itself is beyond my province on the present occasion, but what I have specially to bring before the reader is its peculiar constitution, as exemplified in this most interesting structure.

The house of the Prior or Superior of the Order in England was at Clerkenwell, from which, as a centre, the governing influence proceeded, and to which a continual reference was made from all its possessions, however remote. The estates were in many counties of large extent and considerable value; but,

how distant soever or small they were, the central authority was as much felt and deferred to as in those which lay nearest to the parent house. The edifices which were erected upon most of them were not, as in other Orders, the abodes of separate and independent communities, each with its individual interest to look after and labour for, but were simply so many representatives of the great priory in London. The heads of these establishments were not abbots or priors, but merely officials, "*obedientiarii*," of the Prior at Clerkenwell, and had to account to him year by year of their income and expenditure, as the Prior himself had in his turn to account to the Grand Master at Rhodes, or Malta, or wherever the head quarters of the Order might happen to be. At each of their houses there were generally resident but a very few members—which, as the reader will perceive, accounts for their very moderate dimensions—two or three laymen, and a chaplain or two for the performance of Divine Service. The chief officer in these little establishments was called a Preceptor or Commander, who was sometimes a chaplain, and sometimes not, and the establishments themselves were called from this circumstance Commandries or Preceptories. The members derived their maintenance from the produce of the estates which they superintended, and regularly paid into the common treasury the overplus which their care and good management had availed to accumulate. Their estates were never given to any particular Preceptory, as it was held in law unable to accept them, but to the Prior of the Order as its head and visible representative.

Besides these Preceptories or Commandries the Order possessed a number of yet inferior houses, called Cameræ or chambers. These were, indeed, little else but farmhouses, and the annexed estates were a species of demesne lands, attended to by bailiffs without a preceptor, and without the consequent cost of that worthy functionary. Oftentimes they were not retained by the Order at all, so far as personal superintendence went, but were let out to farm, and the returns were included in the general receipts, and appropriated to the maintenance of the central establishment. It has been doubted whether a "preceptor" or "confrater" is ever

found in a camera, but before I conclude I shall show that an arrangement of this kind was not entirely unknown.

The place on whose history we are now employed was such a camera, and the remarks which I have made will explain the difficulty previously adverted to. Here was a Religious House, a small abode fit for the accommodation of a very few persons only, and a grange or farmhouse, under one and the same roof, and indeed one and the same thing.

The reader shall now be introduced to the history of the place. A few lines in Lysons's Middlesex contain almost all the information which the press has yet furnished. Dugdale, Tanner, and the mediæval chronicler of the Order, John Stillingflete, do not so much as mention its name. Our ground, therefore, has at at least the charm, such as it is, of novelty.

It was about the year 1182 that Beatrix de Bollers gave to Richard Turcy, or Turc, Prior of the Hospital in England, the advowson of the Church of Harefield, with all its appurtenances, in pure and perpetual alms. I will state the particulars presently, and am now only concerned about the date of the first grant. Alice de Clare, said by Lysons to be the donor of Moor Hall, and whose charter he supposes to be of an age not later than the middle of the twelfth century, is mentioned as subsequently confirming a grant by the said Beatrix of a virgate of land given by her at the same time as she gave the advowson of the church. If this be correct, to Beatrix de Bollers the credit is due, rather than to Alice de Clare, of commencing the series of gifts by which the Knights Hospitallers eventually obtained a large portion of Harefield and its neighbourhood. That Alice de Clare is to be placed a little subsequently to Beatrix is still further certified by our possession of a final concord between the Prior of the Hospital and Hugh de Clahull, husband of Alice, in respect of a gift by them of 120 acres of land at Harefield, to which a date is annexed. It was made at Westminster on the octave of S. Martin, 6 Henry III., or, in modern phrase, the 18th of November, 1221. And the words of the Middlesex historian, although at seeming variance with his previous statement, that " it is probable that the foundation of the House took place

after the grant of the advowson of the Church," are, doubtless, as I have attempted to show, in accordance with the fact.

In a very magnificent volume of the Cottonian library, marked Nero, E. VI., containing a large collection of instruments of all descriptions connected with the lands of the Knights Hospitallers, is a series of forty-three charters referring to the property at Harefield. I have made an abstract of each of them, by which it will appear that, although they are not placed in strictly chronological order, most are of the same age, and many attested by the same witnesses.

"1. Grant by Beatrix de Bollers, sometime wife of Baldewin son of Geoffrey, with assent and consent of Geoffrey her son, to God and the brethren of the Hospital of Jerusalem, of the advowson of the Church of Herefeld, with all its appurtenances, in pure and perpetual alms, for the soul of Baldewin son of Geoffrey her husband, her own soul, of her son Geoffrey, and her other children, and her ancestors, into the hands of Richard Turcy, Prior, at Clerkenwell. Also in augmentation of the said gift, one virgate of land in Herefeld, half in the tenure of William de Concle, and half in that of Gladewin Fitzrobert. The witnesses were Richard chaplain, Brother William de Fer, Robert de Scortes, Brother War, Brother William Pincerna, Brother Walter de Maltun, Robert chaplain of Herefeld, Geoffrey son of Baldewin, Gilbert clerk, John clerk, Roger son of Walkel, Stephen, Alan chamberlain, Geoffrey cook, Robert sacrist, the hunter, William the miller, Adam clerk, and many others." No date.

This, although without date, contains evidence in itself of its age by the mention of the Prior to whom the grant was made. Richard de Turk was prior of the Hospital between 1180 and 1195. It has been printed in part in the old and modern editions of Dugdale,* and will be found entire in the Appendix, No. I.

* ii. 507; vi. 806. This and another of the following Charters have been quoted by Lysons from a modern cartulary, compiled by a member of the Newdegate family in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. My abstracts have been invariably made, however, from the earlier and superior authority,

"2. Confirmation by Geoffrey, son of Baldewin and Beatrix, of the aforesaid grant. No date. Witnesses the same.

"3. Grant of Beatrix de Bollers, of a virgate of land in Herefeld, apparently the same as the aforesaid. Tenants the same. No date. Witnesses the same.

"4. Confirmation of Geoffrey, son of Baldewin, of the aforesaid. No date. Same witnesses.

"5. Writ of Henry III., to Hugh de Clahall and Alyna his wife, touching a virgate of land in behalf of the Prior of the Hospital. Witness Hubert de Burgh, justiciary. Dated at the Tower of London, 28th May. Alina was daughter of Geoffrey, son of Baldwin.

"6. Final concord between the Prior of the Hospital and the aforesaid Hugh de Clahall, in respect of the virgate of land aforesaid, in the King's Court at Westminster, in Michaelmas term, anno 7 Henry III., before Martin de Patishill and other judges. Hugh and Alina gave a quit-claim of the land to the Prior Robert de Dyna and his successors. The Prior gave to Hugh and Alina two marcs and a half of silver.

7. Confirmation by William, Bishop of London, of the confirmation by his predecessor Gilbert, sometime Bishop of London, of the church of Herefeld, at the instance of Geoffrey son of Baldewin, and of his mother Beatrix de Bollers, then vacant by the resignation of Robert, priest, rector of the same ; that the Prior and his successors should possess the said church, but providing a chaplain in the same, with adequate maintenance. Witnesses, William de Purle, John de Scorteford, Martin de Bockyng, Geoffrey de Vaux, Ralph de Herlane, Roger de London, Richard clerk, Stephen de Esseleia the writer of the instrument, and others. Dated at London, in the year of our Lord 1219, 15 kalends of March, and of the Bishop's pontificate the 21st. William, of S. Mary Church, was consecrated Bishop of London on the 23rd of May, 1199, and resigned his bishoprick on the 25th January, 1221.

"8. Confirmation by Gilbert, Bishop of London, of the

from which, doubtless, those in the transcript referred to were originally derived. See Lysons's Middlesex, pp. 105, 109, 110.

advowson of the Church of Herefeld. Witnesses, Nicholas archdeacon of London, Richard archdeacon of Colchester, Master Nicholas, Master Richard, Master Gilbert, William de Beamis, canons of S. Paul's, Master Henry de Northamton falconer, Roger, Robert de Clifford, Richard de Sarum, John clerk, Germanus. The name of Nicholas, Archdeacon of London, as an attesting witness, brings the date of this instrument between the years 1181 and 1185. Gilbert Foliot, the Bishop whose confirmation is recited, occupied the episcopal throne of London from the 24th of March, 1162-3, to the 18th of February, 1187-8.

" 9. Declaration of Gilbert, Bishop of London. That Richard, priest, parson of Herefeld, had resigned the church, and that at his petition and that of the Lords of the fee he had appointed the aforesaid Richard perpetual vicar of that church, with all its appurtenances, for his life ; the said Richard to pay annually to the Hospital the sum of ten shillings, and the customary payments to the Bishop. Sealed, &c., in the presence of the same witnesses.

" 10. Confirmation by Hugh de Clahull and Alina his wife of the advowson of the church of Herefelde, and of one virgate of land in Herefeld, which the brethren of the Hospital held already by the grant and alms of Beatrix de Bollers and Geoffrey her son, sealed with their common seal. Witnesses, Walter Durdent, Roger de la Dune, John de Maray, Master Alexander de Bassingbourn, Master Adam de Fountains, Master Thomas de Wyndessor, William Crispin, Richard Gyffard clerk, and others. No date.

" 11. Grant by Hugh Clahull and Alina his wife to God, and Blessed Mary, and S. John Baptist, and the sacred House of the Hospital of Jerusalem, and the brethren of the same, of 120 acres of land in Herefeld; that is to say, from Berdelesegrave to Pirifeld, 30 acres of land, and all Bemerherste, as far as Burnam, for ninety acres. Witnesses, William rector of the Church of Quowilton and Robert vicar of Cuting chaplains, Master Adam of Fountains, Valentine deacon, Richard Giffurd clerk, Thomas Abraham, Gregory de Clahull, Richard de Hussebourn,

John Hakett, Robert de Cingnach, Hugh de Sanford, Thomas de Watton, Mauger Marescall, Sweny cook, and many others. No date.

" 12. Grant by Alina de Clare of 120 acres of land at Herefeld. She was the lady of the previous charter, and made the grant after the decease of her husband. The land was the same.

" 13. Final concord between the Prior of the Hospital and Hugh de Clayhull, in respect of the 120 acres aforesaid, made at Westminster, on the octave of S. Martin, 6 Henry III., 1221, before Stephen de Segrave and other justices. The Prior gave in return for this recognition and warranty of Hugh and Alina the sum of three marcs of silver.

" 14. Grant of Alina de Clare of divers lands in Herefeld, to wit, one plain called Pirifeld, one croft called Fugelefeld, half a virgate of land in the tenure of Ailmer le Corbillior, extending from the king's highway from Woxebrugg to Watford, and between the bounds of Rislep, and abutting, on the one hand, on the land of Baldewin de Bollers, and on the other on that of Walter de Bordefeld; one acre and manse in the tenure of the said Ailmer, and one manse next the cemetery at Herefeld, north of the church, which is called Ancrehaglie; in free and perpetual alms, and quit of all services, aids, and demands, &c. Witnesses, Sir William Gilbert, Baldric my chaplain, Augustin vicar of Rislep, Richard Giffard clerk, Ralf de Shipton, Gregory de Clahull, Hugh de Rohun, Hugh de Sanford, William de Brademere, Jordan de Rippol, Baldewin de Bollers, John de Hareston, and very many others.

" 15. Grant of Alina, daughter of Geoffrey, of divers homages and services for the maintenance of a chaplain in Herefeld. The homages and services in the manor of Herefeld were of Hugh de Sanford, Reginald Despenser, Jordan de Aberun, John Hakett, Jordan le Taillour, Avice de la Burne, and Richard Pap; and in the manor of Sanford, of Thomas Fitzwilliam, of the mill; Margery Chamberlain, Gilbert Sweyn, Ralph Fitzwilliam of Pebenersse, Reginald le Haywarde, William son of Gilbert, and Alfred de Hannebrigge. After the death of a chaplain, another was to be appointed within fifteen days. Witnesses, William

son of Gilbert, Gregory de Clahull, Hugh de Sanford, and others. No date.

16. Grant of Alina de Clare of land in Herefielde. The land was between the land of John de Coupere, and that of Roger de Childwike. Witnesses, William son of Gilbert, Simon de Clahull, Gregory de Clahull, Simon de Tydewell, Hugh de Sanford, Thomas d'Aunay, William de Bradmere, John Haket, William son of Derkin, who wrote this charter, and many others. No date.

"17. Grant of Geoffrey de Bacheworth of free way from Suthbury to Baynhurste, of the breadth of twenty-six feet. Witnesses, Henry and Baldwin chaplains, Richard Giffard clerk, Gregory de Clahull, Baldewin de Bollers, and very many others. No date.

"18. Quit-claim of Amice, sometime wife of Baldewin de Bollers, of a third part of land in Herefield, which she had by right of dowry. Witnesses, William de Brademere, Richard Pape, Simon de Tyddwell, and many others. No date.

"19. Grant of Gregory de Clahull of four acres and a half of land, held by him of William Maresch in Herefield, lying between the land of John Hackett, and the mill-head belonging to the Hospital, and held of the brethren by the aforesaid John, and abutting on the south on the land of the aforesaid John, and on the north on that of Hamo the younger. Witnesses, Augustin vicar of Rislep, Henry and Baldwin chaplains of Herefield, Roger de la Dune, Richard Giffard, Hugh Chamberlain, Gilbert Franceis, Roger de Mucheldour, and others. No date.

"20. Grant of Alina de Clare, daughter of Geoffrey son of Baldwin, to Roger my Dispensor, for his service and homage, one ferling of land in Herefield, formerly held by John le Cuf, for twelve pence of silver payable at the four terms of the year, in lieu of all services and demands. Witnesses, William son of Gilbert, Walter Duredent, William de Brademere, Gregory de Clahull, Simone de Tydewell, Ralph de Shipton, Hugh de Sanford, Robert Coingnac, and many others. No date.

"21. Grant of Reginald, son of Warin le Corpch, of the aforesaid ferling of land. Witnesses, John de Oxford, Robert

de Upton, Walter de Colchester, chaplains; and others. No date.

"22. Quit-claim of Gregory de Clahull of all the hedge called Botushull. Witnesses, Peter de Radenour, Robert d'Aunay, and many others. No date.

"23. Grant by John Albermin, or De Abernoun, of land at Herefeld, with reservation of an annual payment to Maurice, son of Juliana de Herefeld, and her heirs, of fifteen pence of silver at the four terms of the year. Witnesses, Roger de Baggeworth, Geoffrey his brother, Roger de la Dune, Walter Grundbald, Hugh Chamberlenge, Hugh his son, Alexander de Asshwell, and others. No date.

"24. Quit-claim of John de Albermin, of the land aforesaid. Witnesses the same.

"25. Grant of Nicholas, son of Philip de Stoke, of land in Herefeld, held by him of the Prior and Convent of Hurley. Witnesses, Richard prior of Hurley, Geoffrey de Bacheworth, Nicholas de Oxenhaye, Walter Duredent, Baldewin de Bullers, Hugh de Saunford, and others. No date.

"26. Quit-claim of Roger de Bacheworth, knt., of five shillings and six pence of annual rent. Witnesses, Philip Durdent, knt., Walter de Saunford, Roger de Suthcote, Richard de Wedowyk, Richard chaplain, Hugh chamberlain, Robert Haket, and others. No date.

"27. Agreement between the Prior of the Hospital and Richard Bacheworthe, lord of Herefeld, concerning the demand of two pounds and a half of peper, the rent demanded of the Prior and brethren of the Hospital for certain tenements in Herefeld. This Richard remits, at the instance of brother William de Sauston, Preceptor of Herefeld, for one clove pink—pro uno clave Gariophili—to be paid to him and his heirs by the said Prior and his brethren yearly at Christmas. Witnesses, Thomas Suthe, William Rauenyngis, John Haket, John Gidenhewed, Hamo son of John, Richard ate Bourne, and others. No date.*

* Appendix No. II.

The reader will notice that we have here the chief officer of a camera styled Preceptor—"Fratris Willelmi de Sauston, Preceptoris de Herefeld."

"28. Quit-claim of Thomas de Saunforde, of four acres of meadow in Herefeld, at the instance of William de Hanule, Prior of the Hospital in England. The meadow was called Colmesmede, contiguous to the meadow of the brethren, in exchange of four acres of arable land near the watermill of John Haket in Herefeld. Witnesses, Roger de Bacheworth, knt., Hugh Chamberlein, John Pape, Alexander Moris, Walter Gydeheued, Richard Hene, Walter de Ireland clerk, and others.

William de Henley was Prior from 1280 to 1288.

"29. Charter of Hugh de Greneforde of lands and tenements, &c. Witnesses, Thomas de On, Roger de la Dunne, Richard Giffard clerk, and many others. No date.

"30. Convention between Hugh D'Aunay, the Prior of the Hospital, and Richard, Prior, and Convent of Stokes, about tithes of Herefeld. The Prior and Convent of Stokes granted all the tithes, great and small, to Prior Hugh D'Aunay and his successors, who were to pay to the former at their House at Clerkenwell the sum of thirty shillings sterling a year, half on the fourth Sunday after Michaelmas, and half on the fourth Sunday after Easter Day. Witnesses, Robert de Takstede, Geoffrey de Berdefeld, Roger de Stokes, Walter de Chaurea, chaplains; Walter de Berdefeld seneschal of the Earl of Clare, master Adam de Fountains, Richard Giffard clerk, John de Sanford, Thomas Abraham, Thomas de Wotton, Benedict servant of Chaurea, Mauger Maresch, and many others. The year in which it was made was that of 1221, but the month and day are not recorded.

"31. Convention between Robert de Dyna, the Prior of the Hospital, and Richard the Prior, and Convent of Hurley, on tithes of the manor of Herefeld. They were to pay to the Prior and Convent of Hurley four shillings a year on the feast of S. John Baptist, and to do all services due to the chief lords.

Robert de Dyna succeeded Hugh D'Aunay as Prior of the Hospital.

"32. Charter of Alditha and Alice her sister, of all their land

in Herefeld, to Robert de Kent. The ladies were daughters and heiresses of Thomas Dogeskyn, of Woxebrige. Witnesses, Geoffrey de Heddesore, Hugh de North, Roger Suthcote, Laurence Draper, Peter his brother, William Bomebyn, John son of Maurice, William de Hactone, Roger clerk, and others. No date.

"33. Charter of Robert Kent, of four acres of land in Herefelde. These four acres were the property aforesaid of the sisters Alditha and Alice Dogeskyn, of Woxebrigge. Witness, Roger de Bacheworth knt., Philip Durdant, Robert Gomme clerk, then bailiff, and others. No date.

"34. Chart of Hugh the Chamberlen of 12d. annual rent in Herefeld, at the instance of brother Simon de Askeby, sometime custos of the house of the Hospital of Herefeld, derived from four acres of the lands given by the aforesaid sisters. Witness, Roger de Bacheworth knt., Walter de Saunford, Roger de Suthcote, Robert Haket, John le Pope, Richard chaplain, and others. No date.*

"35. Chart of Richard, son of Ralph Osbert, of Chaushunt, of one half pound of peper and one penny of annual rent. Witnesses, Geoffrey, Roger de Bacheworth, knt., Walter de Sanford, and others. No date.

"36. Charter of Richard, son of Richard Bene, of three shillings and one penny of annual rent. Given at the instance of Brother Peter de Staneley. Witnesses, Roger de Bacheworth, Thomas de Sanford, and others. No date.

"37. Charter of Walter de Sanford, of one acre of land in Herefelde. Witnesses, Roger de Bacheworth, knt., Philip Durdent, and others. No date.

"38. Charter of Gilbert de Burna, of a certain angle of land in Herefelde. The land lay between the land of Nicholas de Bleis and Burnam, and was in form a triangle, containing two perches. Witnesses, Maurice son of Hamound, William son of Hamound, Walter de Gudeheued, John le Heywerd, and others. No date.

"39. Charter of Brian Burn, of a certain messuage, between the land of Walrand, son of Gilbert de la Burne, and Burnam,

* Appendix No. III.

a triangle containing two perches. It was the same land as that of the preceding charter. Witnesses, Roger de Bacheworth knt., Walter de Sanford, John Hackett, and many others. No date.

"40. Charter of Nicholas Bleis, to Prior Roger de Ver, and his brethren, of one messuage and two acres of land. In length from the way of Gilbert de la Bourn to the way of the said Gilbert, and in width from the king's highway towards Rislep, to the land of the said Gilbert de la Burne. Witnesses, Roger de Bacheworth knt., Walter de Sanford, Richard chaplain of Watford, Roger de Suthcote, Hugh Chamberlain, and many others. No date.

Roger de Vere was Prior from 1260 to 1270.

"41. Charter of Nicholas de Bleis, son of Avice de Burna, of rent of two shillings, with others. The rent was of the tenement of Gilbert de Burne. Witnesses, Roger de Bacheworth knt., Hugh Chamberlain, Hugh his son, Robert Haket, and others. No date.

"42. Charter of John de la Burne, of one half-penny of annual rent in the vill of Harefelde, received of Brian de la Burne and his heirs, once in a year at Easter. The messuage from which it was derived lay between the house of the said Brian and the house of Walrand de la Burne. Witnesses, Roger de Bacheworth, Walter de Sanford, then Sheriff, and many others. No date."

The last is one of the most interesting of the series:—

"43. Charter of Roger de Bacheworth, knt., at the instance of Brother Nicholas de Daccombe, then Preceptor of the hospital of Herefeld, for the health of his soul and of that of Sibila his wife, and of his ancestors and successors, of ten acres of land, with appurtenances, of the moor of Herefeld, whereof seven acres lie in length between the meadow which is called Colmes Mede, and the way which leads towards the common moor of the said vill, and in breadth from the demesne meadow of the brethren which is called Costowe mede as far to the common moor as the bounds are placed. And three acres lie between the garden of the said brethren and the common moor towards the west, whereof one head abuts on the meadow of the said brethren towards the

north, and the other head on the common way towards the south. Witnesses, Philip Burdant knight, Adam de la Donne, Thomas de Saintford, and others." No date.*

Here again we have the chief officer of a camera expressly styled Preceptor—"Fratris Nicholai de Daccombe, Preceptoris domus Hospitalis de Herefeld."

With this, our list ends of the series of benefactions, the result of which was what we may call the Harefield estate, the seat of whose deputy-master was Moor Hall.

Some legal proceedings took place in connection with the property in the fourth year of Edward III., 1331, between the Prior of the Hospital and Sir Simon de Swanland, Lord of Harefeld, which resulted in clearing the title of the Hospital to a part of the domain, but did not add to the previous possessions of the house. †

Eight years afterwards, in the year 1338, we get an excellent glimpse of the place from a most interesting return of the Prior of England for that year to the Grand Master of the Order, which is still preserved at Malta in the public library of Valetta. It was transcribed some years since, and published by the Camden Society in 1857, under the title of the "Knights Hospitallers in England." It consists of "a balance sheet for every manor" belonging to the Hospitallers, "containing a strict account of profit and loss, and so arranged as to show at a glance what sum was available, after all charges were deducted, for the general purposes of the Priory and the Order." Some of the accounts are complete pictures of the various estates, entering minutely into all the varied sources of income, and dwelling, sometimes with an amusing degree of pathos, on the grievous charges which hindered the accumulation of a larger surplus than that which was handed in to the general stock. I may refer those who care to pursue the subject to my history of Mynchin Buckland, in Somersetshire, which was the only House of Sisters that the Order possessed in England, and where the chief officer of the adjoining Commandery most ungallantly adds that the ladies

* MS. Cott. Nero, E. VI. ff. iiii^{xx}ii—iiii^{xx}vib. Appendix No. IV.

† Plac. ap. Bedford. Quo War. r. 3.

were of no advantage to his house, but rather burden, charge, and grievance, as they had by their charter of incorporation a pension from the Preceptor which availed to reduce the amount of that overplus by which his thrift and good management were to be most conspicuously displayed.* The glimpse, however, which we get of the camera of Moor Hall is presented by the following return which I have literally translated.

"CAMERA OF HEREFELD, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX. HEREFELD. There is there one messuage, three carucates of arable land, twenty acres of meadow, four pounds of annual rent, a church appropriated, pasture for twenty cows, twenty heifers, and three hundred sheep, and the value is forty marcs." It is added that it nevertheless yields nothing, because in the time of Brother Thomas Larcher it was granted to Brother William Brex for the term of his life, with no payment of rent. The officer then in charge was Brother Simon de Myneworth, chaplain.†

Prior Thomas L'Archer, I may say in passing, was a notorious offender in this way, and was, it would appear, deposed from his priorate for mal-administration. He was in the habit of raising funds in the manner just alluded to, by leases for life, receiving no subsequent annual rent, but a sum of ready money as a so-called equivalent. All was, however, set right under the excellent administration of his able successor, Prior Leonard de Tybertis, who by great self-sacrifice contrived, in a short time, to pay off the most pressing debts, and finally restored the Hospital in England once more to circumstances of ease and honour.

For a long time nothing is recorded of the place, and we may therefore conclude that it quietly yielded its fruits, and gave no trouble to its masters.

As we have no names of the Heads of the Camera later than the period at which we have now arrived, it will be well to give a list of those Officers, so far as I have been able to recover them :—

* Mediæval Nunneries of Somersetshire : No. 1. Mynchin Buckland.

† Hospitallers in England, p. 125.

William de Sauston, Preceptor, 13th century.
Simon de Askeby, Custos, cir. 1265.
Peter de Stanclcy (?).
Nicholas de Daccombe, Preceptor, cir. 1275.
Simon de Myneworth, Capellanus, 1338.

It is not improbable that some among the following chaplains, mentioned in the foregoing charters, were officers in charge of the estate :—

Richard, 1190—1195.
John de Oxford.
Robert de Upton.
Walter de Colchester.
Robert de Takstede, 1221.
Geoffrey de Berdefeld, 1221.
Roger de Stokes, 1221.
Walter de Chaurea, 1221.
Richard, cir. 1265.

I said, some pages back, that the estates annexed to a camera were frequently let to farm. Indeed, this appears to have been the custom of the Order with most, if not all, of their less important estates during the latter years of their tenure. The cost of the Preceptor, or Custos, and his servants, was hereby saved, while the property was looked after with equal care, and furnished probably a larger return. I have found in a volume formerly belonging to the Hospitallers at Clerkenwell, and containing many particulars of their leases in the beginning of the sixteenth century, some not uninteresting details in connection with Moor Hall.

At a Chapter held in the House of S. John of Clerkenwell, on the 24th of April, 1516, by Brother Thomas Docwra, the Prior;—present, Brother William Weston, Preceptor of Baddislay and Mayne ; Brother Thomas Golyn, Preceptor of Baddisford and Dynglay ; Brother Robert Newport, Preceptor of Ansty and Trebigh ; Brother John Babington, Preceptor of Yeuelay and Barowe; Brother Edward Roche, Preceptor of Carbrok ; and

Brother Alban Pool, represented by his Proctor, Brother John Babington, on account of his ill health—the Prior and his coadjutors leased the manor of Moor Hall to Rose Assheby, of Herefeld, widow. The document sets forth as follows:—

"To all the faithful, &c. Thomas Docwra, Prior of the Hospital of S. John of Jerusalem in England, and the brethren of the same Priory, health eternal in the Lord. Know ye, &c., that we have granted, delivered, and leased to farm to Rose Assheby, of Herfeld, in the county of Middlesex, widow, and to her assigns, our manor and rectory, called Morehalle, in Herfeld aforesaid, with all and singular lands, meadows, grazings, pastures, rents, tenths, and oblations, and other profits and commodities whatsoever to the aforesaid manor and rectory in any wise belonging or pertaining. All woods, and underwoods, and trees, and eschaets beyond the value of forty shillings, goods of felons, &c., excepted and reserved. From the Feast of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist next ensuing to the end and term of the following forty years. A yearly rent of nineteen pounds of lawful English money to be paid to us at our treasury of Clarkenwell, at two terms of the year, to wit, at the feasts of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of S. Barnabas the Apostle, in equal portions. The aforesaid Rose and her assigns shall find a fit and proper chaplain continually performing Divine service in the parish church there, and fitly ministering the sacraments and sacramentals to the parishioners there during the term aforesaid. They shall also support and undergo all other ordinary and extraordinary burdens incumbent on the manor and rectory aforesaid, the aids and other subsidies for the treasurer at Rhodes only excepted. The aforesaid Rose and her assigns shall repair, sustain, and maintain, as often as shall be necessary during the term, all the buildings and houses, as in roofing, thatching, and plaster-work, and also all the walls, hedges, and ditches at their own proper cost and expense, the repairs of the building and houses in stone, timber, lead, glass, and covering of tiles only excepted, which are to be done at the expense of us, the aforesaid Prior, and our successors. The aforesaid Rose and her assigns shall have in and of our wood and

underwood there housebote, haybote, cartebote, ploughbote, and fyrebote within the said manor, reasonably without waste, to be expended by the assignment and delivery of one of our servants to be deputed or assigned by us to this office. If it shall happen that the said farm of xix *li.* a-year be in arrear in part or in all after the term of payment specified above for two months, then it shall be lawful for us and our successors to re-enter into the said manor and rectory, and into any parcel thereof, and to retain, hold, and repossess all and singular as in our former state, and totally to expel and remove the said farmers from the same, the present lease in aught notwithstanding. To all and singular payments, &c., aforesaid, the said Rose and others oblige themselves to the aforesaid Prior and his successors in the sum of forty pounds sterling, by their bond bearing the same date as these presents. In testimony whereof our common seal and the seal of the aforesaid farmer, Rose Assheby, widow, are to the present indentures alternately appended. Dated in our House of S. John of Clarkenwell, near London, in our Chapter holden there the 24th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1516, and of King Henry VIII. the eighth."*

Six years afterwards, Moor Hall, I presume, changed hands. I have found in the same collection another lease, but in favour of Rose Bown, of Herefeld, Middlesex, widow, the manor and rectory called Morhall, in Herefeld, together with a wood there called Bayhurst, with all and singular lands, &c., as before. The term was from the feast of S. Barnabas the Apostle next ensuing for a period of forty-five years. The rent was twenty pounds sterling, to be paid in equal portions, as in the lease already recited. In the matter of the chaplain, ordinary and extraordinary burdens, repairs of the buildings, &c., the present was identical with the former instrument. The farmer and assigns were allowed to cut and root out at their own expense, and for their own use to sell and give all and every kind of wood, underwood, thorns, and brambles, growing within the wood called Bayhurst, and elsewhere within the said manor, with-

* MS. Cott. Claud. E. vi. ff. clxiii b., clxiiii.

out impeachment of waste, during the term aforesaid. If the rent were in arrear and not paid at the place aforesaid for three months, and if the manor and rectory, with its appurtenances, were not sufficiently repaired within the space of one year, the Prior might re-enter, &c., the present lease in aught notwithstanding. The lease concluded with similar obligations to the former, and was sealed and dated at Clerkenwell, the 18th day of September, 1522, the 14th of Henry VIII.*

We are now close upon times of trouble. In 1534, twelve years after the date of the last document, the "Valor" was taken of all the ecclesiastical property in the country, in order to enable the King, as it was said, to support his new-fledged dignity of Supreme Head of the Church. In the record of the possessions of the Hospitallers, among the rents of assize and other rents in various vills and hamlets in parishes of London and Middlesex, the entry which relates to Moor Hall simply states that the yearly value of the property was xx *li.* Some idea of its relative importance may be gained from the fact that in the same return the value of the estate at Hendon is set down at iiij*li.* xij*d.*, and of that at Hackeney at xij*li.* xij*s. ob.*†

The period of the last document brings us close to the day when there were no more Assemblies held in the Chapter House of the Priory at Clerkenwell, and no more leases granted of their farms by the knights who there assembled. In 1538, four years subsequently to the date of the Valor, the Order was suppressed, and the Priory and its possessions were granted to a multitude of strangers by the most heartless and abandoned tyrant that ever disgraced the throne of England, or prostituted the powers which his position gave him.

The manor was requested for purchase by a Robert Tyrwhitt; and the return made by the Crown Officers, whose business it was to negotiate for the sale of the estates, sets forth the particulars already given in the leases which I have quoted, the property leased, and the various stipulations and agreements, payments, &c., including the maintenance of the chaplain officiating

* MS. Cott. Claud. E. vi. ff. ccxvii b., ccxviii.

† Val. Eccl. i. 403.

in the parish church of Herefeld. The value is given at xx *li.*, and the return is attested by the signature of William Rygges, auditor. This was in the 34th year of Henry VIII. In the margin, the Crown Officer has noted that "the said manner is iiij mylys from the Kynges house callid [Wind]sore.' The woods are returned as of value for repairs only.*

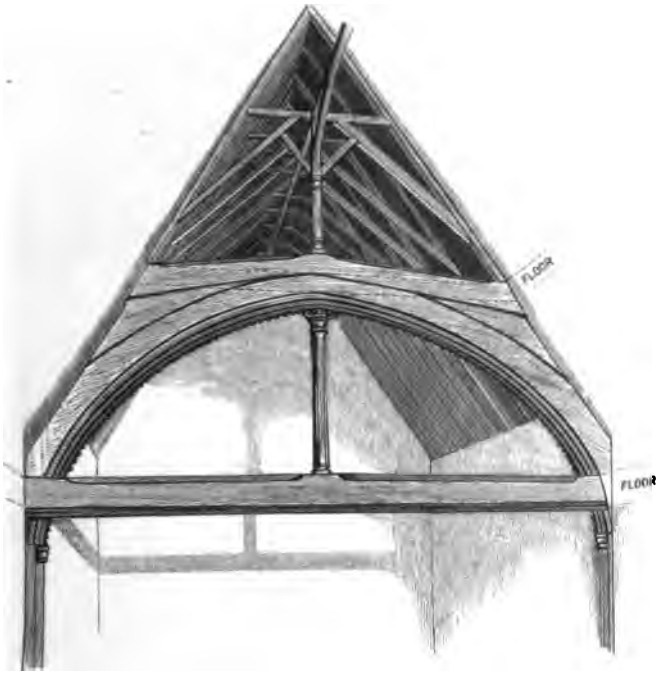
The same year it was finally disposed of to the petitioner, Robert Tyrwhitt. The grant sets forth that, besides other property, the King granted to his beloved Robert Tyrwhitt all his manor of Morehall, in Herefeld, and all the rectory and church of Herefeld, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances. Also, all the wood called Bayhurst, in Herefeld. Also, all and singular messuages, granges, mills, lands, meadows, pastures, &c., in the manor called Morehall. Also, the advowson and right of patronage of Herefeld church, and all tithes, oblations, &c., belonging to the same. Not a syllable is said about the chaplain, or that the grantee was bound to continue to the people such spiritual privileges as they enjoyed before his intrusion. The estate was to be held in chief, by the service of a twentieth part of one knight's fee and the payment of an annual fee-farm rent of forty shillings. The grant is dated, witness the King, at Berechurch, the 18th day of August, 34 Henry VIII., 1542.†

I have now, in conclusion, to describe more minutely the scene, of whose varied changes of fortune I have been endeavouring to put my reader in possession.

The general features of the place have already been noticed at an earlier page, and the most interesting of its architectural details are so accurately and clearly represented in the engravings, as to need a very small amount of further remark. The dwelling-house was originally one of a class most frequent in England at the period of its erection. It was built of wood, with the interstices of the frame timbers filled with a composition of lime and mud mixed with straw and laid upon laths. This mode of construction will account for the entire absence of

* Part. for Grants, 34 Hen. VIII. Robert Tyrwhitt. Appendix No. V.

† Pat. 34 Hen. VIII., p. 6, mm. 5(30), 4(31), 3(32), 2(33). Appendix No. VI.

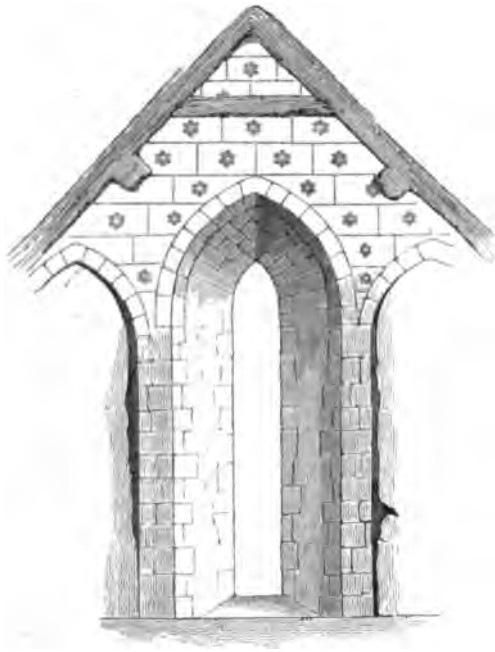


THE HALL. INTERIOR OF THE ROOF.

THE HALL. MOULDING, WITH TOOTH ORNAMENT, IN THE ROOF.

THE GRANARY, FROM THE S.E.

THE GRANARY, FROM THE N.W.



THE GRANARY INTERIOR OF THE EAST GABLE.

THE HALL. A CHAMBER NOW OCCUPYING PART OF THE ROOF.

ancient stonework which the building now exhibits, and explain the comparatively modern appearance which the walls of the house present. The hall measured 45 feet in length by 29 in breadth, and had a roof of very elaborate construction, which will be best understood by the accompanying figures. It was of three bays, with the timbers, some of which were ornamented with a dog-tooth moulding, open to the ridge; and was simply covered with shingles of wood or stone, or probably with thatch composed of reeds from the adjoining moor. The granary, which is 35 feet in length by 18 feet 3 inches in breadth, still retains very much of its original character. It was divided into two floors, the upper of which was reached by an external flight of stairs, indications of which are still visible, although the stairs themselves have been removed. The lower apartment was entered by a round-arched doorway, and was lighted by several small and deeply splayed windows of the "shouldered" form. The upper was furnished with a beautiful triplet of lancet-shaped windows at its eastern end, as well as with others at the north, south, and west sides. The roof is comparatively modern, but of the original pitch. The internal walls of both floors were, and, as I have already stated, are still, for the most part, covered with plaster, on which are drawn lines of a dark-red colour to represent the courses of ashlar masonry. The compartments at the eastern end, above the lancets, contain in their centres a red rose of five or six leaves, which, together with the lines in the splay of each lancet, are most artistically given, and inspire us with no little respect for the hand that could so agreeably remove the coldness of an otherwise plain and unsightly surface. The hint should not be lost upon those of us whose churches, schools, or houses, look bare and cheerless, through needless lack of that which has been here so easily, cheaply, and effectively introduced. (See the figures.)

In taking leave of Moor Hall, for I have nothing to do with it after it was wrested from its ancient and rightful owners, and turned into the estate of a private adventurer, I can only express a hope that, aided by the foregoing historical and pictorial details, my reader may be able to recal somewhat of the

earlier aspect of the place, and the labours of which it was the agreeable scene. We may, indeed, almost imagine that we see William de Sauston, Simon de Askeby, Nicholas de Daccombe, or Simon de Myneworth, busily superintending the concerns of his goodly house, bidding us welcome from London with the open-handed hospitality for which his noble Order was famous, and entering with no little zest into all the news that we had to give him of the Prior, the House at Clerkenwell, the court, or the town at large. The scene, however, and the times were widely different from our own, when those old worthies bore rule under the superb roof, which, though mouldering, still covers with its black and massive timbers, tooth ornamented and richly worked, the dilapidated chambers below, the misshapen product of a far later age. Nor is it much to ask to be allowed to look back with regret to the days when the Hospitaller was here, when his welcome was as free and his doors were as open as his princely heart, and when rest and benediction were to be had for the asking. Those days are gone, and with them much that, view it in whatever way we will, was an incalculable blessing. It can do us no good to ignore the fact that Moor Hall is a simple instance and too true illustration of almost universal change, a change from better to worse, affecting much higher interests, and involving much deeper considerations, than the picturesque details of olden times, or the frank hospitality which was their never-failing virtue. Its ruined chambers, the abode of poverty, neglect, and a struggle for bare existence, present a sorry contrast to the care and kindly oversight of earlier days, and tell of a degeneracy more than accidental, and of a declension in modes of life and thought more than individual and local. Nature is still as lovely, the trees about Moor Hall are as green, the garden flowers as sweet as ever. But evil influences have usurped the place which was previously occupied by good, and the change which has resulted is one that is pleasing, neither to the man who loves his common country, nor to him who wishes well to his common kind.

THOMAS HUGO.

APPENDIX

OF CHARTERS AND OTHER RECORDS.

No. I.

[MS. Cott. Nero E. vi. fol. iiij^{xx}j.]

Notum sit om̃ibus tam p̃sentibꝫ q^{a}m futuris sancte Matris eccl̃ie filijs. q̃d Ego Beatrix de Bollers quōdā vxor Baldewini filij Galfrī assensu ⁊ concensu Galfridi filij mei, dono ⁊ Carta mea confirmo deo ⁊ frībꝫ hospitl̃is Jerl̃m aduocac̃oem Eccl̃ie de herefeld cū om̃ibꝫ ꝑtinencijs suis, in bosco scilicꝫ, in agro, in p^{a}tis, in pascuis, in lib̃am ⁊ ꝑpetuā elemosinā sicut eam vmq^{a} aliquis lib̃ius h̃uit ⁊ tenuit, ⁊ sicut vnq^{a} in nr̃o vl̃ in antecessoꝝ ñroꝝ tempore alicuius eccl̃ie Aduocac̃o lib̃ius ⁊ melius data est. huius itaq̧ tam lib̃e ⁊ ꝑpetue elemosine donac̃oem facio Ego ꝑ aĩa Baldewĩ filij Galfridi dñi mei ⁊ ꝑ salute aĩe mee ⁊ ꝑ salute Galfridi filij mei ⁊ ceꝑoꝝ infanciū meoꝝ ⁊ ꝑ salute omniū antecessoꝝ meoꝝ in man^{9} Ric̃i Turcy in Anglia Prioris apud fontem Cl̃icoꝝ. ꝑ mei autē ⁊ ꝑ salute ⁊ refrig̃io p̃dicoꝝ Augmentū dono p̃dcĩs frībꝫ vnam virgatā ꝑre in herefeld scilicꝫ illam dimidiā virgatā q^{a}m tenuit Will̃ de Conele. ⁊ illam dimidiā virgã q^{a}m tenuit Gladewinus filius Rob̃ti. Hijs testibꝫ Rico Capll̃ano, ff're Will̃mo de fer, Rob̃to de Scortes, ff're War, ff're Will̃mo Pinc̃na, ff're Walꝑo de Maltuñ, Rob̃to Capll̃ano de herefeld, Galfrido fil̃ Baldewiñ, Gilb̃to Cl̃ico, Joh̃ne Cl̃ico, Rog̃o filio Walkel, Steph̃o, Alan Cam̃ario, Galfrido Coco, Rob̃to Sacrista, Venatore, Will̃mo Molenđ, Adam Cl̃ico, ⁊ multis alijs.

No. II.

[MS. Cott. Nero E. vi. fol. iiij^{xx}iiij.]

Concordia inꝑ Pꝰorē hospit ⁊c̃ ⁊ Ric̃m Bacheworth de exacc̃oe .ij. ꝥb pipis.

Vniu̅sis xp̃i fidelibus ad quos ꝑsens scriptū ꝑuenꝰit Ric̃us de Bacheworthe dñs de herefeld saꝥtm̃ in dño sempiꝑnā Cum suꝑ exaccionē duarꝝ libraꝝ piꝑis ⁊ dimidie Redditus quē de venꝰabilibꝫ viris Priore ⁊ ff'ribꝫ hospitaꝥ Sc̃i Joħis Jerꝥm in Anglia exegi ꝑ quibusdᵃm tenementis que de me tenent in villa de herefeld inꝑ me ⁊ dc̃os Priorem ⁊ ffratres diu̅se contenc̃oes fu̅unt exorte Nou̅itis me ꝑ bono pacis ⁊ ꝑ salute aĩe mee antecessoꝝ ⁊ successoꝝ meoꝝ ꝛ maxime ad instanciam ff'ris Wiꝥꝥmi de Sauston Preceptoris de herefeld remisisse ⁊ ex toto quietū clamasse ꝑ me ⁊ heredibꝫ meis dc̃is Priori ⁊ ffratribꝫ ⁊ successoribꝫ suis om̃iodam accionem si qᵃm ħui vꝥ aliquo jure habere potui in ꝑdc̃o redditu duaꝝ libraꝝ pꝑis ⁊ dimidie cū om̃modo seruicio forinceco ⁊ ꝑuato q̧ michi ⁊ heredibꝫ meis racõne ꝑdcĩ Redditus em̅gere poꝑit. Ita q̃d nec ego dc̃us Ric̃us nec heredes nec aliquis noĩe nr̃o aliqđ juris vꝥ seruicij cuiuscūq̧ de p̃đco Redditu clamare vꝥ exigere poꝑmus in futurū sed ꝑ vno claue Gariophili, quā michi ꝛ heredibꝫ meis ad Nataꝥ dñi dc̃i Prior ⁊ ffrẽs annuatī soluent totum p̃dc̃m Redditū cū om̃mod seruicio ꝑ ꝑdc̃o Redditu exeunte Ego dc̃us Ric̃us ⁊ heredes mei p̃dc̃is Priori ⁊ ffrĩbus contra om̃es hoĩes ⁊ feminas warantizabimus ⁊ om̃no defendemus imꝑpetuū. In cuius rei testiõm p̃sentibꝫ sigillū meū apposui. Hijs testibꝫ Thoma Suthe, Wiꝥꝥmo Rauenyngis, Johñe Haket, Johñe Gidenhewed, Hamone filio Joħis, Ric̃o ate Bourne ⁊ alijs.

No. III.

[MS. Cott. Nero E. vi. fol. iiij^{xx}v.]

Carta hugõis le Chamberlen de .xij.d. reddit⁹ annui in herefelde.

Nou̅int vniu̅si p̃sentes visuri vꝥ audituri qđ Ego hugo le Chamƀleng de herefeld dedi, concessi ⁊ hac p̃senti Carta mea confirmaui deo bt̃e Marie ⁊ Sc̃o Joħi Bapt̃e ⁊ ffrĩbꝫ sc̃e domus hospitaꝥ Jerꝥm in Anglia ad instanciam frĩs Simonis de Askeby quondᵃm Cus-

todis domus hospitat de herefeld duodecim denariatus annui Redditus michi spectantis de quatuor acris ꝑre in villa de herefeld quas ħui de dono ⁊ concessione Aldithe ⁊ Alicie filiaꝝ ⁊ heredū Thome Dogeskyn de Woxebrigge, ħnd ⁊ tenēd memoratū Redditū sibi ⁊ successoribꝫ suis in libam purā ⁊ ꝑpetuam elemosinā. Itā q̄d nec ego nec heredes mei in dc̄o Redditū seu ꝑra vnde Redditus ille puenit aliquid iuris clamij vl seruicij de ceꝑo exigere vl clamare poterimus. In cuius rei testiōm p̄sentibꝫ sigillū meū est appensum. Hijs testibꝫ dño Rogero de Bacheworth milite, Waltero de Saunford, Rogero de Suthcote, Robto Haket, Joħne le Pope, Ric̄o Capellano ⁊ multis alijs.

No. IV.

[MS. Cott. Nero E. VI. fol. iiij^{xx}vj b.]

Sciant p̄sentes ⁊ futuri Quod ego Roḡus de Bacheworth miles dedi, concessi ⁊ hac p̄senti carta mea confirmaui ꝑ salute aīe mee ⁊ aīe Sibile vxoris mee ⁊ ꝑ aīabꝫ pr̄is mei ⁊ matris mee oīmꝫ añcessoꝝ ⁊ succ̄ meoꝝ deo ⁊ beate Marie ⁊ sc̄o Joħi Bapt̄e ⁊ fr̄ibꝫ domus hospit̄ Jerl̄m in Anglia deo famulātibꝫ ad instanciā fr̄is Nicħi de Daccombe tūc p̄ceptoris domus hospit̄ de herefeld decem acras t̄ꝑre cū ꝑtiñ de mora de herefeld quarū septem acre iacent in longitudine inꝑ pratū quod vocat^{r} Colmes Mede ⁊ viā que ducit versus morā cōmunē dc̄e ville Et in latitudine a prato dñico dc̄oꝝ fr̄m q̄d vocat^{r} Costowe mede vsꝫ ad morā cōmunē sicut mete sunt posite ⁊ deducte. Et tres acre iacent inꝑ gardinū dc̄oꝝ fr̄m ⁊ morā cōmunē versus Occidentē quoꝝ vnū capud abuttat supꝑ pratū dc̄oꝝ fr̄m versus Aquilonē ⁊ aliud capud supꝑ cōmunē viā versus Austrū: ħend ⁊ tenend p̄dc̄is fr̄ibꝫ in purā ⁊ ꝑpetuā elemosinā libe quiet' ⁊ pacifice inꝑp̄m. Ita scilicet n^{c} Ego n^{c} hered mei n^{c} aliquis ꝑ nos seu ꝑ nob aliquid iuris vel clamij in p̄dc̄is decem acris ꝑre cū ꝑtiñ de mora memorata poꝑimus de ceꝑo exigere vel vendicare. In cuius rei testimoniū huic p̄senti scripto sigillū meū apposui. Hijs testibꝫ dño Pħo Burdant milite, Ada de la Donne, Thoma de Saintford ⁊ alijs.

No. V.

[Particulars for Grants, 34 Hen. VIII. Robert Tyrwhitt.]

MANIU' ET R'C'ORIA voc̃ Morehall in Herffeld in Com̃ Midd.

vał in

FIRMA man⁹ij ⁊ Rc̃orie voc̃ Morehall in Hereffeld p̃đ in Com̃ p̃đ simul cū bosco ib̃m voc̃ bayhurst cum om̃ib; ⁊ singłis t̃r̃, prat̃, pascuis, pastur̃ Ređđ decim̃ oblac̃ ac alijs ꝑfic̃ ⁊ cōmoditatibus quibuscumq; p̃dict̃ Man⁹io ⁊ Rc̃orie quałrcumq; spectañ siue ꝑtineñ. OMĪOD' maremijs siue magnis arboribus ꝑ edific̃ domoꝝ ⁊ Eschaet̃ vlt^a valorem quadraginta solid ⁊ Catałł ffeloñ ⁊ ffugit̃ tantūmodo except̃ ⁊ res⁹uat sic modo dimiss̃ Rose Bowne vid ꝑ indentur̃ sub sigillo c̃oi nuꝑ Priorat̃ p̃dc̃i ꝑ t̃mīo annoꝝ Reddenđ inde ꝑ annū ad ffesta purificac̃onis bt̃e Marie Virginis ⁊ sc̃i Barnabe appłi equałr xxli. Et p̃đ ffirmar̃ ⁊ assigñ sui invenient vnū Capellanū idoneū diuina s⁹uicia in Eccłia ꝑochiali de Hereffeld p̃đ continue celebratur̃ ac sacra ⁊ sacramentalia ꝑochianis ib̃m ministratur̃ ꝑut in eadem indentur̃ plenius apparet.

Ex' ꝑ me Wiłłm Ryggę audit^r.

The said mann⁹ is iiij mylys from the Kyngę house callid [Wind]sore.

xxli.

Com̃ Midd.

The manor of more halle, in the pishe of herefeld, pcell of the possessions of the late p̃ory of Seynt Johns Jrlm in England.

The seyd manor ys lettyn to gether by the late p̃or of the seid late p̃ory, wt all and singuler the woode and vnderwode, to Roose bows, for terme of xl yeres, all tymber and great wood except and ressruid, as apperith by an Indenture bering date the xviij day of September, the xiiij yere of the reigne of or sou9aigne lord kyng henry the viijth, wherfore the vnderwood nor soyle therof not valuid, } nt.

And in the same be growing lx saplyng okes, of xl and lx yeres growt, not valuid, but ressruid for tymber to repayre the seyd manor and the howses pteyning to the same, wch the seyd ffermor hayth by covenant according to the seyd Indenture, } nt.

p me, Willm Cowp.

No. VI.

[Abstract of Pat. 34 Hen. VIII. p. 6. mm. 5 (30), 4 (31), 3 (32), 2 (33).]

Rex Om̃ibꝫ ad quos ꝛc salt̃m.

Dam9 eciam, [etc.] p̃fato Robto Tyrwhitt totum illud Man9ium nr̃m vocat̃ Morehall in herefeld. Et totam Rc̃oriam nr̃am ꝛ eccl̃iam nr̃am de herefeld cum eorꝫ iuribꝫ, membris ꝛ ptiñ vniu9sis in Com̃ nr̃o Midd dc̃o nup̃ Prioratui seu hospitali Sc̃i Johis Jerlm in Angl dudum Spectañ ꝛ ptineñ ac pcell possessionū eiusdem nup̃ Prioratus seu hospitalis Sc̃i Johis Jerlm in Angl existeñ Necnon totum boscum nr̃m ꝛ p̃ram nr̃am vocat̃ Bayhurst in here-

feld in dc̃o Com̃ nr̃o Mid̃d. Ac om̃ia ꝛ singula mesuagia, grangias, molendina, p̃ras, ten̄, prata, pascuas, pastur̄, cõias, vasta, iampna, brueras, mariscos, boscos, subboscos, [etc. etc.] cuiuscumq; sint gen̄is nature vel speciei, [etc.] dc̃o Man̄io vocat̄ Morehall in herefeld et dc̃e Rc̃orie ꝛ eccl̃ie de herefeld quoquomodo spectañ vel ꝑtineñ [etc.] Ac eciam aduocac̃oem, donac̃oem, lib̃am disposic̃oem ꝛ ius p̃ronatus vicarie eccl̃ie parochialis de herefeld in dc̃o Com̃ ñro Mid̃d. Tenend̃ de nob̃, hered̃ ꝛ successorib; n̄r̃is in capite ꝑ s̄uiciū vicesime partis vnius feod̃ militis ac reddend̃ annuatim nob̃, [etc.] de p̃dc̃o Man̄io vocat̄ Morehall ꝛ dc̃a Rc̃oria de herefeld ꝛ ce᷑is p̃missis in herefeld p̃dict̄ quadraginta solid̃. Concedim̄ q̃d idem Rob̃tus, hered̃ ꝛ assign̄ sui dece᷑o imp̃p̃m h̃ebunt, tenebunt ꝛ gaudebunt ꝛ in vsus suos ꝑpios con᷑tere ac h̃ere, [etc.] valeant ꝛ possint dc̃as Rc̃orias ꝛ eccl̃ias de herefeld, [etc.] ac om̃es decimas, oblac̃oes, t̄ras, glebas ꝛ ce᷑a ꝑficua ꝛ emolumenta quecumq; eidem Rc̃orijs seu ear; alt̄ quoquo modo spectañ vel ꝑtineñ adeo plene ꝛ integre, [etc.] ꝑut vltimus prior, [etc.] In cuius rei ꝛc. T. R. apud Berechurch xviij die Augusti.

T. H.

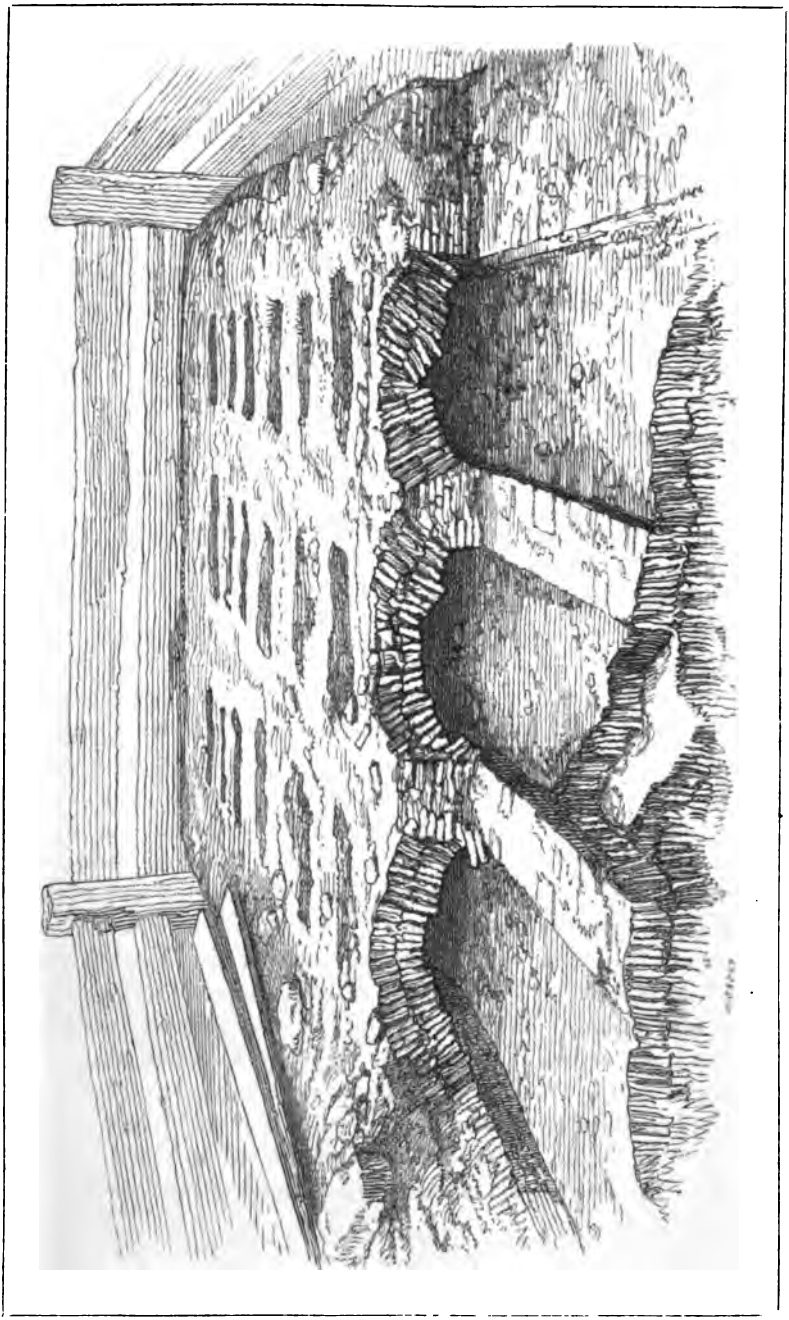
[MOOR HALL, IN HAREFIELD].

MEDIEVAL KILN FOR BURNING ENCAUSTIC TILES DISCOVERED NEAR FARRINGDON ROAD, CLERKENWELL.

BY JOHN EDWARD PRICE.

The excavations for the Metropolitan Railway from Paddington to Farringdon Street have brought to light many objects of antiquarian interest, to which the attention of the Society has been directed, but the subject of the present notice has from its novelty perhaps the greatest claim on our consideration.

Kilns employed in the fabrication of those decorative tiles, so plentiful in some of the mediæval churches, have been discovered in many parts of England, and are duly recorded in the journals of our Antiquarian Societies; but up to the present time I am not aware that any such remains have been found in London. In different parts of the city, furnaces once used by Roman potters have been uncovered; but there is not, I think, any previous instance of a kiln for firing encaustic tiles. That now before us is close to the Farringdon Street Station, and occupies a portion of the site of Bowling Street, Peter Street, and a number of densely populated courts and alleys which, with their many intricacies, here led down to the Fleet Ditch. The entire demolition of this neighbourhood, and the great accumulation of rubbish, doubtless from the "Great Fire," render measurements uncertain; but the kiln rests upon the natural clay of the locality, and its position is some 14 feet from the surface level of Turnmill Street, or on the natural bank of the Fleet River. The kiln is about 16 feet long and 10 feet wide, and will be seen to consist of three parallel arches which average 2 feet wide by 1 foot high, separated from each other by a pier of about 12 inches in width. Soon after its discovery, it was carefully photographed at the suggestion of Mr. Alfred White, and subsequently sketched by Mr. John Franklin, to whom we are indebted for the drawing from which the annexed illustration has been made.



These arches constitute the furnaces, and support a level floor, which is pierced, at equal distances, with a series of openings each 2 feet long by 5 inches wide. Through these the heat would rise from below for firing the tiles. On the spaces between the apertures the tiles were probably placed, either laid in "saggers," if the nature of the fuel rendered protection from smoke necessary, or, what is more likely, simply stacked for burning. There are thirty of these openings remaining, though in some instances the intervening spaces have fallen away. The entire structure is composed of plain tiles, similar to those used for roofing purposes. These, in such exposed situations as the sides and roof of the furnaces, have "run" together, and become covered with a highly vitreous glaze, though where protected from the heat they are of a bright red colour, and as perfect as when first used. They are also made to serve as the paved floor or fireplace of the kiln; the three arches, as well as the intermediate piers, being built upon two rows of such tiles, one overlaying the other, and placed vertically; this well-made flooring forms a solid foundation of about 14 inches in thickness. In the furnaces the tiles composing it have been cemented together, and the mortar afterwards smoothed over to present a hard and even surface for the reception of the fuel. This layer is as strong as ever, and was apparently a great preventive against the edges of the tiles becoming broken and injured by the action of the fire. In it has been traced a great quantity of burnt wood; so possibly charcoal was the fuel employed, which is the more probable from there having been discovered no sign of flue or aperture for the escape of smoke. The rubbish immediately overlaying the kiln principally consisted of broken tiles and bricks. These, doubtless, formed part of the wall of the kiln, which would be built up to a certain height around the perforated floor. In clearing away the rubbish, a few tiles were discovered; they are of different sizes, but all of familiar types, and appear to be but refuse tiles, spoilt and blistered in the burning, and consequently thrown on one side as unfit for use; many though glazed are quite plain and devoid of pattern; some have the figure of white clay laid in *cavetto*, but unglazed,

while others indicate how both device and glaze have been destroyed by excessive heat. Among the designs we may mention the fleur-de-lys in bloom, and double-headed eagle—devices frequently met with on tiles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of such, Gloucester, Oxford, Worcester, and Malvern have numerous examples, and similar specimens are to be met with in many other of our ancient country churches.

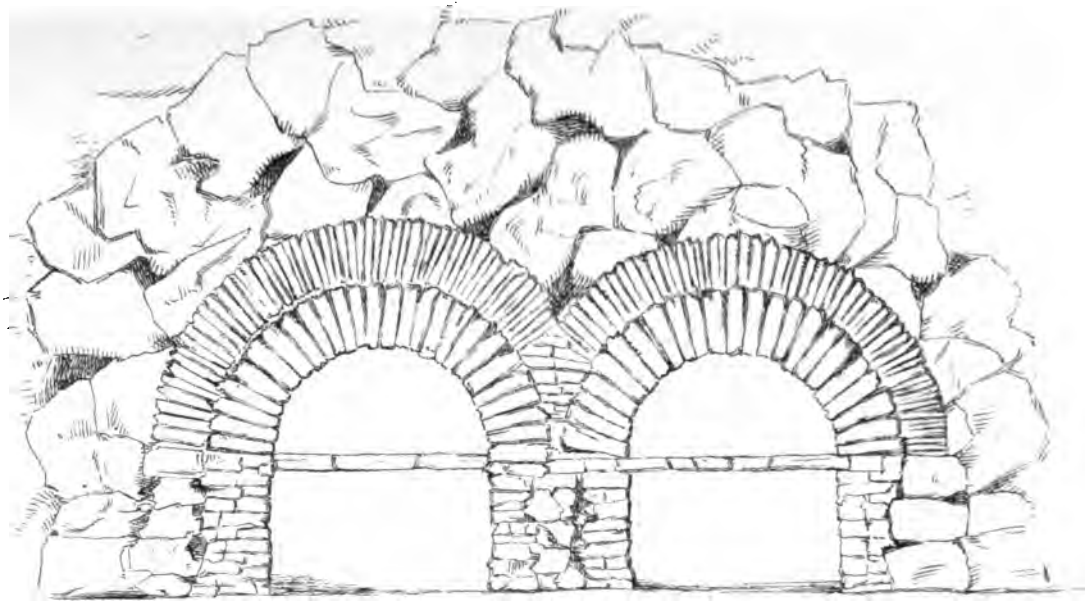
We learn from the writings of Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A.* that *Worcestershire* gave the first proofs of these interesting fictile decorations being the ancient manufacture of our own country, by the discovery within its boundaries of two kilns.

The most important of these was found in 1833 by Harvey Eginton, Esq. on some land belonging to the priory of Great Malvern. Its construction is shown by the accompanying illustration, for the loan of which we are indebted to Mr. Jewitt, who has also very kindly favoured me with full particulars of the discovery. It was 7 feet beneath the surface, and consisted of two semi-circular arches, separated from each other by a massive pier. The kiln was 35 feet long, and the width of the openings 2 feet 3 inches. The arches were formed of both brick and tiles, firmly backed up with Malvern rag-stone. In each of them occurred a flooring of stone, as shown in the illustration; this division was about 2 feet from the ground, 2 inches in thickness, and upon it at the time of the discovery were found numerous tiles lying in their places, as Mr. Jewitt remarks they did "when the fire smouldered away beneath them four centuries before." As in the London kiln, there appeared to be no aperture for the escape of smoke. The place for the fire was on the ground, which from long continued heat "had become of extreme hardness, and had all the appearance of a thick pavement of limestone." The tiles discovered were identical with some at present existing in both Great and Little Malvern churches.†

The other kiln referred to was discovered in 1837 at St.

* British Archæological Association Journal, vol. iv.

† A full description of both these kilns was contributed by Mr. Jewitt at the congress of the Archæological Institute at Worcester.



TILE KILN DISCOVERED AT MALVERN.

From a sketch made for Llewellynn Jewitt F.S.A. by the late Harvey Eginton, Esqre

Mary Witton, near Droitwich. It consisted of two arches like those at Malvern, and divided in like manner by a strong intermediate pier. They were composed of both tile and brick, and in them a considerable quantity of charcoal was also found. The tiles that were preserved were thought to be of the thirteenth century, and are now in the museum at Worcester. Similar kilns have been found in Wiltshire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire, and within the last few years traces of such remains have been met with at Hastings in Sussex. In the twelfth volume of the Sussex Archæological Collections, Mr. Thomas Ross, local secretary to the Society, communicates an account of seven or eight kilns for the manufacture of medieval pottery being discovered in a field at Bohemia, near Hastings. Among these he found that some had evidently been employed in the fabrication of glazed tiles, but they were so much broken and crushed that it was difficult to form any very accurate notion of their construction. In a letter from him on the subject, he informs me that the arches were formed of sandstone, and paved with small pieces of the same material, rudely put together without cement of any kind; from the quantity of burnt red clay among the tiles, he considers the roofing to have been formed of clay, as in the Malvern kiln; some were *unpaved*, the natural sandrock forming the bottom. In these cases it is obvious that with so firm a natural foundation there would not be the necessity for constructing so elaborate a flooring as where, like the Clerkenwell kiln, the structure was placed on the soft clay. The pottery and tiles found at Hastings are very primitive in their design, and Mr. Ross assigns them to the thirteenth century or even earlier. Among them were many unglazed, about three-quarters of an inch in thickness, and perforated with a number of small holes, each about the sixteenth of an inch in diameter; others were decorated with early patterns, and are illustrated in the Journal I have referred to.

I would observe that in the year 1843, during the progress of some excavations in Cloth Fair on the site of part of the ancient priory of St. Bartholomew, many glazed tiles of early workmanship were found; and in the present restorations of the church,

numerous examples, similar to those from the kiln, have been discovered among the rubbish, giving additional weight to the conjecture that, the kiln being situated so near to the priory, and in equal proximity to that of St. John's Clerkenwell, it may centuries since have been employed in the manufacture of decorative tiles for both these places. I would here record my obligations to T. Marr Johnson, Esq. resident engineer, and his representative Mr. Armstrong, for their readiness in affording every facility for the proper investigation of the discovery.

ROMAN INTERMENT IN WEST SMITHFIELD.

BY JOHN EDWARD PRICE.

In the course of the extensive excavations for the Finsbury Extension of the Metropolitan Railway, many specimens of Pottery have been exhumed which possess interest as relics of Roman London. Those now to be referred to were found adjoining the remains of a skeleton that had been inclosed in a wooden cist, several feet from the surface of the ground, and the site of their discovery is the north-west corner of Smithfield, not far from West Street, and near where the two inns, the Ram and the Rose, were standing but a short time since.

Roman Antiquities have occasionally been found in this locality, and there have been several instances to prove that it was in use by the Romans as a place of sepulture. At the corner of Clothfair an urn, containing burnt bones, was discovered a few years back, and similar relics have been brought to light in Giltspur Street, in front of St. Sepulchre's Church. During the formation of a new sewer in Cock Lane numerous bone pins, mortaria, Samian ware, and other objects, were found in conjunction with human remains.

In the case of the discovery now to be described, a skeleton was inclosed in a coffin or cist, with a small black urn of Upchurch ware placed at the crown of the skull. The other objects, a patera, ampulla, mortarium, &c., such as are usually found in Roman sepulchres, were near the left-hand side of the cist. There was not sufficient of the wood remaining to measure with accuracy the length of the coffin, but it appeared to have been but little over four feet. It was lying east and west, slightly inclined to the north-east. The body had been placed on small transverse pieces of wood unworked, and of varying thickness; these had the appearance of having been branches of trees cut up into equal lengths. They were lying on the London clay, the bones upon them; and pieces of timber had been placed around to form the sides, head, and foot of the cist, much in the same

way as the tile tombs of the Romans were constructed, which have from time to time been discovered in different parts of London.

Various forms of burial were adopted by the Romans during their sojourn here; such as burning the remains, and placing the ashes on a single tile; depositing them in funeral urns, or burying the body entire, either with or without lime, in coffins of lead, stone, or wood, a practice which after the introduction of Christianity is said to have been more prevalent than that of "cremation." The antiquities are those usually found buried with the deceased in Roman cemeteries, and afford additional evidence of the very uniform plan on which funeral rites were conducted by the survivors. Such vessels are generally found in groups of three and four, and are presumed to have been articles in domestic use forming part of the household property of the defunct. In the present instance they are of the lowest order of ceramic manufacture, but manifest the same plan of burial as that employed by the higher classes. From the position of the body, and the extreme lateness of the pottery, the interment might possibly be referred to the early Christian times, somewhat corroborated by the finding of a small coin of Gratian, having on the reverse "GLORIA NOVI SÆCULI,"—a soldier with a shield and labarum, on which appears the monogram of Christ. There was an entire absence of personal ornaments, glass, or any of the higher forms of earthenware, and from the rude character of the pottery it may be assumed that the possessor belonged to the humblest grade of Roman life.

Some few objects of mediæval date were discovered during the progress of the excavations, and the quantities of gravel and sand that were found clearly demonstrated how erroneous is the supposition that in days gone by Smithfield was little better than a marsh or swamp.

THE ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN FOR ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

BY ARTHUR ASHPITEL, F.S.A.

It is well known that in the Library of All Souls' College Oxford there is a very curious and valuable collection of the drawings of the great architect Sir Christopher Wren, but it is not so well known that there is also an extremely interesting collection of those relating to the building of St. Paul's, preserved in the library attached to that cathedral. They have been carefully collected, laid down, and bound in two large volumes, each more than two feet square and three inches thick.

There can be no doubt most of them are the actual working drawings from which the cathedral was constructed. Through the great liberality and kindness of the dean and chapter, the collection was laid before an unusually full meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, and attracted so much attention that I was requested to go through them carefully, and give such a description of them as might be printed among their transactions; that, should any accident occur (and these are unfortunately not always to be avoided even by the most vigilant and careful), some record should be preserved of their nature and value. It seems especially the province of a Society which makes London the chief object of its investigations to do this, and I can only feel regret that the task is not allotted to abler hands than my own.

The drawings in general are strictly technical, being intended evidently for use and not for show. But the amount of thought and painstaking care, the deep consideration of every detail of construction, the labour with which the designs have been altered and varied to meet difficulties, to suit circumstances, and still more often to improve effects, can only be appreciated by the eye accustomed to investigate the

mysteries of plans, elevations, and sections. At the same time it is curious to observe how all unnecessary labour has been avoided. Where the two halves of a portico or tower, a chapel, or even lesser details are both exactly alike, one half only has been delineated, and in all instances scales, and in most figured dimensions, are carefully given. No shading or colour is used except where absolutely necessary. The drawings convey an extraordinary idea of the powers of conception and at the same time the purpose and business habits of the author. Such qualities could scarce have been expected from the son of a dean, the nephew of a bishop, from one who had passed his whole life in the lore of Oxford, or the club* at Gresham House, the writing of Latin verse, the study of astronomy, the labours of anatomical dissection, the invention or perfection of mezzotint engraving. All these had engaged his attention, but as far as we can learn he had never superintended the laying of a brick, or valued a foot of material, and he never had been out of England at the time he was called on to report† on the state of the most important edifice in the Metropolis. The key to all seems to have been, that in addition to great natural taste, originality of thought, and industry of mind, he had a profound knowledge of mathematics. It was this enabled him to design the roof of the Sheldonian Theatre, which bears on the walls without thrust (and they are without buttresses), and is an example of construction of so great a span and yet so light, that it was not only believed it would fail, but report declared it actually had done so.

But the greatest wonder is where he acquired sufficient theoretical knowledge of architecture to design as artistically as he did. The troubles of the nation and the Civil Wars had effectually put a stop to all public building, and Wren was but 16 years of age when the execution of the King took place. He was but 18 when Inigo Jones died in his 80th year, ruined and broken-hearted by persecution and extortion. It is generally supposed that elegant architecture had entirely ceased as an art for at least a quarter of

* Afterwards the Royal Society.

† He was appointed to do this in 1661, and did not commence the designs for the Sheldonian Theatre, his first work, till 1663.

a century. Had Wren travelled through France and Italy during this period as Evelyn did, it might be easily understood how he acquired such knowledge; but he did not go out of England till 1665, when he visited Paris, and made the acquaintance of Bernini. Evelyn, after his return from his famous tour, first made Wren's acquaintance in 1654. The former, it is well known, took great interest in architecture, and published a translation of Freart's Parallel in 1664, and it is very probable he might have brought with him many drawings and books on the subject which Wren may have studied. Evelyn was evidently acquainted with the works of Palladio, Scammozzi, Serlio, and Vignola, the last of whom died in 1616. Be this as it may, the the seeds of the art seem to have been planted in Wren's mind, and to have burst out into full vigour after his visit to France.

Old St. Paul's was built on the site of an ancient Saxon church, said to have been originally founded by Ethelbert, the bishop being Mellitus. In the reign of the Conqueror the old church was burnt down in a great fire which destroyed a very large part of the city. In 1083 Bishop Mauritius began to rebuild the cathedral on a magnificent scale, using the remains of an old building called the Palatine Tower, given him by the King for that purpose. In 1221, we are told, the great central tower was built, and from that time we find frequent hortatory letters from the succeeding bishops, inciting the people to go on with the "new work," that is, the choir, presbytery, and Lady-chapel. The high altar was contracted for in 1309, and the pavement laid in 1312. At this time we may suppose the whole to have been finished, except the cloisters and chapter-house. The dimensions then taken are stated to have been, 690 feet in length, 130 feet in breadth; the west part, 102 feet high to the groining, 150 to the ridge; the choir, 88 feet from the pavement *i.e.* exclusive of the crypt; the tower and spire together 520 feet. It is said to have covered 3¾ acres of ground. These measurements are evidently incorrect, or they include other buildings.* Those given by the late Mr. J. Gwilt are probably nearer the truth.

* The whole churchyard is now only 680 feet in length.

They are, nave 335 feet long, 91 broad; transepts, 297 feet; choir, 163 feet. According to this author, old St. Paul's stood fourth in the list of cathedrals in point of size, Winchester, Ely, and Canterbury being larger.

As our business is with the drawings before us rather than with the old fabric, it will be sufficient shortly to state its condition before the fire. The Norman nave had been considerably out of repair for some time, the vaulting had settled, and the piers and arches gone much out of the perpendicular. The tower had also settled through the failure of the piers. The spire had been burned down by the carelessness of a plumber in 1561. The fire reached the other roofs, and entirely consumed the whole. They were replaced at great expense, but nothing was done to the rest of the fabric. At length early in the reign of Charles the First a royal commission was issued, and the work placed in the hands of Inigo Jones. Under his direction the outside of the nave and transepts were repaired and cased with Portland stone, the west front being nearly rebuilt with two flanking turrets. The Norman windows, having been of course circular-headed, were converted easily into Roman by the help of some classic dressings. As is well known, the old nave had been used as a place of rendezvous for business or idle gossiping for many years; to remedy this evil and yet provide a covered place of meeting, a Corinthian portico was built, which, however incongruous, must have been a fine feature in itself, being 200 feet in front, 50 feet deep, and 40 feet high. The vaulting inside was secured with centering, the tower and its piers shored up, and every preparation made for a thorough repair of the interior. However at this period the Civil Wars broke out, the clergy were expelled, their revenues seized, and the cathedral turned into stables for the cavalry. The scaffolds and timber were given to Colonel Jephson's regiment, instead of 1,746*l.* arrears due to them, and, together with the organ, screen, and stall work, were sold. The buyers, to save trouble, dug holes in the church for saw-pits, and cut up the timber there in such sizes as suited their purposes before they took the stuff away. As soon as the supports were removed, the south

transept and some portions of the other roofs fell in. Things remained in this state till the King's return, but it was not till 1666 that the commission took active steps to consider the restoration. Evelyn records how on the 27th of August he went with Wren and the commissioners to examine the building. We gather from the drawings at All Souls' and the other accounts that it was first intended to convert the inside of the nave, as the outside had been, into a species of Roman architecture, and to take down the central tower and build a large cupola in its place. Some debate seems to have taken place on this last point, the "steeple," as it was generally called, being an object of much veneration. However a few short days settled the matter, for on the second of September the great fire broke out and destroyed the entire church and nearly the entire city.* Even the beautiful crypt under the choir perished, the massive upper groining having fallen down and broken through the pavement and lower vaulting, and bearing the burning timber with it.

Having the idea that this part of the fabric at any rate was fire-proof, the Stationers' Company had removed a vast quantity of books and manuscripts thither for safety. The precious store, valued at that time at 200,000*l.*, burned for an entire week before it was all consumed: what it would fetch if preserved to the present day, it is impossible even to surmise.

It would occupy too much space to detail the careful inquiries and long correspondence between Bishop Sancroft and Wren as to whether it might be possible to retain any part of the old fabric. The result however was, that the few portions of vaultings left begun to fall in; Inigo Jones's work, the main support of the exterior walls, had yielded to the force of the fire. The task was proved to be hopeless, and it was resolved the Cathedral must be entirely rebuilt.

The history of Wren's original design, in one order only, and of the form of a Greek cross in plan; the manner in which he was interfered with by the Duke of York; the change of design to the present, entailing the concealed flying buttresses and

* Evelyn estimated that six parts out of seven of the city were utterly consumed.

screen wall which was forced on him, and is said to have been received with such sorrow as to have drawn tears from his eyes, are generally known, and will be best illustrated by the collection of drawings now before us, to the description of which we now proceed.

The first of these drawings consists of plans and sections of part of the present crypt, with the details of the vaulting.

There then are seven drawings of the portico at the west front, shewing the columns, steps, &c., also of the geometrical staircase, the morning-prayer chapel, the consistorial court, and the entrances to the north and south transepts.

A curious drawing, inscribed "Plan of ye leg of ye Dome," carefully drawn and shewing the different stages by different colours.

Five other drawings of the dome, its various stages and bearings.

A quarter plan of the marble paving under the same.

A plan inscribed "Morning Prayer Chappell," showing the seats, and with instructions where the wainscot-work is to be fixed.

Plan of part of south transept. On this is written "A pier, which has been repaired." This is the first pier to the right on entering the transept, or the south-eastern pier. What repair was needed, or why, does not appear. If it were a failure, it seems to have been the only one about the whole fabric.

Two elevations in pencil of the west front, as it is at present, in two orders; but there are ornaments something like pinnacles over the columns.

Two others in outline, Indian ink, of the east end of choir and the flank, nearly as at present carried out.

Elevation of the east side of the transept, with part of internal section.

The same of the north side, from the west front to the transept.

All these are as executed, and are beautifully drawn in simple lines.

Two drawings, one marked "Design for over the North Portico," but unlike the present work.

An elevation of the north side, with three blank windows in the screen-wall. A hasty cross with a pen has been struck through these windows, as if the architect was angry at what had been forced upon him, and would have escaped it if possible.

Several elevations of the details of the transept and north side to a larger scale.

A large-scale working drawing of part of the interior, on which is written "A. The bottom of ye window which is in the great Tribune* of the steeple."

"B. The Impost of ye same window."

Several detail drawings, one of which is marked "Coyn of a Vestry;" one of those in the transept. The walls are figured as 14 feet thick.

Two very graceful designs for doors.

A large-scale elevation and section of the ball and cross, showing its construction and the iron-work by which it is supported. The ball is figured as 6 feet 9 inches diameter; the cross 10 feet diameter beside the nuts, and the whole 26 feet 11½ inches high.

Profiles of the different orders, very carefully drawn.

Drawings of acroteria, marked "design for east end outside." One of these is surmounted by an open book, behind which are flames.

A large folding elevation of the west front, the lower part very nearly as executed, but the turrets and dome are very different; the latter is very elegant, with lucarnes and large escallop shells, all in simple Indian ink lines.

Several engravings: old and new St. Paul's by Loggan; the former apparently copied from Hollar; Gwyn's large section, and perspectives by Müller and Schwert Fäger.

Nine drawings of internal work carefully drawn and some of them shaded with bistre.

A section of the transept, showing the stone hemisphere over the portico, with the details—a very able construction, especially as to the water joints.

Six other drawings of internal details.

* What we call the choir of a cathedral is always called the "tribune" abroad, and properly so, as it is the *βημα* of the Greeks, and the tribune of the Roman Basilica.

Two engravings, internal views by Müller.

A number of careful drawings, being various designs for the screen stall work, organ screen, &c. in the choir. One is marked, "Outside front in ye side isles." Another, "The prp^l^ person^e^ (*i. e.* principal personage) and my Ld Major."

A large scale drawing of the altar-rail figured 2 feet 9 inches high, and inscribed, "Summum altare paulinū."

A sketch of part of a chandelier inscribed, "Chandelier pour la Eglise de St Paul, London, Octob. 21st, 1697." Though written in French, the writing is similar to that on the other drawings. This would lead one to suppose that it was to have been made abroad. The large brass sconces common in the old churches are said to be of Flemish manufacture.

In the second volume are the following drawings, viz.

A plan, from which an internal perspective view has evidently been made.

Seven careful working plans, chiefly of the angles of the building, the plinths drawn in ink, and the superstructure in red chalk.

Eight large geometrical engravings of St. Paul's, the lower part as it is, but the domes and turrets vary in each.

Three engravings of the original design, that in the form of the Greek cross, by Hulsbergh. On one of these is written, probably by the younger Wren, in Latin:—"The geometrical representation of this Basilica, in a very large wooden model, with with much art and expense, having been elaborated and carved, was exhibited some time ago, but since this model, through carelessness, has at this time been miserably broken, and all but dashed to pieces, Christopher Wren, gentleman, has published these copper plates, that the present and the future age may perceive the intention of that most celebrated architect. A^no^ D. MDCCXXVI."

A large engraving of the present building by Fourdrinier.

A large-scale drawing of the details of the lower part of the dome, showing the parts in brick and in stone, the ties, &c.

A number of sections and other detail drawings, showing the vaulting of the nave, the flying buttresses, screen-wall, &c.

A quantity of drawings, nearly fifty in number, containing different details, and also alternative designs. About half of these are for various western fronts, turrets, and domes. Of this last feature there are ten at least, all so good as to leave one in doubt which is preferable. Scarce anything would better show the fertility of the invention of the author, as they all not only vary in design, but also in construction. Some are plain domes; some hollow like that of St. Peter's, or of Santa Maria dei Fiori at Florence; some have a lower dome, which is hemispherical, and an upper, which is elliptical or parabolical; some have the principle now carried out of a lower dome, circular in section, outside which is a conical dome carrying the lantern. One is based on a very original idea. Below, looking at the exterior, is a basement story with square windows, above which is a balustrade forming a gallery. Above this is the main order of the tambour set back from the balustrade, and above this is a circular dome, the lantern of which is not drawn. Viewed internally, there is first a circular dome with a gallery, from whence to look down, the opening or eye being about half the diameter. Rising from the abutments of this is a dome, conical for about half its height, and surmounted with a hemispherical dome in two thicknesses, like that at St. Peter's as before described. The lantern of one of the designs is surmounted by a very curious and not unpleasing feature, a sort of cage of twisted copper work gilt, somewhat in the shape of an almond, which finishes with a vane. It is much to be regretted that there are no dates and very few inscriptions on these drawings; had there been, it would have afforded a very interesting study of the train of thought by which our great architect arrived at his results. It is known he was interfered with in the general idea of his design again and again by the Duke of York, and it is not at all improbable that it was the same as to details.

Following these drawings are four, being designs for surrounding the cathedral with a magnificent piazza, much like that commenced by Inigo Jones at Covent Garden, and of which one side only was carried out. The west end of this proposed inclosure, looking down Ludgate Hill, was intended to have had a circular pavilion 60 feet in diameter.

Several considerations impress themselves on the mind on going through this most valuable and interesting collection. One of the first is the great advantage an architect possessed in that day in having power to make alterations from time to time as his work progressed, and to amend and improve as the reality grew up and developed itself out of ideas he previously could only have been able to express on paper. The custom then was to employ different sets of masters with their journeymen on each different trade. There was no such person as a general contractor. In the city of London it was forbidden to a plumber to undertake glazier's or painter's work, unless *é speciali gratiâ* he was free of all three companies. Agreements were made with master bricklayers, master masons, master carpenters, joiners, plumbers, painters, glaziers, in short, through all the trades connected with a building. A price was arranged per rod, per foot, per hundredweight, for any thing required, and the work measured and paid for at various periods as it was executed This gave the architect time for thought, and for opportunity of judging his design, and correcting and amending it, particularly in its details. It is true it was then difficult to predict the ultimate cost; but in these days the hurried pressure put on the architect to get ready his entire plans, even to the minutest portions of his details, and the consequent chances of omissions and of errors, and the "contractor system," when "a sharp cutting builder" is set in antagonism with him, leads frequently to uncertainty as to cost and to that dreaded word "extras," while the fabric loses those graces which only mature thought can give.

As has been well said by Mr. Beresford Hope, "in former times thousands were given where we now dole out hundreds, and years where we grudge months, in building our churches."

The power of alteration from time to time may partly account for the purity of all Wren's details; still it must be remembered that no length of time will give judgment and taste to those who are deficient in such qualities: and, though the modern architect may sigh for Wren's opportunities, he does not the less admire his genius.

This last quality is shewn in the admirable way in which he

escaped from difficulties, or adapted his work to circumstances, the worst of all of which was, no doubt, the dictation of others. It has been the fashion to criticize the screen walls at St. Paul's; but it may be asked whether any one could devise a better expedient when the alteration was forced on him. Is there one out of ten thousand of the multitude who stop and gaze at the building every day who is aware that such an expedient was resorted to, or that a *quasi* unreality exists? How many of those who talk of this could explain how it has been constructed, and the reasons which led to such a course? Again there has been animadversion on the employment of timber about the cupola. These constructions cannot be completed in stone; there must be some material to keep out the weather. The dome of St. Peter's is covered with lead, that of Santa Maria dei Fiori with tiles. What matter is it then whether this necessary covering lies on a dome of stone or brick or timber? The real difficulty is to carry the lantern properly, and this has been done at St. Paul's in the most masterly way. It is only to be regretted that the original design is not more known. That is a construction *sans réproche*. It is one of the misfortunes to which an architect is obnoxious, that he is criticized for faults which are not his own; for want of space, for want of funds, for want of time, and, worse than all, for the vagaries of employers and the caprices of fashion. Wren's genius, however, has outlived all this. It is said that some rabid would-be medievalist wished he could put powder enough into the crypt to blow St. Paul's into the air: and it is true that a very talented architect who shortly after became mad went down on his knees and thanked the Almighty he had seen some cracks in the dome of St. Peter's. These, however, are rare exceptions.

It has been objected to the classic architect that he designs pagan temples, and it has been very pertinently asked what has the shrine of Erectheus, or that of Theseus at Athens, to do with Christian churches? It may be answered that the aspirations of the heart rise to the throne of the Almighty from temples once dedicated to Vesta, or Fortuna Virilis, as well as from Milan

Cathedral; that the early Christians were commanded not to destroy the Pagan temples, but to purify them and apply them to a holier worship: that Boniface IV.* did not destroy the Pantheon, sacred to all the false gods, but gloried, when he had obtained it from the Emperor Phocas, in dedicating it to the memory of all the Martyrs. And it may still further be urged that Gothic architecture never took root in Rome. From the days when St. Paul preached to our own, when the church of *San Paolo fuori le mura* is in course of construction, classic architecture, and that with but one sole exception, has been used in the Eternal City. On the other hand, it is true that we are not Romans, but of Anglo-Saxon blood, and that the architecture of our ancestors commends itself to our feelings in building churches more than the chaste classicality of Italy.

Like most matters of taste, the truth lies elsewhere than between any two isolated debateable points. It must never be lost sight of that, though the early Christians adapted heathen fanes to their worship as they found them, yet, whenever they *built*, their model was the *basilica*, and not the temple. And here no doubt has been the error of the past generation; an admiration of the unquestioned beauties of Greek art led to its being used and forced into the most incongruous places. But this was an error Wren never fell into. Not one of his churches resembles the Pagan temple. In every case he has had the architecture of the early Christians prominently before his mind, and we need not dilate on the success which has attended his designs.

It seems singular at first sight that Wren had no direct imitator or successor. Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, and Gibbs appear to have followed a vein of their own; in fact it was about that time that the temple portico seems first to have come into vogue.† St. George's Bloomsbury and St. Martin's in the Fields may be cited as examples. But, like Shakespeare, Wren

* See Carranza, Summa Concilium, Bonifacius IV.

† Inigo Jones had placed a Tuscan portico in front of St. Paul's, Covent Garden but this example was not followed for nearly half a century afterwards.

seems to have stood alone in his art, and, as it does not appear he had any pupils, it is the less to be wondered at that he had no direct school.

One saddening remembrance only is attached to this great man, and that is the unworthy treatment he met with at the close of his life. It is true that he was libelled and vilified, turned out of his offices, and succeeded by an empty pretender; but Pope was scarcely correct in saying,

> When Wren with sorrow to the grave descends;

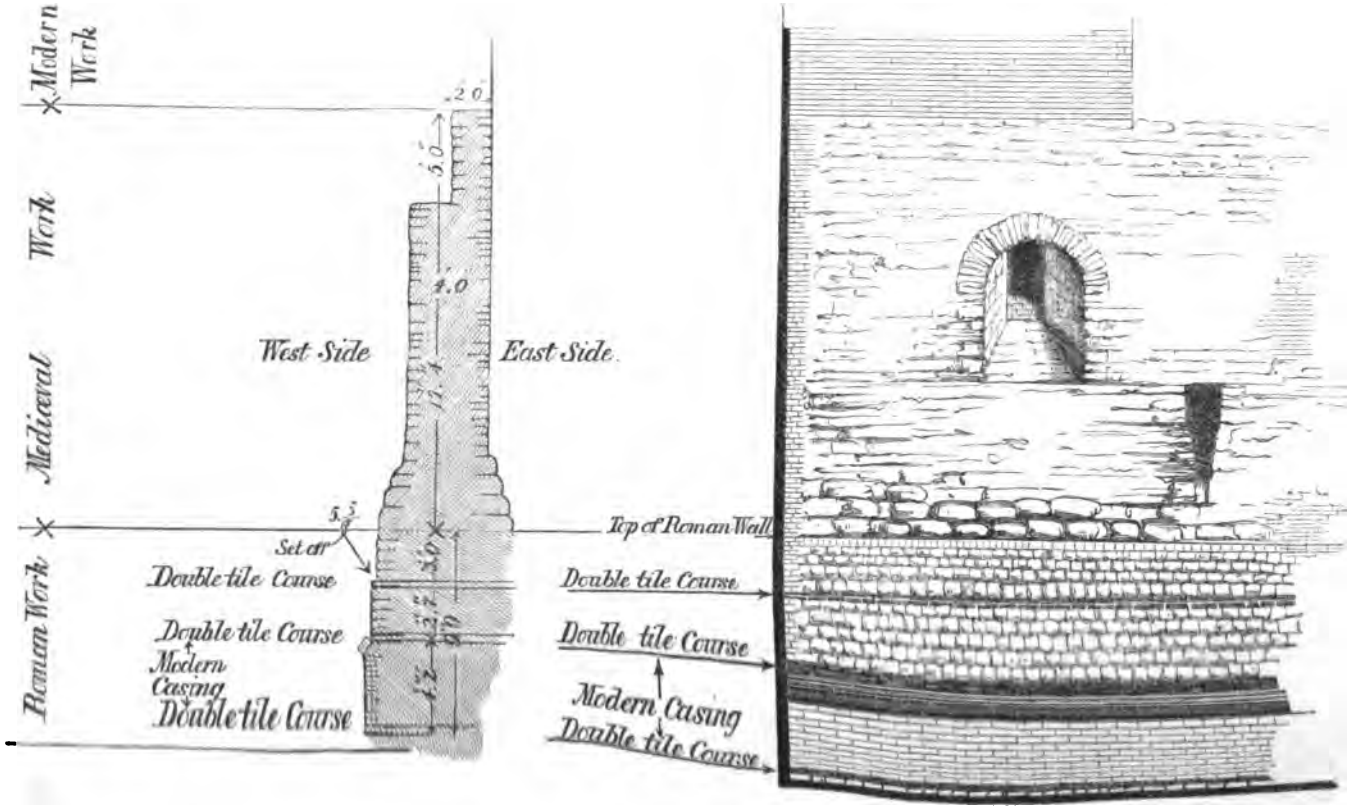
for the dunce showed his incompetence, and was kicked out within a twelvemonth, and Wren's reputation vindicated; and he lived in a calm and tranquil retirement for some years afterwards. That he was treated most harshly and unworthily is too true, but it is a blot on the times, and not on himself.

I can now only conclude this short and imperfect notice by sincere thanks to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for their courtesy and kindness, which has enabled me to do somewhat on a subject which must deeply interest every member of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

THE CITY WALL OF LONDON.

BY FREDERICK WALLEN, ESQ.

A portion of the ancient wall of London was discovered in Cooper's Row, Crutched Friars, while preparing for the erection of a warehouse there. The length of this piece of wall is one hundred and six feet six inches. The lower part is Roman, and the upper part mediæval. The latter consists of rubble, chalk, and flints, and is seventeen feet four inches high to the foot face, which is two feet wide, and has a parapet or breast wall five feet high and two feet thick. It is much defaced by holes cut for the insertion of timbers of modern buildings, and is cased in parts with brickwork. On the west side are two semi-circular arched recesses. This mediæval wall is set back and battered at the lower part on both sides, until it reaches the thickness of the Roman wall on which it is built. The Roman wall remains in its primitive state to a depth of five feet seven inches, and in this part is faced with Kentish rag in courses, and has two double rows of tiles. The first course is two feet eight inches from the top, and four inches thick. The second is two feet two inches and a half lower down, and four inches and a half thick. The tiles are from one inch and a quarter to one and three quarters thick, and of the size called *sesquipedales*, viz. a Roman foot wide, and one foot and a half long. They are laid, some length-wise and others cross-wise, as headers and stretchers. At the level of the upper course of tiles is a set-off of half a Roman foot. Below the second course the wall is cased with brickwork forming a modern vault, but at the foot of the brick casing a double row of Roman tiles is again visible three feet nine inches and a half below the last-mentioned course, and these two courses are four inches and a half thick. These tiles come out to the face of the modern brickwork, which is about five inches in advance of the wall above it, so that there would seem to be a second set-off in the wall. One course of rag-stone facing is seen below these tile-courses, but the excavation has not yet reached the foundation of the wall. The total height of Roman wall discovered is ten feet three inches. The upper part of the Roman wall is eight or nine feet thick.


Modern Work
Work
Medieval
Roman Work
West Side
East Side
Top of Roman Wall
Set off
Double tile Course
Double tile Course
Modern Casing
Double tile Course
Double tile Course
Double tile Course
Modern Casing
Double tile Course

BAKERS' HALL,

AND THE MUNIMENTS OF THE COMPANY.

FROM NOTES BY (THE LATE) GEORGE RICHARD CORNER, ESQ. F.S.A., MR. DEPUTY LOTT, F.S.A., JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ. F.S.A., AND THOMAS BREWER, ESQ.

We learn from the venerable London chronicler John Stowe, that in Hart Lane (for Harp Lane) was, in his time, the Bakers' Hall, sometime the dwelling-house of John Chicheley, son of William Chicheley, Alderman of London, (Sheriff in 1409,) brother to William Chicheley, Archdeacon of Canterbury, nephew to Robert Chicheley, Mayor of London, and to Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury.

John Chicheley, citizen and grocer, was elected Chamberlain on St. Matthew's Day, 16th Henry VI. (1437), and he continued in that office, "as a faithful, wise, diligent, and prudent man,"* until the 29th year of the same reign. He married Margaret,

* Journal, 4, fo. 5b.

daughter of Sir Robert Knolles, a brave soldier, who had acquired great riches in the French wars of King Edward III. who in 1380 was one of the leaders of the forces retained and fitted out by Sir John Philpot to aid the Duke of Bretagne,* who in 1381 received the freedom of the City for having, at the head of a large body of armed citizens, dispersed the rebels in St. George's Fields after Wat Tyler had met his fate in Smithfield, and who (temp. Rich. II.), with Sir John de Cobham, petitioned for and obtained the statute establishing the Corporation of the Bridge Wardens, under whom the stone bridge over the Medway at Rochester was erected, and is reputed to have been at Sir Robert's "great cost and charge." He also founded a college within a hospital at Pontefract.†

By the daughter of this gallant soldier, the Chamberlain had twenty-four children;‡ one of whom, Elizabeth, became the wife of Sir Thomas Kiriel (Criol), of Kent, who had been long a prisoner in France, and with her this house in Harp Lane came from Chicheley the Chamberlain to Sir Thomas Kiriel.

Stowe states that "this Elizabeth was secondly married to Sir Ralfe Ashton, Knight-Marshal, and thirdly to Sir John Bourchier, uncle to the late Bourchier Earl of Essex, but she never had child."

It appears that Sir John Bourchier died in 1495, and Dame Elizabeth, his widow, in 1498.§ Her executors and feoffees subsequently conveyed the house in question to one Rogers, a baker, who bought it on behalf of the Company, and it thenceforward became their Hall.‖

The house was destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666, and a new Hall was erected in its place by Sir Christopher Wren.¶ This edifice, which "was beautified in 1683,"* was burned down by a dreadful fire which began in

* Strype's Stow.

† See Archæologia Cantiana, vol. vi. pp. 54, 62, 116, n.

‡ Stowe quotes Leland for this statement; and see also the Chicheley pedigrees, in "Stemmata Chicheleiana."

§ Nicolas's Vetusta Testamenta, i. 422, 436.

‖ MS. letter of the late G. R. Corner, Esq.

¶ Elmes's Sir Christopher Wren and his Times, 432.

Thames Street on the 13th of January, 1714. It was rebuilt in 1719, and was wainscoted and finished in 1722. In 1806 the Hall was new roofed. It is a plain edifice of brick, on the east side of Harp Lane, Tower Street, and is entered under a colonnade of Ionic pillars. The large or upper hall is ornamented with a screen of the Composite order, in which are two arches with carvings of fruit and flowers above, surmounted by a music gallery; and at the north end of the room were formerly three large paintings: one in the centre displaying the arms of the Company; that on the right Justice, with her attributes; and that on the left St. Clement, the patron of the Company. These have now disappeared. The Court room below is spacious and handsome, and is decorated with two Corinthian pilasters at each end. Over the door of entrance are the Royal arms, and over the Master's chair those of the Company; to the right of the chair is a three-quarters portrait of Sir John William Anderson, Bart., a former Master of the Company, and Lord Mayor in 1798; to the left of the chair is a three-quarters length portrait of Walter Anderson Peacock, Esq., Deputy of the Ward of Bishopsgate Without, the active originator of the Bakers' Almshouses at Hackney, and Master of the Company for two successive years; it was presented by him in 1844.

The Company of Bakers has been described as amongst the oldest fraternities in the City. They were denominated *Bolengarii* (from the French *boulanger*).† In the year 1155, in the beginning of Henry II.'s reign, the Bakers were charged in the great roll of the Exchequer with a debt of one mark of gold for their guild, showing that they held their privileges in fee-farm of the Crown.‡ They were divided into two fraternities—the White Bakers and the Brown Bakers. The former of these were a company in the first year of Edward II. 1307, and had a new charter granted to them by Henry VII. which was confirmed by Henry VIII. on 22nd July, in the first year of his reign (1509). This is described as the Company's first charter

* New View of London, ii. 596.

† Maitland's History of London, ii. 1235.

‡ Madox, Firma Burgi. Seymour's London, ii. 368.

of incorporation. Queen Elizabeth, by charter dated 26th May, in the eleventh year of her reign (1569), united the White-Bread Bakers to the Brown-Bread Bakers; but James I. by a charter of the 6th of June, in the nineteenth year of his reign (1621), made the latter a separate corporation; and, lastly, they were again united by a charter of 2nd James II. (1686), and have remained so ever since.

Amongst the eighty-nine Companies of the City the Bakers rank as the nineteenth. The ruling body consists of a Master, four Wardens, and thirty Assistants; and the general body contains the two usual classes of the Yeomanry or Freemen and the Liverymen. Females are entitled and may be summoned to take out the freedom of the Company; but they are not entitled to the Livery.*

By their several charters, the Company possess a general power of overlooking, searching, correcting, punishing, and governing the mystery and all the freemen thereof within the City and suburbs exercising the same, the workmen, servants, and apprentices and all foreigners and others whomsoever exercising the mystery or art of baking any bread to be exposed for sale within the City, suburbs, and liberties, and within two miles of the same (Elizabeth's charter), and to correct offences concerning the trade, and to make laws and ordinances for that purpose, and to inflict and levy fines and penalties for the non-observance thereof; and they are empowered (under James II.'s charter)—in particular within the City and a circumference of twelve miles (the city and liberty of Westminster excepted)†—to view, search, prove, and weigh all bread made and sold by any baker, foreigner, or seller of bread, and to try whether the same be good and of the assize prescribed by law, and in case of finding it unwholesome, or not of due assize, to seize and take the same and distribute it to the poor of the parish where found, and to impose reasonable fines, and levy the same by distress of the goods of offenders.

These powers of search and punishment have, however, not been exercised by the Company since the abolition of the assize

* Report on Municipal Corporations, London, p. 94.

† Ibid. p. 95.

laws by the Act of 3 Geo. IV. c. 16, when it was considered that the trade was entirely thrown open.

The ancient laws, ordinances, and regulations relating to bakers, and the making and sale of bread, are exceedingly numerous, and some of them highly curious and interesting. They are to be found amongst the statutes of the realm, in the collections of civic ordinances and customs—especially the celebrated "Liber Albus," compiled by John Carpenter, town clerk in the reigns of Hen. V. and Hen. VI., and in the records of the Bakers' Company. They regulate with the greatest minuteness the manner in which the assay of bread should be made, and the weight and price of each particular description of loaf—as wastell, cokett, simnell, white, wheaten, household, and other kinds of bread. They prescribe the places at which bread might be sold, and how it should be marked or sealed, and they impose various penalties and punishments for violations of the laws and regulations. As specimens of the severity with which offenders were treated, the following quotation may be made from one of the ancient ordinances contained in the "Liber Albus," viz.:

Whereas some persons do say that the assize of bread and of ale is not so well kept, thro' the taking of fines from bakers and brewsters: It is provided that no Sheriff shall take a fine from bakers or brewsters. And if any Sheriff shall do so, and be convicted of the same, he shall forthwith be removed from the office, and another appointed in his place.

And if any default shall be found in the bread of a baker of the City, the first time let him be drawn upon a hurdle from the Guildhall to his own house, thro' the great streets where there may be most people assembled, and thro' the great streets that are most dirty, with the faulty loaf hanging from his neck.* If a second time he shall be found committing the same offence, let him be drawn from the Guildhall, thro' the great Street of Cheap in manner aforesaid, to the pillory, and let him be put upon the pillory, and remain there at least one hour in the day. And the third time that such default shall be found he shall be drawn, and the oven shall be pulled down, and the baker made to forswear the trade within the City for ever.

* An ancient drawing of this punishment, preserved in the *Liber de Assisis Panis*, a MS. at Guildhall (on the same page as the sketch introduced hereafter, p. 66) has been engraved in the first volume of the Society's Transactions, p. 255.

The muniments of the Company consist of their charters, minute-books, books of account, and other documents of various degrees of importance, and amongst them are some sufficiently interesting to merit particular notice.

Amongst the charters, that granted to the Company by Queen Elizabeth in 1569 is noticeable on account of its being beautifully illuminated, and containing a portraiture of the Queen.

The following is a description of some of the ancient books still in possession of the Company:—

I. The earliest is entitled "The Boke of Rekenyng the gt [grant] of Clothes [i. e., the Company's livery] by nomb^r, from the first day of May, A° 1499, forth." It chiefly consists of lists of names of recipients of the clothing, distinguished by the *white* side and the *brown* side—that is to say, the White Bakers and the Brown Bakers; and at the end are various memoranda of sales of wheat, &c., probably bought by the Wardens on behalf of the Company, each Company being then required to lay up certain stores of corn for provision in case of dearth. This book also contains the following memorial of two deceased members of the fraternity, the first of them being evidently the person who, as before mentioned, purchased for the Company their Hall:—"Mr. Richard Rogers deceased the xiij day of September, A° 1506, and the obet is kept; ye dirige ye xiij day of September, and the mas the xiiij day of Septebre, and lieth in Seynt Botolphis Chirche by Billingsgate. Mr. John French decessed the xiiij day of June, Año 1510, and lyeth in O^r Lady Chappell in Seint Mangnus Chirche."

II. A minute-book of the orders and proceedings of the Court of the Company. The title and a few leaves are wanting. The book at present contains about sixty pages; the date on the first existing page is 12th January, 1536. The following extracts are given as specimens of the control exercised by the Company over its members:—

xvj° die Januarij, A° 1536. It is ordred and agreed by a hole Court that frome hens forthe every baker that doth not seall or marke apparantly on almaner lofe brede, white and wheten and houshold, that it may be knowen of whoes bakyng it is, shall forfaytt and pay without any re-

dempcion as often as he shall be founden defectyff, vj s. viij d. to th'use of the Company. There being present M. Colyns, M. Otryngham, M. Smyth, M. Jakson, M. Morcok, M. Owen, M. Clayton, M. Squier, M. John Morys, M. Clement Towne, M. Wyseham, M. Robynson, M. Morys dd., (ap David), M. Taylour.

xxviij° die Januarij, 1536. At a Court holden the same day, it is agreed by the Master, Wardens, and Assistentz that noe baker shall pay more for wood bitwene this and Mighilmas next comyng than Liij s. iiij d. at the uttermost for a M^l leyd at his dore. And who of the Company that gyveth above that price shall forfayt xl s.—the oon halff to the hall, the other halff to the taker. There being present, M. Colyns, &c. (*Side note*)—Continuatur 8 Junii, A° 1540.

19 Februarij, 1536. The same day Davyd Johns is commaunded to bryng in vj s. viij d. at the next court day for noon-sealyng of his halff-peny manchettes.

xij° Aprilis, A° 1537. The same day it is agreed by a Court that every ffreeman baker shall seall alle maner ferthyng ware under payn of vj s. viij d. for every iiij ferthyng ware wheresoever and as often as they be found.

Also that no maner p'sone send any maner kynde of brede into Chepeside to selle iij peny lofes for ii d., or white half peny brede for like somme, upon payne of xx s. as often as they be found; wherof x s. to be to the Hall, and x s. to the taker.

vij° Februarij, 1537. Jamys Blacknall, at a Court kept the same day promysed to bring in xx s. on Thursday next comyng, and to be judged by the house for ij fawtes—that is to say, for lakkyng xxxvj unces in his grote white lofe, and iiij unces in his peny wheten. [Other fines of this kind are frequent.]

xxij° Februarij, 1537. It is agreed by the hole Court that it shalbe liefull to every of the Company this Lent following to bake soden ware, as symnelles and cracknelles, and also to bake wygges.

ij^do Aprilis, A° 1538. Thomas Spencer was judged by the Court to pay for selling of wigges in Southwerk contrary to the ordenaunce x s., and for his dysobedience in slanderying M. Stag, seying that they should be his wygges, wherof the contrary is confesed by Laurence, servaunt to the said Tho. Spencer, other x s., sm^a xx s., to be brought yn the next Court day, and to be judged by the M. Wardens and their assistents.

21 May. At a Courte there holden William Willyscrofte, servaunt with Thomas Spencer, confessed there openly that he was covenaunt with th same Th. Spencer by ij yeres, and as yet hyderto his said master never presented hym to be sworne in the Hall; and that his master gave hym a jorney peny and so made hym a jornyman, contrary, &c.

10 Feb. 1538. The q^a (quarter) symnell to conteyne this next Lent

xi s. vj d.; the q^{a} wyg, ix s. vj d.: and the q^{a} cracknell, vij s. vj d. Also it is agreed that no baker, a freeman, shall sell or bring to be sold into Chepessyde or into any other place within the liberties of the Citie oute of their houses any wigges or sodden ware, upon payne of x s.; the oone halff to the Hall, the other halff to the taker, and the brede to Newgate.

viij^{o} Augusti, A^{o} 1543. Richard Morys promysed to bring in xl s. the next Court day for his mysbehavo^{rs} and bending his bow within the Kinges Citie of London agenst John Warner.

ij^{o} Octobris, A^{o} 1543. *The Price of Whete.*—It is agreed that no baker shall not gyve nor pay above xij s. for a quarter of the best, under the payne of the ffyne conteyned in our ordenaunce.

xij^{o} Decembris, A^{o} 1543. That no ffreman baker shall gyve any Cristmas loves or othir reward, under payne of xl s.

The same day it is agreed that who so ever gyveth pondage after New Yeres Day next comyng shall pay the forfait of our ordenaunce without redempcion or favour.

vij die Julii, 1545. It ys agreed by the Company of the house that, if they take whete of the Kinges grace, to delyver of every quarter of whete a hundrethe and three quarters in bysket. And if they bake of theyre owne whete, to giffe unto them after ix s. a hundred.

Quinto die Octobr. A^{o} 1545. That George Horde, gentilman, shalle go and be associate in prossession generall and obettes and at alle other tymes withe Robert Bandon.

xxiiij^{to} Feb. 1545. That no baker from Sonday nexte comyng after the date hereof shalle bake no kynde of fferthing brede, that ys to be witte, manchettes, bunes, prykked nor fferthyng wygges, (Frenche bunnes for the straungers excepte,) to serve no tipler nor tavernèr, uppon payne of x s.; the one moyte therof to the taker, and the other moyte to the use of the Halle. (*Side note*)—This acte is made by the hole Company of the howse. (*Addition*)—The xj day of May it ys agreyd by the howse to bake manchetes who will, this acte not withstanding.

xvij Feb. 1 Edw. VI. From hensforth it shalnot be liefull unto any person, baker, free of the said companye of bakers, shall receyve into any their howsse or howsses any woman servaunte to th'entent that any such woman servaunte shuld sett, season, or carry any breade, which might or shuld supply the service of any man servaunt, journeyman covenaunt, or apprentise, uppon payn for every such housholder so doying or sufferying, to th'use of t'hall for every offence duely provyd, xl s.; every journeyman to be payd for his salary xvj d., and not above, and to work as well by night as day, under the like fine of xl s.

Also that noo persone, free baker, from hensforth bake any hoote wiges with butter or oyle to be utteryd to any their customers, uppon payne to forfayt for every such offence to be provyd x s.; the one halfe to the taker, and thoder to th'use of t'hall.

iij Maij, 1 Edw. VI. That from hensforth the Company shall sell breade in baskittes in Chepside, according to a former acte, that is to saye, the west side on Monday and Frydaye, and th'easte side Wensday and Saturday, and that neither parte occupie one others' dayes, uppon payne to forfayte x s.; th'one half to t'hall and thoder half to the taker; (*added*) and not to bake purposely upon like payne, (*added further*) nor to send into Southwarke uppon the same payne of x s.

ix of August, 1 Edw. VI. At this Courte it is granted and agreed that there shalbe provyded and bought, that is to say, di. C weight, a quarter weight sealled, xiiij lb. weight, vij lb. weight, iiij lb. weight, ij lb. and j lb., after the which weightes all the Company shall provyde the like weights. And that every man's weight shalbe from tyme to tyme tryed at the discretion of the Master and Wardeynes for the tyme being.

Ult°. Julij, 1° Ed. VI. At this Courte it is graunted and condiscendid by th'assents of the said Auncyents that forasmuch as many tymes heretofore Richard Morrice one of the Company, and in the Lyverye, hath by slaunderous reproch and woords by him spoken and utteryd, aswell agenst dyvers of th'auncyents that have been Master and Wardens as also agenst the Shireffs of the Citie, which hath moche hyndred the Company, and by such hys means have hadd moch evill will and grudge at their hands, to their great hynderaunces, Be it nowe ordeyned that if at any tyme hereafter the said Morrice do attempt any acte or utter any words or reproch either agenst any of the Company or other Rulers of the Citie and y^t^ duely proved, that then furthw^th^ the same Morrice to be put oute of the Lyvery and exiled the Company w^t^out redempc'on.

17° Januarij, A° 1554. At this Co^r^te kept by the M^r^ and Wardeins and th'auncyents John Davys was charged in all his offence, that is to say, aswell for lack of weight as for having a wrong seall, and for beating his wife, for the which he hath not onely deserved shame but also banyshment; notw^th^standing by menes of Mr. Clayton, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Lewys, who have taken uppon theym to be his suerties for his amendem^t^ and honest behavior hereafter, he is p'doned, and for y^t^ they are become his suerties he ys releassed for this tyme.

III. A long book marked on the outside V, but having no title. It seems to be an account of wheat bought by the Company, and begins thus: "Whete of Willm Pory appoynted out of a lighter at Comon Stayrs the ix day of May, A° 1537, at ixs. vj d."

IV. A long book of paper bound in parchment; the inner binding consisting of two leaves of a parchment MS., a Lectionarium or Book of the Lessons used in the Church Service. It is entitled "Quarterages and other Ducties paiable for and in the

tyme of Mr. Allayne, Maister, Mr. Hoorde, Mr. Beest, Mr. Rooper, and Mr. Large, Wardeins." The entries extend from 1556 to 1632. It appears that each member paid xij d. on "twoo quarter-days for the assembly of the fellowship," in July and November, and a like sum on "fouer quarters for and towardes the clerks and bedills wages—that is to saye, att Xptmas, Thannuncia^{n}, Midsom^{r}, and Mighelmas."

V. A large ledger, or account-book, of paper, bound in stamped limp leather, lined inside the cover with parchment leaves from two different MSS. The accounts extend from 1586 to 1625, and are exceedingly well kept and written. The first account in the book may be taken as a fair specimen of the whole, and is sufficiently curious and interesting to give entire, as follows:—

Th'accompte of Mr. Humfrey Virome, Maister of the Comynalty of Freemen of the Mistery of Bakers of the Cittie of London and Suburbes of the same, and of William White, Richard Baker, Anthonye Wrighte, and John Parsons, Wardens of the same Comynaltye, that is to say, from Mondaye next after the daie of St. Clement, (being the eleccion daie appoincted in and by the Corporacion of the same Comynaltye,) which foresaid daie of St. Clement, by olde Calenders, is the xxiijth daie of November, A° 1586, in the xxviijth yeire of the reigne of o^{r} Sovraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Defendour of the Faithe, &c., untill Mondaie next after the daie of St. Clement, A° 1587, in the xxixth yeire of the reigne of oure saide Sovraigne Ladye, as well of all such somes of money w'ch the said Mr. and Wardens, or any of them, have received for and during the said tyme to th'use of the said Comynaltye, as also of al mann^{r} payments by them or any of them made, towching or concerning the affaires of the said Comynaltye, within the tyme aforesaid.

The receipts are arranged very clearly and systematically, under the following heads:—

The remainder of the last yeare's accompte - -		59 s.	5 d.
Fines for lack of weighte, receyved on searche daies	sum	9 li. 17 s.	2 d.
Fines for lack of weighte, taken on Courte daies	sum	49 s.	10 d.
Fines for late comying to Courte, and being absent	sum	59 s.	8 d.
Money received for th'othes of covenant servants	sum	28 s.	0 d.
For presentment of apprentices - -	sum	13 s.	0 d.
For apprentices made freemen - -	sum	4 li. 6 s.	8 d.

For admittance of householders, allowance of scalls, and for admytteng of redempcones - -	sum	4 li.	16 s. 8 d.
Fines for breaking the ordenances of this fellowship	sum		14 s. 8 d.
Money received upon a collecion for the use of this Comynalty - - - -	sum	11 li.	10 s. 10 d.
Ordenary receipts yerlie, uncertaine -	sum	58 li.	9 s 8 d.
Casual receipts - - - -	sum	27 li.	4 s. 0 d.
Sum total of the receipts this year - -		127 li.	9 s. 7 d.

PAYMENTS.

Fees to officers - - -	sum	17 li.	13 s. 4 d.
The Exhibicon of a Scholler: Paid to th'use of Edmond Robothome, a scholler, student in the Unyversitie of Cambridge, for a yeere's exhibicion,* due at Mighelmas, 1581, aforesaid - - - -		iiij li.	
Costs of reparations - - -	sum		20 s. 3 d.
Charges of trayneng souldiers - -	sum		67 s 1 d.

EXPENCES FOR A DYNNER.

Paid for 20 stone and 3 lb. of beefe, 30 s. 6 d.; ten marybones, 3 s. 4 d.; sewett, 7 s. 8 d.; for mutton to give to the poore, 15 s. 4 d.; and to a porter, 4 d. -			57 s. 2 d.
Paid for 38 capons, 3 li. 18 s. 2 d.; 12 geese, 21 s.; 13 dozen of larks, 13 s.; and 300 of eggs, 13 s. 10 d. -		6 li.	6 s. 0 d.
Paid to the grocer for fine sugar, 17s. 11d.: course sugar, 16 s. 7 d.; pepper, 7 s. 4 d.; large mace, 20 d.; cloves and mace, 2 s.; curranace, 2s. 6d.; prunes, 20 d.; safron, 2 s.; dates, 3 s. 4 d.; bisketts, 8 d.; barberies, 18 d.; rosewater, 2 s.; paper, 4 d.; orrengadoes (1¼ lb.), 3 s.; synamon, sugar, and sanders, 3 d.; more bisketts (½ lb.), 12 d.; more sugar (2 lb.), 3 s.; safron, 2 d.; pepper, 11 d.; and more for sugar, 2 s. 10 d. - - - - - -		3 li.	10 s. 8 d.
Paid for bringing the venison - - - -			6 s. 0 d.
Paid for marchpanes - - - - -			36 s. 0 d.
Paide for 12 pikes - - - - -			21 s. 0 d.
Paid for bread, 23 s. 2 d., and for 4 busshells and three pecks of flower, 12 s. 8 d. - - - -			35 s. 10 d.
Paid for ale, 9 s. 3 d., and beere, 4 s. 10 d. - -			14 s. 1 d.
Paid for six gallons and a half of creame - -			8 s. 8 d.
Paid for the Church dueties - - - -			11 s. 0 d.
Paid for a firkin of butter - - - -			17 s. 8 d.

* Many of the Companies at this time voluntarily gave such exhibitions.

Paid for ypocrase and other wine - - -		4 li.	6 s. 9 d.
Paid to the Chaundeler for salt, sawce, pipkins, candells, and like necessaries - - - - -			7 s. 8 d.
Paid for 16 dozein of trenchers, 10 s. 6 d.; to a porter, 2 d.; water, 23 d.: and 100 of faggotts, 5 s. - -			17 s. 7 d.
Paid for dressing 17 messe of meate - - -			25 s. 0 d.
Paid to 2 officers to carve - - - -			5 s. 0 d.
Paid to the musicians - - - - -			8 s. 0 d.
Paid to the butler - - - - -			15 s. 0 d.
Paid to the porter for keeping the gate - - -			2 s 0 d.
Paid to the pewterer for hire of pewter, and for certein pewter lost at the hall - - - -			15 s. 0 d.
Paid for wasshing the lynnen, washing the disshes, and making cleane the howse - - - -			10 s. 0 d.
Summa - -		29 li.	16 s. 1 d.
Ordenary and necessary payments - -	sum	62 li.	17 s. 2 d.
Allowance, ordenary - - - -	sum	11 li.	18 s. 0 d.
Sum total of all the payments -		130 li.	11 s. 11 d.

So resteth cleere upon this accompt nil, for that this accomptant hath paid more than he hath received 3 li. 2 s. 4 d., which is to be answered to him by this howse.

This book extends to the year 1625, and seems to have been exceedingly well kept and written.

VI. The quest book of the Company from 25 Eliz. 1583, to 1650. The first leaf, which is in bad order and partly illegible, appears to contain articles to be inquired into by the Inquest of the Company, relating to forestalling and regrating, offences against the assize of bread and the ordinances of the Company.

In addition to the foregoing and many other books of subsequent date, the Company possess a volume of a different character, which has evidently been for ages used by them when the solemnity of administering the oaths of office or of membership has been observed. It is a folio copy of the New Testament (but has the title-page of the entire Bible), "imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, anno 1584." On each of the covers there is affixed a brass plate, with a well-engraved in-

scription in Roman capitals. That on the front cover is in these words:—

THOV SHALTE FEARE THE LORD THY GOD. THOV
SHALTE SERVE HYM AND CLEAVE UNTO HYM:
AND SHALL SWARE BY HYS NAME:
DUTRENOME, 10 CHAPTER.
THOV SHALTE NOT TAKE THE NAME OF THE
LORD THY GOD IN VAINE, FOR THE LORDE
WILL NOT HOLDE HIM GILTLESSE THAT
TAKETHE HIS NAME IN VAINE. EXODUS, 20 CHAPTER.

The inscription on the back cover (which will bring the present paper to a close) is engraved without any particular regard to the division of the lines; but it is here produced in a different form, for a reason which will be obvious:—

ONE OF THIS SOCIETTE
IN TIME OF SOME PARPLEXITYE
OF HIS FREE LIBARRALLYTE
THIS BOOKE GAVE TO THIS COMPANYE,
WHOM GOD PRESARVE ETIRNALLY
TO PRAYSE HIS DEVYNE MAGESTYE,
ON[E] GOD ALONE, IN PARSONS THREE,
IN TRENYTYE AND UNITTYE
AMEN, AMEN, SO LETT YT BE.
Sd WILLIAM WHITE, WARDEN.
NOVEMBIR 27, 1587.

BAKER DRAWING HIS OVEN.

(*Fac-simile from illumination in the Liber de Assisis Panis, A.D.* 1284, *in Town Clerk's Office, Guildhall.*)

REMINISCENCES OF THE STEELYARD FORMERLY IN UPPER THAMES STREET,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE ANTIQUITIES LATELY DISCOVERED ON ITS SITE.

BY JOHN EDWARD PRICE.

(Read at the Evening Meeting, 13 June, 1864.)

I HAVE to direct your attention this evening to a series of Roman and medieval antiquities, some of which were exhibited at our meeting at Ironmongers' Hall, obtained from the extensive excavations for the City Extension of the South-Eastern Railway, on the south side of Thames Street, between Dowgate Dock and Allhallows Church, comprising the site of the old Steelyard. As these diggings are completed, a record of the discovery should find a place in the Journal of the Society; but, before proceeding to the antiquities, we may consider the history of the locality whence they have been obtained.

The meaning of the name "Steelyard" has been differently defined. By some it is said to have originated in the fact of its being "the place where the King's Steelyard or beam was erected for weighing goods imported into London."* By the German author Lappenburg it is ascribed to stapelhof or staplhof, a word which, like its English synonym staple, signifies an emporium for imported goods. Such meaning is appropriate enough; for during a long period the place was both the centre of London's trade and the scene of a complete monopoly of British commerce by the merchants of the Hanseatic League. So early as the eighth century this commercial confederacy existed. It consisted of various traders from a number of the continental towns, who carried on a large business in exporting

* This opinion was entertained by that experienced antiquary Mr. T. Hudson Turner, who also informed the author of *The Handbook for London*, that, when the tonnage was transferred to the Corporation of the City, the King's beam was removed first to Cornhill, and afterwards to Weigh-house Yard in Little East Cheap.

their manufactures to London in exchange for hides, wool, tin, lead, and other products of British industry. These merchants are first heard of in the reign of Ethelred, 979, when the Emperor's men, as they were called, upon coming in their ships to Billingsgate, "were accounted worthy of good laws." The company was a very extensive one; but its most important branch, and the one with which we have more particularly to deal, was the "Easterlings," who had their settlement in London. Their factory and warehouses formerly occupied the Steelyard. Disputes arose with the Cologne merchants, who held part of Dowgate, on account of the Hanse traders so monopolising English trade. An amalgamation was the result, subsequently known as the merchants of Almaigne, who possess the house in London called the Dutch Guildhall, "Aula Teutonicorum." Among the Harleian MSS. there occur "Grauntes of Priviledges by Kings of England from Henry III. to Edward VI. to the Haunses or the Styllyards, *alias Guildhala Teutonicorum.*" In the year 1250, at the special intercession of Richard Earl of Cornwall, Henry the Third granted unto Lubecke, one of the Almain merchants, privileges for seven years; and in the same reign the sum of 30 marks was paid to the King by the citizens of Cologne to have seizin of their Guildhall in London. In 1256 he, at the wish of Henricke Duke of Brunswick, granted unto Lubecke and others privileges for ever. These were afterwards confirmed by his successors Edward the First, Second, and Third

It is presumed these concessions were an acknowledgement for services rendered by the Hanseatic vessels in time of war. By way of gratitude, the Steelyard merchants agreed to keep the Bishopsgate in repair, maintain it, and if necessary help to defend it against any foreign enemy.* In 1282 the gate was in a ruinous condition, and we find the citizens calling upon the company to fulfil its promises. The claim was rejected, and an appeal made to the Court of Exchequer, which resulted in a decision against the merchants, who were compelled to repair the said gate: Gerard Merbode, the alderman of the Hanse of

* Composition made between the citizens of London and the merchants of the Hanse of Almaine, as to the gate of Bysshopisgate.—*Liber Albus*, p. 417.

Almain, with six members of the guild, undertaking not only to pay the mayor, Henry le Waleys, and citizens, 240 marks towards the outlay, but agreeing hereafter to repair it, and bear a portion of the charge in money, and supply men to defend it in case of need. In consideration of this, additional liberties were conferred: they were for ever to be quit of Murage (the charge for repairing the city walls), and facilities were accorded them for the sale of corn and other goods.

In the reign of Henry the Sixth reverses began to fall on this hitherto thriving community. They were continually disputing with the native traders, and contentions ensued upon the seas, in which many vessels on both sides were captured, thus mutually hindering the successful prosecution of general commerce between England and the continent. The citizens felt that the Styllyard men should pay the same duties on their wine and wool as other foreign traders, and in 1469 it appears they were heavily fined in a sum amounting to 13,520*l.* besides their powers being greatly lessened. Some five years later it was found necessary that the matter should be settled by the English Parliament; and in a peace brought about at Utrecht, and ratified at Westminster, Henry VI. restored to the Hanse merchants their ancient rights. In 1493 they were again in trouble, and involved in a dispute with the citizens, whose feelings of dislike and jealousy were daily increasing against their foreign colleagues, in consequence of the latter entirely monopolising the privilege of importing Flemish cloth, and to a great extent damaging one of the principal branches of city trade.

Henry VII. had no sympathy with the foreigners, and was only too glad of the opportunity of revenging himself upon them for their countenance to Perkin Warbeck; the result was the influx of a London mob and prentice riot at the Steelyard, occasioning great confusion and disorder, which was only stayed by the intervention of the Mayor and Aldermen. In this riot we read that the Drapers' Company paid 11*s.* 9*d.* for lights and banners, ale, candles, &c. in keeping men to watch the place for seventeen days against the rioters.

In Henry the Eighth's reign they fared somewhat better.

By an Act of Parliament it was decreed that they should be exempted from the payment of all King's taxes within the city.

In the Journal of King Edward the Sixth we find many notices of the contest then carried on between the merchants of the Steelyard and the Company of Merchant-Adventurers, which occupied the attention of the Privy Council during some months. The King first mentions the subject under the date of

1551-2, Jan. 18. This day the Stiliard put in their answere to a certain complaint that the Merchants-Adventurers laid against them.

There are eight or ten other entries made by the King upon the subject,* but the most important is as follows:

Feb. 23. A decree was made by the board, that, upon knowledge and information of their charters [those of the Stiliard], they had found: First, that they were no sufficient corporation; Secondarily, that, when they had forfeited their liberties, King Edward the Fourth did restore them on this condition, that they should colour no strangers' goods [*i.e.* that they should pass no goods of other foreigners through the Customs as if they were their own], which [yet] they had done. Also, that, whereas in the beginning they shipped not past eighty cloths, after 100, after 1,000, after that 6,000, now in their names was shipped 14,000 cloths in one year, and but 1,100 of all other strangers. For these considerations sentence was given that they had forfeited their liberties, and were in like case with other strangers.

This decree is entered at full in the register of the Privy Council,† and in the State Paper Office ‡ are statements "of the chief causes of the confiscation of the privileges of the Stilliard" (drawn by their opponents the native merchants,) being the same arguments at greater length as those of which we have the preceding summary from the hand of the young King. The particulars of their case are given at some length by Rapin, vol. ii. p. 24, and by Carte, vol. iii. p. 266.

Ambassadors came over from Hamburgh and Lubeck in order to speak on behalf of the Steelyard merchants, and endeavour to

* See Literary Remains of King Edward VI. edited by John Gough Nichols, esq. F.S.A. (Roxburghe Club, 1857), pp. 390-1, 401-3, 413, 429, 489, 507, 509.

† Of which a copy will be found in the British Museum, Addit. MSS. 14,026.

‡ Domestic; Edward VI. vol. xiv. Nos. 10 and 11.

induce the King to revoke his decision; but, under the date of the 1st of May, he records in his Journal that "the Stiliard men received their answer, which was to confirm the former judgement of my Council."

Notwithstanding the loss of their monopoly, the Germans for some time continued to trade on like conditions with other foreign merchants. But times had changed. The reign of Elizabeth was one for maritime enterprise; the love too of independence and that free-trading spirit natural to Englishmen daily became more manifest, and received fresh impulse from the exploits of Raleigh, Drake, Frobisher, Cavendish, and other distinguished adventurers of the period. Shipbuilding was on the increase, and one of the necessary results of this development was competition in trade and an extension of commerce, which destroyed that exclusiveness possessed by the Steelyard merchants. In the Egerton Papers (published by the Camden Society, 1840) occurs the final proclamation relative to their departure. By it Elizabeth ordered the Hanse traders to leave her dominions by the 28th January, 1598-9.* A petition was however presented by the Alderman and his company that a longer time should be given them on account of sundry debts, &c. that would "become due and answerable after the said day." A subsequent decree permitted them to remain in the Steelyard House until the last day of the next month, February, "or further, as our Council shall fynde our subjects well used, to enlarge the same tyme by their letters to be directed unto you." In spite of this, many remained behind, and, merging into general trade, endeavoured to preserve as many of their ancient privileges as the change of times would permit.

The customs of this society of merchants were curious. The members were never allowed to sleep away from the Steelyard or to keep a housekeeper, and, if any individual was discovered to have married an English woman, he was forthwith excommunicated and lost his house. As in modern companies, a board of directors transacted the general business, and amongst them

* Not the 28th of February, 1597-8, as stated in Cunningham's *Handbook for London.*

a kind of freemasonry existed, obliging them not to divulge any of their commercial transactions with the citizens. This assembly comprised representatives from the continental towns, who met every week on Wednesday evening.

Their house was next devoted to the service of the Queen's Navy, as appears by a letter addressed by the Council to the Lord Mayor, on the 30th Jan. in the same year, 1598-9, whereby he was required to deliver up the house of the Steelyard to the officers of her Majesty's Navy, "after the avoydinge and departinge of the strangers that did possess the house. That the said house of the Stiliards should be used and employed for the better bestowing and safe custodie of divers provisions of the Navy; the rent to be paid by the officers of the Navy." (Register of the Privy Council.)

The building was thus described by Stowe: "Their hall is large, built of stone, with three arched gates towards the street, the middlemost whereof is far bigger than the others, and is seldom opened. The other two be mured up. The same is now called the Old Hall."

The hall contained two of the finest works of Holbein, the Triumph of Riches and the Triumph of Poverty.* It has been suggested that these valuable pictures were taken to Flanders, thence to France, and by some were said to have at length found their resting-place at Darmstadt. It is, however, more probable that, being painted on the walls in distemper, they were destroyed at the Great Fire.†

In Elizabeth's reign the merchants attended divine service in Allhallows Church, and in Machyn's Diary, under date 1558, we find recorded the burial of one of their Aldermen in this place:‡ —

* See the paper on the works of Holbein executed in England, by A. W. Franks, esq. Director S.A. in the Archæologia, vol. xxxix. p. 6. Ample information respecting these pictures will be found in Mr. Wornum's work on Holbein (now in preparation). There are beautiful drawings from them in the national collection (print room) British Museum. The Triumph of Poverty was engraved by Vorsterman.

† The Fire of London papers among the Addit. MSS. in the British Museum, vol. xix. art. 7, contain some further information on the locality of the Steelyard.

‡ See Diary of Henry Machyn, 1550 to 1563, edited by John Gough Nichols, esq. F.S.A. (Camden Society, 1840), p 174.

"The xx day of September was bered at Gret All[hallows] in Temstrett, the Altherman of the Steleard, with ij whyt branchys and xij torchys, and iiij gret tapurs with . . . . . ."

In the present church there exists a handsome screen of oak, upon which is carved an eagle, the badge of the Hanse towns. This was presented to the parish by the Germans resident in London, it is said so late as the reign of Anne.*

Among other things the merchants were permitted to retail Rhenish wine, and a public-house near the church still reminds us of the ancient wine-house, the wonted resort of the citizens, and where they were accustomed to meet together and wile away their time. In one of Webster's plays, printed in 1607, entitled "Westward Ho," one Justiniano appoints a meeting with certain scholars and Sir Gosling Glowworm at the Rhenish Wine House in the Steelyard; and Thomas Nash, in his "Pierce Pennilesse," makes a lazy fellow say, "Men, when they are idle and know not what to do, saith one to the other, let us go to the Stillyard and drink Rhenish wine."

At the time of the Great Fire the buildings of the Steelyard were entirely destroyed, but the merchants still held the site, and obtained a charter from Charles II. granting them permission to erect a church for themselves on a spot where one had formerly stood. Of these buildings some few remnants have been found. In the course of the present diggings several glazed tiles, pieces of carving, capitals of columns, and other objects of the period, have been discovered. When Malcolm wrote his History of London, in 1802, there was still a fragment of the old stone wall standing near the Thames, incorporated in a wall of modern brick, a fact which he somewhat mournfully mentions as being another memento of the mutabilities of charters and immunities granted *for ever*. The name, says he, "of the Balance or Steelyard still exists, and, probably, will long exist, for who will trouble themselves to change the term?"

Since Malcolm wrote, the name, though *unchanged* to the last, is itself a matter of history—nothing now remains to remind us of

* Timbs's Curiosities of London.

its existence. In the autumn of 1863 the entire series of wharves and warehouses was removed for modern railway wants. Previous to the wholesale demolition, the Thames Street frontage was sketched by the late Mr. Wykeham Archer, and published in *Once a Week* with an account of the locality; this is, I believe, the only late engraving of the place, though in the same book is a copy of a drawing of its appearance from the river in 1543, by Antonio Van den Wyngrerde, an artist who came into this country with Philip of Spain at the time of his marriage with the Princess Mary of England. This drawing is preserved in the Bodleian Library. There are also, I believe, some outlines of the Steelyard limits to be seen in Hollar's view of London, 1641. Our friend Mr. Gardner informs me that with these exceptions there are no illustrations extant.

We have now to consider the nature of the excavations which have supplied us with the marvellous collection of relics exhibited. It is well known, that, to arrive at the solid clay in Thames Street for the purpose of planting foundations, a considerable depth must be attained. It must be remembered, that, apart from the accumulation of centuries since the Roman occupation, the levels of this neighbourhood were greatly altered at the time of the Great Fire. The slope of the various hills leading from Cannon Street to the river was entirely changed, and in Thames Street the roadway was in many places raised from 3 to 7 feet. In watching, therefore, the sinking of the shafts which were to receive the piers of the railway arches, it was possible to trace the successive mementoes of London's history from the last century back to the Roman period. There were the traders' tokens, bellarmines, and other late pottery, medieval spurs, daggers, objects in leather, and lastly occurred the coins, styli, pins in bone and bronze, personal ornaments, &c. associated with quantities of the bright red Samian pottery. From 20 to 25 feet appeared to be the average depth of the Roman level, and here, driven into the clay along the whole extent of the excavations, were numerous piles and transverse beams extending right across the street, and forming a complete network of timber. Many of these beams measured as much as 18 inches square, and all were of great

strength and durability. They doubtless formed the old water-line and Thames embankment fronting the southern portion of Roman London. Such beams were observed on both sides of the street, and many had probably been supports for the Roman buildings which so plentifully existed in the neighbourhood of Bush Lane and Scots Yard. Towards Cannon Street were large masses of Roman masonry, such as have been described by Mr. Roach Smith in the twenty-ninth volume of the Archæologia. Much of this had to be removed, and it was interesting to observe how completely the old walls defied the appliances of modern engineering, the necessary dislodgements being only effected by the aid of gunpowder; in some cases, I believe, the veritable *Roman* walls now form foundations for the support of the railway arches. In some places could be detected the junction of the clay and gravel with the soft black earth and refuse, betokening the old course of the Wall-brook, which at Dowgate dock flowed into the Thames. From the great quantity of antiquities, it has been suggested that this particular spot may have been an ancient rubbish-shoot, such as the celebrated pit at the Royal Exchange. The beautiful preservation of the coins and metal objects favours the idea that the whole had been formerly covered by the Thames.

The Roman antiquities present few peculiarities. There is a great scarcity of objects of unique or peculiar rarity in all excavations in the metropolis; rarely do we meet with the bronzes, glass, and fibulæ, of such magnificence as in some other parts of England. Those from London are usually of a humbler class.

We must, however, except those unsurpassed works in bronze discovered in the Thames, and figured in Mr. Roach Smith's "Illustrations of Roman London." The heroic head of the Emperor Hadrian has, Mr. Smith believes, belonged to a statue set up to commemorate the advent of Hadrian to Britain; the Apollo, the Mercury, and others, are the perfection of art; the Archer found in Queen Street is the finest statuette from the ground of ancient London; the rest referred to are from the Thames. "They bespeak," says Mr. Smith in a private letter,

"the importance of Londinium, and it would be wonderful if at the present day, after 1300 years of spoliation of every kind, such works were to be picked up daily. It was quite a matter of accident that these were found and preserved. One never hears of what had been found in previous times: the silence is not conclusive of paucity of remains, but of long centuries of destruction, through the bigotry and ignorance of the immediate successors of the Romans, and the apathy and ignorance of subsequent ages and modern days."

From the Steelyard there is a very elegant bronze in low relief, respecting which various conjectures have been made. Mr. Smith pronounces it a figure of Hope; and he refers to the coins of Claudius, with a similar figure, inscribed "SPES AVGVSTA." It seems to have been affixed to a coffer or to some object as a decoration. It is now in the possession of Mr. Cecil Brent, to whom we owe so much for the interest he has so successfully taken in the antiquities of Roman London.

Of coins may be selected large and middle brass of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian; but their reverses are all well known.

Pottery is well represented, large quantities of Samian having been found, including some fine examples, bearing *incuse* patterns, which are extremely uncommon. There are also some good specimens of Upchurch pottery; one of the black vessels appears to have had a handle, and is of an unusual type.

In glass there are pieces known as pillar moulding, which are very rare in London, though in some parts of England perfect vessels of this kind have at times been found, and are duly recorded in Mr. Roach Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua," as well as in his "Roman London." Pins, needles, knives, and spoons have been found in large numbers both in bone and bronze. Among the spoons is a perfect example of the long-stemmed spoon, with a narrow bowl at one end and an oblong termination at the other. Such are figured by Mr. Roach Smith, who considers them to have been employed in extracting unguents, &c. from the small long-necked bottles familiarly known as lachrymatories. Two

of similar form were, he says, discovered in a metal case with a box of colours, and a variety of implements and glass bottles, in the grave of a female painter near Fontenay;* and, as the whole of the minor objects clearly appertained to the profession of the defunct, these spoons were doubtless used for extracting liquids from the bottles for mixing and preparing colours, in which process the oblong ends were probably of service. We have also some good Roman keys, a few fibulæ, the beam of a pair of scales, and, among the minor relics, a little fish-hook; a plentiful supply too of Roman leather. Some of the sandals are beautifully preserved, and indicate the moisture of the soil in which they were embedded. Most of these (as is usual) are of small and medium size, having doubtless belonged to females and young people; but there are those that have evidently belonged to the other sex. The round-topped nails with which the soles are so densely studded are, with other appearances of strength, evidences that they once belonged to feet accustomed to a firm and heavy tread. Medieval shoes too are to be seen in profusion, and some good examples have been found of dagger-sheaths of the same period stamped and figured in great variety. There is also an example of the dagger known in the fourteenth century as the "Misericorde," used in combat to give the death-blow by the soldier to his fallen opponent. In many of our monumental brasses this type of weapon may be seen, and it appears admirably adapted for penetrating the chinks in the armour of the time. The earliest example known is in the Meyrick collection, and is of the time of King Henry VI.

Leaden signacula, well known as pilgrim's signs, are also very numerous; indeed they form a series that have not, I think, been equalled in any previous find. It is singular that so many well-preserved examples should be discovered in one place: many of those now exhibited are similar to the specimens described by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A. in the Archæologia, vol. xxxviii., which were found at Dowgate. We have the familiar head of St. Thomas of Canterbury under a foliated canopy, with the words CAPVT THOME well defined; an interesting figure of the

* "Illustrations of Roman London."

Bishop Erasmus in the attitude of benediction;* and a beautiful figure of the Saviour on the Cross, the limbs of the cross terminating in fleurs-de-lis. There is also a female figure crowned, and attired in the costume of about the time of Richard II. It is uncertain to what shrine this may have belonged.

The initial letter K, which forms one of the number, is said by Mr. Hugo to refer to Kenulph, King of Mercia, whose tomb at Winchcombe in Gloucestershire was reputed to be endowed with miraculous virtues. There are various figures of the Virgin and Child, one with a radiated head; and numerous small brooches, where she appears to be standing on a ship crowned, holding the infant Jesus, and in her hand a sceptre.

Such are the chief points of interest belonging to the more conspicuous of these antiquities. They are for the most part contributed by Mr. T. D. E. Gunston and Mr. Cecil Brent; the remainder are in my own collection.

* This sign has been lately described by Mr. Syer Cuming in the Journal of the British Archæological Association.

J.Jobbins

S. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT.

INTERIOR VIEW,

LOOKING EAST.

THE CHURCH OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT, SMITHFIELD.

BY T. HAYTER LEWIS, ESQ. F.S.A., Professor of Architecture, University College.

The history of this church is briefly as follows.* It was built for the Black Canons regular of St. Augustine, by Prior Rahere, during the year of Henry I. in the beginning of the 12th century. no building having existed there before his time. A Saxon church is, indeed, hinted at as having once occupied the same site; but there seems to be no great authority for the statement, The exact date is variously given; but there can be no doubt that the greater part of the existing remains are of Rahere's time, and finished c. 1123, being about coeval with the naves of Durham, Peterborough, and Norwich cathedrals.

The present church was the choir only of Rahere's structure, the nave having been built at the beginning of the 13th century, in a later style of architecture. An apse no doubt formed part of the original church, as is very clearly shown by the two Norman columns and arches; and it is further indicated by the beginning of the curve, which shows itself in the old work up to and including the Norman string over the aisle arches at the western side of the end wall, and also (in rather an unusual manner) in the curve of the base of the apse column before referred to. This apse is said by some writers to have been pentagonal on plan; but it is clear that it was circular, and it had no doubt an aisle continued round it at the back, and the triforium completed round it above.

The original church had apse, transepts, choir and nave, cloisters, prior's house, refectory, chapter-house, and other usual

* A good account of the Augustine Canons, &c. will be found in the History of the church as given in a lecture by Mr. J. H. Parker, and printed for the Restoration Committee.

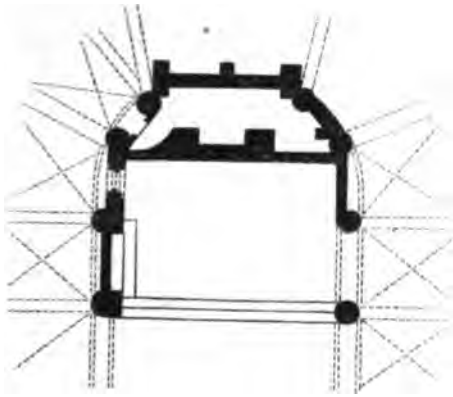
adjuncts to a conventual church, forming, when complete, a very splendid monument of the piety and architectural skill of our forefathers.

The triforium openings towards the choir are more elaborate than is often found, each opening having three detached columns and four small arches under an enriched round arch. These openings are in very good general condition, but the triforia themselves are by no means so. The northern is, indeed, complete in its outline; but the original outer wall seems to have been destroyed and rebuilt in recent times, probably the 17th century. It is used as a school-room, having a master's house at the east end. The southern triforium is altogether destroyed; and, if this be not rebuilt within three or four years, it may be very difficult to do so afterwards, as the houses (Pope's Cottages) close adjoining to it have been built, as we are informed, about fifteen years, and will soon acquire a prescriptive right of light and air.

Both of the transepts are destroyed, the south beyond the line of the aisle outer walls, and the north beyond the line of the aisle arches. The mouldings to the great arch of the southern one are perfect, and so is the triforium arch over the choir aisle: a good drawing of the transept itself, almost perfect except the roof, is given in Wilkinson, under date 1819. The ground on which the transept stood is unoccupied (except as a graveyard).

The apse was cut off, and a wall built where the present east wall now is, apparently in the 15th century; it seems to have been intended to form a fine eastern end by the insertion of a reredos and windows of a Perpendicular or Third Pointed character. Part of the joints and arch-mouldings of the windows still remain on the north and south sides of the wall, westward. Whether this was carried out or not, and when this Perpendicular work was destroyed, if ever completed, does not clearly appear.

It most probably was carried out, as work of the same date may be traced in almost every part of the church, showing that it had then sustained great alteration. I may instance the



GROUND PLAN OF APSE PRIOR TO THE PRESENT RESTORATIONS.

doorway near Rahere's tomb (c. 1406) and the tomb canopy, the straight piece of wall over the curved Norman string of aisle arches at the east end of the external openings in the north aisle, the change from Norman to Perpendicular of the corbels under the arch mouldings of the great western round arch of the cross; a similar change in the capitals to the columns of the great arch of the north transept, and the rebuilding of the whole clerestory east of the cross. For it has been found that a string-course, which runs all along the gallery formed in the thickness of the clerestory walls, is made up, almost entirely of fragments of Norman arch mouldings. The masonry is also different from that of the triforium under, and the mouldings to the jambs are of late date.

Large repairs seem to have been done by Prior Bolton 1506-32, more particularly the beautiful projecting work in the south triforium. Attention may be called to the fact of the north and south arches of the cross being pointed, whereas the east and west are round. The reason popularly given for this difference is, a wish that all the arches should range in height, which they would not have done with the round arches, as the choir arches are much larger in span than those of the transepts. It is, however, remarkable that the pointed arches are much stilted (as

round ones might have been, and as they actually are in the apse), and that the tops of the arches do *not* range. I apprehend that the opinion given several years since by Mr. Hussey is the correct one, viz. that these arches have been reset. In an examination we find that part of these have been made good with firestone, which is used everywhere for the late work, whilst Caen stone only was used for the earlier arches. Fire stone has also been largely used in the clerestory.

It is stated that Queen Mary gave the building to a convent of Black Friars, who began to rebuild the nave, but were dispossessed by Queen Elizabeth. No trace of their work is, however, apparent. Great alterations and repairs seem to have been effected from 1622 to 1628, at which last date the "steeple," part of stone and part of timber, "was pulled down to the foundation and rebuilt of brick." The brick wall at the upper part of the east end seems to have been built in the 17th century (probably 1622-33), when "more money" is described to have been expended.

The west walls and the tower are modern erections of the 17th century. Of the nave very little remains; but, judging from the beautiful doorway, still existing, of the south aisle, it must have been a very splendid erection. It was joined on to the Norman work in a very singular manner, as is shown in the detached shaft in the present south aisle west of the transept. The nave was pulled down unhappily in Henry the VIII.'s time, and few remains of it exist; there is, however, the present very beautiful entrance from Smithfield, which is said to have once formed the end to the south aisle of the nave. This, however, would have made the nave disproportionably long; and I should think Mr. Parker's suggestion more likely, viz. that it was the entrance gateway to the Close. The south wall existed for nearly its whole length up to A. D. 1856, and must have shown, no doubt, clear traces of the general arrangements of the piers, &c. That wall was then pulled down, and no remains appear above the ground level; but, on digging down in order to lower the entrance path several of the bases of the piers were found to remain *in situ*.

The site of the chapter-house is now built over by Pope's Cottages, but of the other attached buildings there exist more remains than might be supposed by a casual observer.

The site of the east cloister is now occupied by various buildings. Very fine remains of it existed up to 1833, when they were allowed to fall, owing to neglect and decay.

Of the refectory and crypt, portions shew very clearly in passing through Middlesex Passage, and the crypt exists in a tolerably perfect state throughout the whole extent, or nearly so, of the refectory.

The state of the church when it came into the hands of the Restoration Committee, and when Mr. Slater and I had to advise them upon it, was briefly this:—

The nave and transepts entirely destroyed, two columns only remaining of the apse. The north triforium used as a school-room. The south triforium destroyed altogether, and the eastern portion of it used as a ware-room in connection with a fringe factory adjoining. This factory occupied also the whole site of the dormitory and Lady Chapel (supposing that there had been one), and projected over the whole space of the apse up to the eastern cross wall. The whole surface of the church was, also, filled in with earth to a level of two or three feet above the ancient level. Several of the piers had been cut away in a very unsafe manner in order to accommodate some of the pewing, and the wall of the north aisle was several inches out of the perpendicular and only kept in position by strong brick buttresses.

The first work undertaken was to clear out the ground to the old level of the paving; and in doing this various remains were found which shewed that the filling-in had taken place at a late date, and that the level of the Perpendicular doorway near Rahere's tomb, which was level with the new paving, did not shew that the general level of the church had been raised when that was formed, but that the eastern end only had been raised at that time, the altar being then approached no doubt by several steps. The old level was much varied, as is shown by several jumps in the line of the plinths at various parts. There can be

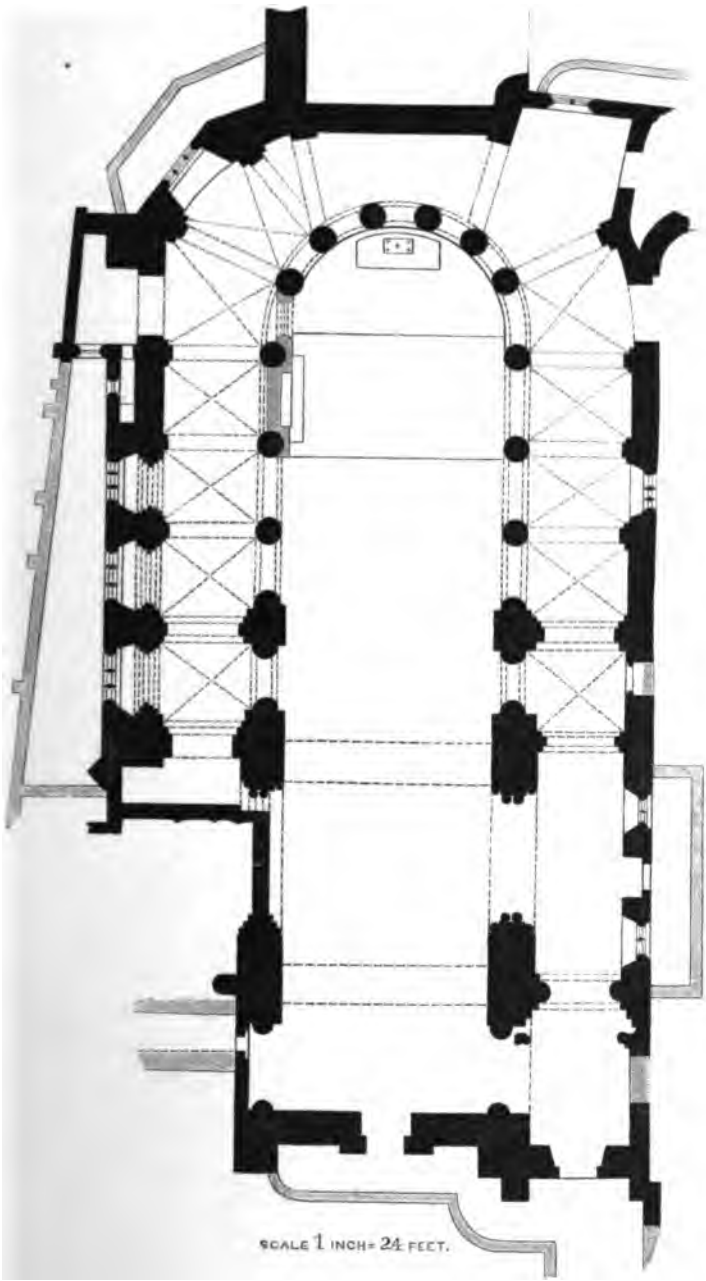
little question however that these jumps indicate more especially the range of the old stall work in choir seats. When the excavation was effected and the foundation of the church examined, we found clear reasons to account for the various settlements which shewed themselves in the stone-work above; brick vaults had been dug out close to the piers and much below the foundations; in one case directly under them.

We found also that the old foundations had been put in on a layer of peat, although there was a bed of gravel only a foot or so under it. With all these defects and subsequent maltreatment, the only wonder is that the old church ever stood at all.

We need scarcely say that the walls and piers were underpinned, the vaults filled up solidly with concrete, and the whole surface covered also with a thick layer of it.

The stone-work, where cut away was also made good, but no more done to it than was absolutely necessary. The wall of the north aisle required especial care. It was very much out of an upright, and the stone-work so very much decayed, that it would have been almost impossible to have raised it had the wall been taken down and rebuilt in the usual way. We therefore suggested to the Committee that the wall should be moved up bodily, and it was so done accordingly. The old stone-work was by that means quite preserved and restored to its old position without damage of any kind. We also found that the openings in this aisle were not those of windows, but of openings into another aisle, or a range of chapels.

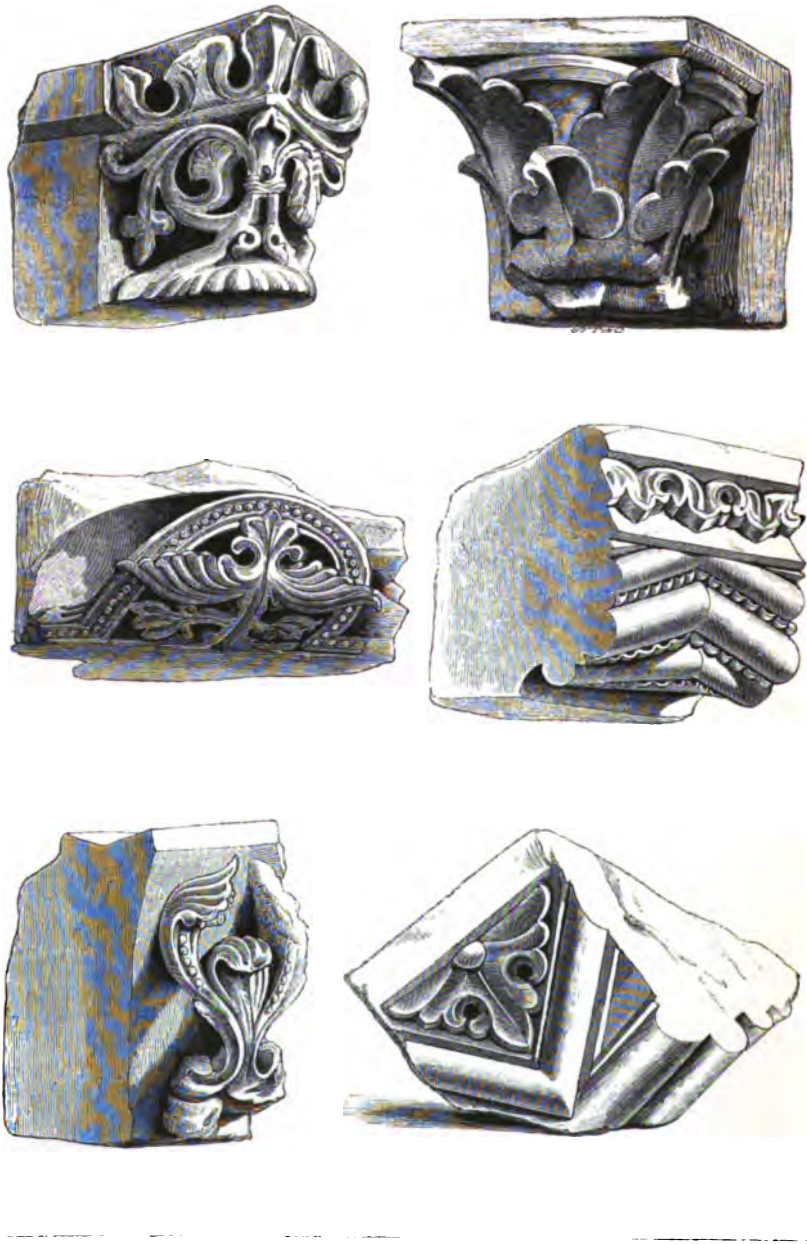
The restoration therefore has been carried out so as to preserve the old arrangement of that part and shew the arches and jambs complete of the openings. The arrangement of the apse was a work of much greater difficulty. The Committee used every effort to obtain possession of the wareroom over it, but without effect, and after long consideration decided, quite in accordance with our views and with those of the Committee of the Incorporated Society, to show the old arrangement on the ground level at least, if not above. The eastern wall was therefore taken out and supported on an iron girder and the stone work of the apse com-



ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT, SMITHFIELD.

GROUND PLAN AS RESTORED.

To face page 85.



FRAGMENTS FOUND IN PULLING DOWN THE WALLS AT THE EAST END, ETC.

pleted under it up to the level of the triforum floor or nearly so, with the earnest hope that future efforts for the completion of the work may be more successful. The pulling down of this wall and of another under the tower (erected probably to form the back of the stall-work there) afforded us some very interesting and valuable specimens of the capitals and other enrichments of the old Norman church, and for other fillings in of more recent times we obtained specimens of screenwork (apparently) of later date, with much of the old colouring and gilding upon them.

Much of this work is of a very fine class, and some of a somewhat unusual character.

The church is now ready for the paving, seats, &c. The next thing in importance probably to the above would be, the removal of the whole of the earth now filled in to the two churchyards, so as to lay bare the ground to the original level of the church. If, as we think very probable, the excavations should reveal the existence of much of the lower part of the otherwise destroyed nave, they would give the same interesting results lately obtained by similar means at Fountains Abbey, and the interest attaching to the discovery would give, no doubt, a great stimulus on behalf of the public to the efforts for restoring the church. It may be found that the destruction has been complete even to the foundations, but we apprehend not; and, in any case, a few trials would soon establish the fact, one way or the other. The work would be done gradually, so that the remains of coffins, &c., could be most carefully re-interred at the lower level.

The Committee have however well nigh exhausted their funds already, and such a work is quite beyond their present power, as they will find great difficulty in providing, without great extra assistance, even for such necessary works as the paving, warming, and seating. The rector Mr. Abbis, the chairman Mr. Tite, M.P., Mr. Foster White and Mr. Boord, the churchwardens, and others have been very liberal donors, and the chairman and rector in particular have given a great amount of time and labour in

order to have the whole completed in a manner befitting so interesting a church in this great city.

Finally we ought to state that the works have been carried out in a very able way by the contractors Messrs. Dove, the clerk of works Mr. Cooper, and the builder's foreman Mr. Hine.

CAPITAL FOUND IN PULLING DOWN E. WALL.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Society.

THE THIRTIETH GENERAL AND TENTH ANNUAL MEETING,

Held at the Society's Rooms, No. 22, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, on Wednesday, 26th July, 1865,

Mr. Deputy LOTT, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The Notice convening the meeting, and the Report of the Council and that of the Auditors, were read by the Rev. THOMAS HUGO.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

"The Council congratulate the members of the Society on the improved state of its affairs since the last annual meeting, and more especially on the diminished amount of arrears of subscription, which has placed an increased number of effective members on our list.

"A considerable increase in the balance at the bankers' will be reported by the Auditors; and the Council have great pleasure in informing the meeting that only a very small amount is owing by the Society.

"The Sixth Part of the Transactions has been published and distributed to those members who have paid up their subscriptions.

"The Council have had a London meeting under their consideration, which was to have included the Charterhouse, but under the advice of the authorities of that establishment this meeting has been postponed for the present.

"The Council feel much pleasure in reporting the success of the Evening Meetings, the proceedings of which will be incorporated in the future Parts of the Society's Transactions.

"In conclusion, the Council have much pleasure in announcing that arrangements are in progress for holding a meeting during the month of September in the Hundred of Spelthorne."

AUDITORS' REPORT.

"We, the undersigned Auditors, having examined the accounts for the year ending Midsummer 1865, and compared the same with the vouchers, do find the same to be correct, and that the balance in favour of the Society is *52l. 7s. 9d.*

(Signed) "GEORGE RUSSELL FRENCH.
"ROBERT WESTWOOD."

THE BALANCE SHEET of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY from April 1864 to July 1865.

Cr.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers at last Audit	24	11	8
Legacy by the late Beriah Botfield, Esq. M.P.	5	0	0
Ironmongers' Catalogue Committee	0	16	3
Dividends on £66 13*s.* 4*d.* to October 1864	3	0	0
Received for Transactions	2	15	6
Donation to Illustration Fund, E. J. Barron, Esq.	1	1	0
Subscriptions 1864-5	137	0	0
	£174	4	5

Dr.	£	s.	d.
Mr. Ivatts, Half-year's Salary as Assistant to Honorary Secretaries to Midsummer 1864	5	0	0
" Farmer, Gas and Firing, Hart Street	6	13	9
" Scott, Printer	10	8	6
" Mitchener "	0	15	0
" Sachs, Engraver	2	10	0
" Moring, Die Sinker	2	0	0
" Jobbins, Engraver	0	14	0
" Ivatts, Half-year's Salary to Christmas 1864	5	0	0
Grant to Evening Meetings	10	0	0
Rent of Rooms, No. 22, Hart Street, to Lady Day 1865	18	15	0
Mr. Ivatts, Commission on Collection and Delivery of Parts	10	15	0
" " Removal of Books, &c. from Danes Inn to Hart Street	2	1	6
" " Attendance and Expenses on Evening Meetings	2	16	3
Stationery	4	19	0
Messrs. Nichols and Sons, on account of Printing Transactions	30	0	0
Expenses attending Country Excursions to Hayes, Harlington, &c.	7	2	4
Petty Cash and Postages	2	15	4
	£121	16	8
Balance at Bankers £60 6 8			
Less Cheques drawn 7 18 11	52	7	9
	£174	4	5

Audited by us, this 25th day of July, 1865,

(Signed) { GEORGE RUSSELL FRENCH.
ROBERT WESTWOOD.

The following Resolutions were then proposed and carried unanimously:—

"That the Report of the Council, and that of the Auditors, be received, adopted, and printed.

"That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Council for their Report, and for the satisfactory position in which the Society stands.

"That the thanks of the Society are eminently due, and are hereby given,

to the Rev. T. Hugo and Mr. C. J. Shoppee, the Honorary Secretaries, for their continued exertions to promote the interests of the Society.

"That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Auditors, Messrs. French and Westwood, for their services and able Report."

The Meeting then proceeded to the election of Officers and Council for the year ensuing, and the following were unanimously chosen :—

President, the Right Honourable Lord Talbot de Malahide.

Vice-Presidents as before, with Messrs. Ashpitel and J. G. Nichols.

Council as before, with Messrs. Berger and French.

Auditors, Messrs. R. Westwood and W. H. Overall.

Honorary Secretaries, the Rev. Thos. Hugo and Mr. Charles J. Shoppee.

The thanks of the meeting were then voted to the chairman, Mr. Deputy Lott, and the proceedings closed.

THIRTY-FIRST GENERAL MEETING.

Held at Cordwainers' Hall, on Tuesday, 30th January, 1866,

The Right Honourable the LORD MAYOR in the Chair.

Mr. Francis, clerk to the Cordwainers' Company, read a paper on "The Ordinances of the Company and its early incorporation," and exhibited the grant of arms and the first piece of plate possessed by the Company after the Great Fire of London.

The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor having left through pressure of his magisterial duties, Mr. Tite, M.P., succeeded him as Chairman.

The following resolution was then put and carried unanimously :—

"That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Master and Wardens of the Cordwainers' Company for the use of the Hall, and to Mr. Francis for his Paper."

The Master, J. Hoppe, Esq., returned thanks for the Cordwainers' Company.

Professor Lewis, F.S.A., read a paper on St. Bartholomew's Church and its restorations.

The Chairman (Mr. Tite) made some observations on the Church and its condition prior to the Reformation.

The following resolutions were then put and carried unanimously :—

"That the best thanks of the meeting be given to Professor Lewis for his able paper on the Church.

"That a vote of thanks be given to Mr. Alfred White for his offer to restore to St. Bartholomew's Church some of the bosses which had come into his possession.

"That the sincere thanks of the meeting be given to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor for his esteemed services as President of the meeting; and to Mr. Tite for his subsequent services in the same capacity."

The meeting then adjourned to Heralds' College.

By permission of Sir C. G. Young, Garter, various grants of arms and heraldic MSS. were exhibited by Mr. Planché, and described by Mr. Black.

Votes of thanks were then proposed to Sir C. G. Young and Mr. Black, and carried unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned to St. Bartholomew's Church.

Mr. Tite at some length described the Church; and the thanks of the meeting were given to Mr. Tite and to the Rev. J. Abbiss, Rector.

THE THIRTY-SECOND GENERAL AND ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Held at the Society's Rooms, No. 22, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, on Thursday, 19th July, 1866,

Mr. ALFRED WHITE, F.S.A., F.L.S., in the Chair.

The Notice convening the meeting, and the Report of the Council and that of the Auditors, were read.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

"The Council have much pleasure in congratulating the Society on its continued prosperity, as evidenced in the steady increase in the number of members, and of the interest taken in the meetings.

"Since the last annual meeting the Society has held a general meeting on the 30th January last at Cordwainers' Hall, the Heralds' College, and St. Bartholomew's the Great, presided over by the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, at each of which places the Society received the greatest attention, and had access to all documents and objects of interest. Papers were also read by the gentlemen connected with those institutions.

"The interesting matter brought before the Evening Meetings, and the large attendance at them, render it unnecessary, and, in the opinion of the Council, undesirable, to call the members too frequently together in the earlier part of the day.

"Arrangements have been made for a Country Meeting on the 31st inst.

"Another Part of the Society's Transactions is in the press, and will, it is hoped, be in the hands of the members in a few weeks.

"The members can judge from the Auditors' Report, which will be now submitted to them, of the satisfactory state of the Society's finances.

"In conclusion, the Council would press upon the members the great benefit which will result to the Society by their inducing their friends to join, so that it may more largely represent the City and County, and also by giving early information to the Council of the repair, restoration, or contemplated destruction of any ancient edifices; and they mention with satisfaction that, during the past year, they have thus been enabled to give useful advice in two instances."

AUDITORS' REPORT.

"We, the undersigned Auditors, having examined the accounts for the year ending July 1866, and compared the same with the vouchers, do find the same to be correct, and that the balance in favour of the Society is *42l. 3s. 2d.*

(Signed) "ROBERT WESTWOOD.
"W. H. OVERALL."

THE BALANCE SHEET of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY from July 1865 to July 1866.

Cr.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers at last Audit	52	7	9
Dividends on £66 13*s.* 4*d.* to April 1866	3	0	0
Subscriptions and Entrance Fees, 1865 and 1866	132	10	0
Donation, J. O. Hall, Esq.	1	1	0
	£188	18	9

Dr.	£	s.	d.
Mr. Ivatts, One and a Half-year's Salary as Assistant to Honorary Secretaries to Midsummer 1866	15	0	0
„ Collingridge, for Printing	3	15	0
Rent of Rooms at No. 22, Hart Street, for 12 months to Lady Day 1866	15	0	0
Mr. Farmer, Gas and Firing to Midsummer 1865	4	4	3
Messrs. Nichols and Sons, Printing Transactions	51	1	0
Mr. Scott, Printing	7	18	0
„ Mitchener „	0	15	0
„ Collingridge, Printing for Evening Meetings	16	10	6
„ Jewitt, for Woodcuts	1	9	10
„ Ivatts, for Commission on Collection and Delivery of Parts of Transactions	7	8	6
Stationery	3	19	0
Expenses of General Meeting at Cordwainers' Hall	2	13	0
Petty Cash and Postage	2	1	6
Publishing Committee, for illustrating the Rev. T. Hugo's Paper on Moor Hall	15	0	0
	£146	15	7
Balance at Bankers . £45 15 2			
Less Cheque drawn . 3 12 0			
	42	3	2
	£188	18	9

Audited by us, this 17th day of July, 1866,

(Signed) { ROBERT WESTWOOD.
W. H. OVERALL.

The following Resolutions were then proposed and carried unanimously:—

"That the Report of the Council and that of the Auditors be received, adopted, and printed.

"That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Council for their Report, and for the satisfactory position in which the Society stands.

"That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Auditors, Messrs. Westwood and Overall, for their services and able Report.

"That the thanks of the meeting and of the Society are eminently due, and are hereby given, to the Honorary Secretaries, the Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.S.A., and Charles J. Shoppee, Esq., for their zeal and constant attention to the interests of the Society.

"That, in the absence of the Honorary Secretaries (the Rev. T. Hugo from illness and Mr. Shoppee from an urgent engagement), Mr. Barron be requested to communicate the above Resolution to them, and to express at the same time the appreciation entertained by the members of their services to the Society.

"That the thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Price, the director of the Evening Meetings."

The meeting then proceeded to the election of Officers and Council for the year ensuing, and the following were unanimously chosen:—

President as before.

Vice-Presidents as before, adding Mr. Deputy Lott, and with vote of thanks for their past services.

Council as before, omitting the names of Messrs Bassett Smith and Lott, and adding those of Messrs. Black and Campkin.

Auditors as before.

Honorary Secretaries as before.

The thanks of the meeting were then voted to the Chairman, Mr. Alfred White; and the proceedings closed.

THIRTY-THIRD GENERAL MEETING,

Held at Laleham, Littleton, Stanwell, and Bedfont, on Tuesday, 31st July, 1866.

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., President.

The members from London proceeded to Staines, and thence to Laleham Church, where they were received by the Rev. J. Dawson Peake, the Incumbent, and the meeting commenced.

Littleton was the next place visited, and, after inspecting the Church, Littleton House was viewed by the kind permission of General Wood.

At Stanwell Church the company was received by the Rev. R. Parry Burnett, Vicar.

A Paper was read on the Brasses and Monuments in the Church by Alfred Heales, Esq., F.S.A.

The Free School, founded by Lord Knyvett, was also visited.

The party then proceeded to Bedfont Church, now in course of enlargement, and were there received by the Rev. H. Vincent Le Bas the Vicar, and by the Architect, James Deason, Esq., who offered some remarks on the architecture of the Church, and on some mural paintings discovered during the works.

The company then adjourned to a large barn, kindly lent by Mr. Francis Sherborn, where a collation was provided.

This terminated the day's proceedings.

Proceedings at Evening Meetings.

March 4, 1863.

BASSETT SMITH, Esq., F.G.S., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. W. H. Overall read an interesting paper on "Inedited London Tokens," exhibiting from the cabinets of various collectors a series of examples illustrative of the subject. Many of these were remarkably fine and previously unknown. Mr. Overall also exhibited from the collection of F. Bousfield, Esq. a collection of antiquities, which comprised some curious examples of early badges, seals, spoons, &c. The following as described by Mr. Overall may be briefly referred to: a silver gilt badge said to have been connected with the Mercers' Company, with a motto, "Thincke and thancke God, 1625;" a brass seal of Richard de Redvers (Earl Rivers) who died 1184. This seal is not perfect, but sufficient remains to show a sleeping dog or wolf below a griffin displayed. Prior to the death of the Earl of Devon he substituted a lion for the above arms. An enamelled ring of William Earl of Gloucester, who died 1182. An enamelled badge of Philippa, Queen of Edward III.; this queen is said to have led the army which defeated the Scots at Neville's Cross. An ancient wooden seal, conjectured to have been in use prior to the introduction of heraldic arms; it is similar in character to the old wool seals, &c.

Mr. John E. Price exhibited a series of unpublished tokens; also an example of the leaden pilgrim's sign, representing a mitred head and bust, lately recovered from the Thames.

April 1, 1863.

CHARLES J. SHOPPEE, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. J. J. Wilkinson exhibited an elegantly-carved wooden casket discovered in a salt mine in South America, and supposed to have belonged to the extinct tribe of the Incas; also some curious alabaster figures obtained from the churches there.

Mr. W. H. Overall read a paper on the birthplace of Chaucer. He commenced by remarking that while the biographers of the Poet believe him to have been born in the city, and to have been a member of one of the Companies, none have hitherto been able to define his residence. He exhibited a copy of a MS. dated 4 Richard II., being a transfer of premises from

Chaucer to Herbury, in the parish of St. Martin's in the Vintry. It would appear from this deed that this spot was probably the father's residence, and there are good grounds for supposing that here Chaucer was born and lived. His father being a vintner he was born free of that craft. These facts are strengthened by a passage in his *Book of Love*, book i. sect. 5: "Also the Citye of London, that is to me dere and swete, in which I was forth growen, and more kindely love have I to that place than to any other in yerth (earth), as every kindly creture hath full appetite to that place of his kindly engendrure, and to wilne reste and peace in that stede to abide."

Mr. Overall next exhibited a Scotch tally of Edward I., for the payment of a certain sum of money to Allen of St. Botolph, holden for the defence of the town of St. John de Perth. He also briefly described several antiquities kindly lent for exhibition by Frederick Bousfield, Esq. Among these were two bronze Roman locks, with hasp and keys, discovered at Colchester; also specimens of *fibulæ* in bronze and lead; likewise two curious examples of the fool's bauble, and a Bellarmine, bearing on the side a fool's cap and bells. Several interesting historical facts connected with these objects were adduced.

May 6, 1863.

ALFRED WHITE, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., in the Chair.

Mr. George Russell French described a standard gallon measure in bronze of the reign of Henry VII., and a small Roman lamp of the same metal, both exhibited by Messrs. Warner and Son of Jewin Street. The measure stands 12¾ inches high, the diameter at the mouth 9½ inches, at foot 5½ inches. Two bands, each of three beadings, are round the measure, and between these is a raised flat band, whereon is the Yorkist badge of the *rose en soleil*, and the inscription in raised black letter, HENRICUS SEPTIMUS between the Tudor badges, the greyhound and portcullis (*Beaufort*). The handle is formed of the head and trunk of an elephant; on each side of the rim is a square notch, as if to receive a cover; the metal is of good thickness. The handle of the lamp is the crescent of Diana.

Mr. Charles Baily made some interesting observations on mediæval locks, ornamental ironwork, &c., and contributed a large and varied series of drawings illustrative of his remarks. He also exhibited a curious lock of German workmanship, presumed to have been the diploma work of an apprentice. It bore an inscription in German verse, with the date 1748.

3rd June, 1863.

ALFRED WHITE, F.L.S., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. W. H. Overall exhibited, by permission of F. Blades, esq. author of a recent "Life of Caxton," several fac-similes of engravings from the printer's early works. He observed that one represented the house of one Robert Large, in the Old Jewry, to whom Caxton was apprenticed in early life. Large was afterwards Mayor, and at the time of Caxton's apprenticeship was probably one of the merchant princes of the City: it is said of him that he sent more money to the king's revenue, had more well-mounted men, and spent larger sums on their appointments, than any merchant of his day. After the expiration of his term, in 1466, Caxton was sent to Bruges, and to his residence there may probably be attributed his connexion with printing, for there he must have acquired that great love for it which resulted in its becoming the ultimate aim of his life. Many of the engravings were extremely curious. The subjects for the most part were allegorical, and comprised among them "Mansion of Merchant Adventurers at Bruges, inhabited by Caxton, 1470;" representations of the "Nativity and Passion of our Lord, from the Golden Legend, 1483;" figures of printing presses and type-founding in the year 1520, and circa; illustrations from Æsop's Fables, &c., and a very interesting leaf, the only one of the book now left in existence, being the first page of the service of the Transfiguration. This single page was lately discovered in the Congregational Library, and purchased by the British Museum for 200*l*.

Mr. Overall also described a series of antiquities exhibited by F. Bousfield, esq., a small early metal pomander, or scent-box, on the lid of which is a figure of Victory with a trumpet, and an extended arm holding a wreath; two curious knife-handles, carved in morse ivory; also a lock of the reign of Charles I., and a small inlaid early bolt lock; some specimens of pewter vessels with handles, one of these dated 1653; and examples of pateræ in the same metal, one as early apparently as 1578, with a representation of a boar's head.

Dr. William Bell read a paper, entitled "The Regal Devices of the Royal Families of England," which was followed by some interesting observations by Mr. G. R. French on the same subject.

1st July, 1863.

JOHN FRANKLIN, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. Charles Baily read an interesting paper "On the Mode of Roofing Buildings in the Middle Ages," with a view to ascertain the style of roof originally placed over the Guildhall of London, and to consider the proposed restorations.

11th January, 1864.

A. WHITE, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., in the Chair.

Mr. G. R. French read a paper "On the Stone Coffins found on the north side of the Temple Church in 1862," and especially with reference to one bearing the inscription "Philippus Hilario," which he believed to be the monument of Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, one of the most learned men of his day, and one who bore a distinguished part in the contest which raged between King Henry (Beauclerk) and Archbishop Thomas à Becket. He was in 1148 consecrated Bishop of Chichester, by virtue of a mandate from Pope Eugenius III., and soon afterwards was elected Archbishop of York, but in consequence of a dispute was not translated to that province. He took a decided part with reference to the contests between the king and clergy, and stood alone, at one time, in support of the monarch, and was afterwards one of the Royal Commissioners opposing the Archbishops' appeal to Rome, and died in 1169. The present Temple Church being the successor to a church which stood between Fleet Street and Holborn, and the Bishops of Chichester having a palace in Chancery Lane on the site now called Chichester Rents, Mr. French concluded, that, in the event of Bishop Hilary having died whilst in London, he might probably have been buried in the church of the Templars, and that the coffin of so eminent a person would, upon the completion of the new church, have been removed thither.

The coffin is 6ft. 9 by 2ft. 2½ wide at the head, sloping to 1ft. 3 at the foot; it is slightly coped, and has a raised ridge down the centre, but is quite plain in other respects. The inscription is in two lines on one side of the ridge; on the ridge itself is the letter T.

8th February, 1864.

J. W. BUTTERWORTH, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. Baily read a paper on one of the effigies in the Temple Church, hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Magnaville, Earl of Essex. Tracing briefly the history of that notorious character until his death, and his burial in the round of the Temple Church, he stated that the arms of the De Magnaville family were, Quarterly, or and gu., and Dugdale says (without mentioning any authority) that Geoffrey added an escarbuncle. When the church was restored, the figure and shield were freed from whitewash and dirt, and the bearings appear to be, two fesses dancettée, and over all an escarbuncle, and therefore materially different from those ascribed to the Earl. The effigy itself, although of a very early character, cannot be placed before the

reign of King Richard the First. From these facts he concluded that the figure does not represent Geoffrey de Magnaville as hitherto supposed.*

Mr. Overall exhibited and described photographs of the Pledge Cup of the Worshipful Company of Founders.

Mr. J. E. Price read a paper "On a Kiln for burning Encaustic Tiles," discovered near Farringdon Road, Clerkenwell, which is printed at p. 31 of the present volume.

Mr. H. W. Sass exhibited some Roman remains found while excavating in St. Mildred's Court, Poultry.

14th March, 1864.

CHARLES BAILY, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. W. H. Overall read a paper "On the Writings of Geoffrey Chaucer." He commenced by noticing his works in their relation to archæology, and pointed out their importance to antiquaries, on account of the valuable information they furnish regarding the manners and customs of the English people in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., and proceeded to show that the fact of Chaucer not being a general favorite arose from the quaintness of his style, and the antiquity which clings to his writings, he being often tedious and obscure, and his orthography difficult, but that his descriptions are life-like and thoroughly English, and his characters may always be distinguished as inhabitants of his own land. The paper concluded with a reference to the various portraits of the poet.

Mr. George Russell French contributed some observations on the same subject, tracing the biography of Chaucer from his birth in London in 1328; his education at the university; his co-operation in the army with which Edward III. invaded France; and his subsequent appointment in the customs; on to the time when he fell into straitened circumstances, which were relieved by the grant of a pension in 1399, in addition to an annuity formerly granted by Richard II., and to his death, which occurred in the following year, on the 25th October, 1400, at the age of seventy-two.

* See further on this subject an article entitled "The Effigy attributed to Geoffrey de Magnaville, and the other Effigies in the Temple Church," which is published in *The Herald and Genealogist*, (May 1865,) vol. iii. pp. 97—112. It is accompanied by an engraving copied from Mr. Edward Richardson's *Monumental Effigies of the Temple Church*, showing the two dancettes, and perhaps indications of a third. The shield is certainly *not Quarterly*, and the escarbuncle is merely constructional, not heraldic. The person for whom the effigy was really intended has not been ascertained; but its costume shows it to be of a date very nearly, if not quite, half a century posterior to that of the death of Geoffrey de Magnaville, Earl of Essex, in 1144. *(Edit.)*

He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a tomb was erected to his memory by Nicholas Brigham, a poet, in 1556.

Mr. THOMAS WILLS exhibited some ancient finger rings found in London, with other objects of interest from his collection.

11th April, 1864.

ALFRED WHITE, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., in the Chair.

Mr. G. R. FRENCH read an interesting paper "On the localities connected with Shakespeare's Plays in general, but especially the places in London and Westminster recorded in the Histories from King Richard II. to Henry VIII. inclusive."

9th May, 1864.

JOHN FRANKLIN, Esq., in the Chair.

Some discussion took place on the subject of Mr. French's paper, read at the previous meeting, in which Mr. Charles Baily referred especially to the Tower of London and Westminster Abbey and Hall; and the Rev. Thomas Hugo to Ely House and Crosby Place; and Mr. Overall to Guildhall. The remarks were concluded by a paper by Mr. FRENCH on the death of the two young Princes in the Tower.

13th June, 1864.

J. W. BUTTERWORTH, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. J. E. PRICE read a paper, entitled "Reminiscences of the Steelyard, formerly in Upper Thames Street, with an account of the Antiquities recently discovered on its site," which is printed at p. 67 of the present volume.

Mr. W. H. OVERALL exhibited a series of antiquities from the museum of Frederick Bousfield, Esq., and made some observations on the more remarkable objects in the collection. He remarked that the series of "whorls" was unique and of peculiar interest. In former times these little circular pieces of stone or other material, with a hole in the centre, were thought by antiquaries to have served the purposes of "buttons," but there is little doubt that they were used in the operation of spinning wool or flax, and were intended to put the spindle in, when in motion. They much

resemble the wheels or whorls—"*vorticellum*"—of the Romans. These were formed of "stone, bone, or baked clay," and have frequently been found in different parts of London. Spindle wheels have also been found in Scotland and the Hebrides, and in various parts of England. One, formed of grey terra cotta, was exhumed at Alchester from a Roman excavation, and another is described in the *Nenia Britannica* as being 1¼ inch in diameter.* Of those exhibited, there were two very good examples of the Anglo-Saxon whorl in terra cotta, five mediæval specimens having many curious devices upon them, one with an owl represented, with various letters and evidences of Gothic tracery. These are all from about 1¼ inch to 2 inches in diameter, and much resemble the Mexican "*Tosca.*"

Mr. Overall then described a collection of studs from the reign of Henry VIII. to the present century, a curious metal casket, and a jug of a very nondescript character. It is of large size, and has the mouth formed like a modern tap instead of the ordinary spout. It is beautifully ornamented, and entirely covered with a bright green glaze.

A letter was then read from Mr. F. Wallen, announcing that a very large and fine portion of the old London Wall had recently become exposed to view by the removal of some warehouses in Cooper's Row, Crutched Friars. Mr. Wallen's remarks appear at p. 52 of the present volume.

9th January, 1865.

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., gave a paper on "Ancient Wills, and the Illustrations they afford to London Life and History."

Messrs. FRANCIS and SON, Architects, Guildford Street, kindly contributed for exhibition three remarkable specimens of Roman Amphoræ lately discovered in Clement's Lane, Lombard Street.

The CHAIRMAN exhibited a curious two-quart Mug of Delft ware, made for the Butchers' Company, and ornamented with their arms, crest, and supporters.

13th February, 1865.

Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. THOMAS MILBOURN read a paper on "The Milbourne Almshouses lately standing in Crutched Friars, with some account of their founder and his family." He observed that these buildings, familiarly known as the

* See also the paper entitled "On the Distaff and Spindle, as the Insignia of the Female Sex in former times," by J. Y. Akerman, Esq., late Secretary S.A. in the Archæologia, vol. XXXVII. pp. 83—101.

Drapers' Almshouses, were until recently to be seen on the right-hand side of Cooper's Row, in passing to Tower Hill. They were originally founded by Sir John Milbourne, Lord Mayor of London in 1521, and were built of brick partly faced with stone, and possessed a curious arched gateway and a high pitched roof of red tiles. Over the gateway, prior to its removal, was an ancient piece of sculpture representing the Assumption of the Virgin, supported by six angels, and on either side was a coat of arms, that at the right hand being those of the Milbourne family and the other the arms of the Drapers' Company, while beneath were those of the Haberdashers' Company. Under the sculpture there was an inscription in Latin, which may be literally given as follows:—"To the praise of God and the Glorious Virgin Mary this work was erected by Sir John Milbourne, Knight, and Alderman of the City, Anno Dom. 1535." This inscription had disappeared long previous to the demolition of the old buildings, and had been replaced by one in our mother tongue to the same effect. The Drapers' Company having purchased a site at Tottenham High Cross, five miles from London, in 1862, erected thereon a large school-house for fifty boys, and twenty-four almshouses. To these the sixteen almspeople in Cooper's Row were removed, with eight others from the Company's almshouses in Beech Street, Barbican. Shortly after their removal the buildings were sold by auction and the site cleared for the erection of some new warehouses. Care has been taken of the piece of sculpture referred to, the same being now preserved in the houses at Tottenham.

Mr. JOHN E. PRICE contributed some notes on a Roman interment in West Smithfield, printed at p. 37 of the present volume.

13th March, 1865.

Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. CHARLES BAILY described a series of Roman and Mediæval Antiquities recently found in London, and kindly lent for exhibition by Mr. Walker Baily.

The CHAIRMAN contributed a paper upon the "Real Origin and Foundation of Christ's Hospital."

Mr. J. GOUGH NICHOLS forwarded a communication entitled "The Progress of the Royal Hospitals."

10th April, 1865.

ARTHUR ASHPITEL, ESQ., F.S.A., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN read a paper upon the Original Drawings made by Sir Christopher Wren for St. Paul's Cathedral. An article, being a more

extended account of the drawings by that celebrated architect now belonging to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, has been since prepared by Mr. Ashpitel, and appears at p. 39 of the present volume.

Mr. E. J. Barron exhibited, by the kindness of the Lodge of Antiquity, an excellent portrait of Sir Christopher Wren, and a wooden mallet formerly used by him.

8th May, 1865.

Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., in the Chair.

The Chairman gave a description of some Painted Glass found under remains of an old wall near St. John's Church, Clerkenwell.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited Roman Antiquities in iron and bronze from various parts of the city.

12th June, 1865.

J. G. WALLER, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A., read a paper on "The History of Painted Glass;" and a variety of specimens of stained glass were exhibited by Mr. Marshall and Mr. Shoppee.

15th January, 1866.

ALFRED WHITE, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., in the Chair.

Mr. William Tayler, F.S.A., read an interesting paper entitled "An Historical Sketch of the Ancient Mansions of our Forefathers, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and her successors, in the County of Middlesex and City of London."

Mr. Walker Baily, Mr. Gunston, and Mr. Price exhibited some curious examples of Roman cinerary urns lately exhumed while excavating for the dead meat and poultry market, Smithfield.

12th February, 1866.

WILLIAM H. BLACK, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. George Russell French read a paper entitled "Tapestry and its Relation to Sacred and Profane History." Illustrative of the subject there were suspended round the meeting room some curious examples of tapestry exhibited by Mr. J. Franklin, and a valuable piece of large dimensions contributed by the Committee of the Sussex Archæological Society. Mr. E. J. Barron, Mr. Emslie, and Mr. Hunter also exhibited specimens of needlework.

12th March, 1866.

Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. William Henry Black, F.S.A., read an interesting paper "On the real meaning and significance of the three sitting figures in the museum of the Guildhall." This piece of Roman sculpture, familiar, doubtless, to many of our readers, was discovered some twenty years since in the course of excavations for sewerage in Crutched Friars. It consists of three female figures seated and bearing in their laps baskets containing what has hitherto been thought to be fruit. It has been described at length in the journals of various antiquarian societies, and has been considered to be a representation of the "Deæ Matres," or "Mother Goddesses" of the Roman age. The object of Mr. Black's communication was to controvert this opinion, and, as suggested by the title of his paper, ascribe to them a far different meaning and interpretation. Instead of goddesses he held them to be impersonations of provinces, and the contents of the baskets to be treasure, the tribute money of Roman times. The idea of representing authority and government by a female seated is of very ancient origin; and Mr. Black adduced some references thereto that exist in Holy Writ, in Isaiah. In the North of England such sculptures have been frequently found, and in the museum at Newcastle is a group of five figures seated, discovered among the remains of a portion of the Roman wall. Mr. Black concluded his dissertation by reference to such Roman coins as have upon their reverses representations of seated figures. In those relating to this country, Britannia is in the sitting posture; and this mode of symbolizing power has been continued on our coins to the present day.

Mr. J. P. Emslie exhibited a large crayon drawing of the three figures, in which the peculiarities of the sculpture were well displayed.

14th May, 1866.

ALFRED WHITE, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Rev. T. Hugo read a highly interesting paper on "The last Survivors of the Inmates of the Religious Houses in London and Middlesex."

11th June, 1866.

G. R. FRENCH, Esq., in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., on "The Primitive Site, Extent, and Neighbourhood of Roman London."

Mr. Alfred White, F.S.A., made some remarks on Roman Coins lately found at Battersea.

Wednesday, January 7, 1863.

Frederick W. Fairholt, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

John Franklin, Esq., read the following interesting paper on the costume of the 17th and 18th centuries:—"I have been asked to say a few words to you this evening about the habits of our grandmothers; and although, to some, it may seem a very trivial subject, and one unworthy of occupying the time of such a society as ours, it may perhaps afford us amusement if not instruction. It strikes me that there is much significancy in dress, and an intimate connection between the habits and manners of an age, and that it would be most interesting to trace the vagaries of fashion from the simple and yet graceful dress of the classic Greeks to that of our own time, and to mark the effect of civilization and morals upon costume; though that would involve much time and deep research, and far more learning and industry than falls to my share. I therefore shall content myself with giving a slight sketch of the principal changes which have taken place since the year 1660, bringing before your notice those habits of our grandmothers most striking for their grace and beauty, as well as those for their absurdity — for I regret to say that our grandmothers were no more exempt from absurdity and extravagance in dress than are their granddaughters or their great-great-granddaughters. To me it is amusing to look back to the monstrous, inconvenient, and unbecoming habits that, from time to time, have swayed the fashionable world, each being thought beautiful when in vogue; and also strange that, when once a fit and becoming costume was attained, it should so speedily give place to that which was cumbrous or inelegant; but all sublunary things are mutable, and so even well cannot be let alone. According to Burke, 'fitness is beauty;' and I do not think a better definition has been given since his time. Alas, then, how hideously ugly most of our grandmamas' habits have been! You are all aware that with the Merry Monarch came in French tastes, French manners, and French fashions, and that the graceful and becoming dress of the first Charles's reign was cut and bedizened with gold and ribands, and overlaid with

redundant ornaments, so called,—and that the modest habits of the ladies gave place to flaunting gaudiness, or semi-nudity, as seen in 'Kneller's Court Beauties,' and other of his works. The flowing hair of the loyal and chivalrous cavalier was cropped shorter than any sour Puritan's, and monstrous and misshapen wigs usurped its place—an enormity of folly that has never been equalled in male costume, and is about on a par with the hoops of the gentler sex. But in the latter part of this reign fashion was much sobered down; no doubt the troubles and the terrible visitations of the Plague and the Great Fire had their influence. In the vexed and disastrous reign of James but little alteration in dress is observable; the hair of the ladies still fell in graceful curls on the shoulders. But in that of William and Mary it was strained back from the forehead, and piled up, tier upon tier, in an unsightly tower, jocosely called a commode, crowned with voluminous garnishments of ribands and lace, with long lappets or pinners of the same, falling almost to the waist, which was worn long, and confined in stiff stays; the bosom, formerly so much exposed, was covered; the gown, composed of richly-embroidered satin or brocade, was open in front, and turned back at the sides, falling in a train behind, displaying a quilted petticoat and lace apron; the sleeves were short, scarce reaching to the elbow, with large cuffs, resembling those worn by the men, under which were seen deep lace ruffles; the shoes were short-quartered, with extremely high heels and pointed toes. The fan, in its present form, was first introduced, superseding that much handsomer one composed of feathers, of previous reigns. The accession of Anne affected dress but slightly; ringlets were again worn, and that nasty fashion of powdering the hair was introduced, but the Queen did not use it; and those hideous enormities, hoops, appeared again—not the old farthingale represented by the annexed cut, copied from a figure on the monument in Cranford Church, of Sir Roger Aston and his two wives, who died in the early part of the 17th century, but a whalebone excrescence, which spread out the gown on either side to most preposterous dimensions; hoods were worn of many colours; scarlet stockings were in vogue; and one of the worst of our grandmamas' habits became general with the fashionable belles, namely, snuff-taking; they also affected the male costume when riding, wearing a short coat and waistcoat laced with gold or silver, and a jauntily-cocked beaver

hat and feather. This fashion also prevailed in the reign of Charles II. Pepys, in his 'Diary,' mentions that the Court ladies wore riding-dresses like the men's, also periwigs and hats; and says, that but for their long petticoats no one would take them for women. With the Hanoverian dynasty the costume was slightly Germanised; coats became more ample, and wigs less so; the hoop still held its ground, but in various forms; the gowns were worn shorter; and a new garment, called a 'saque,' was introduced. It was a loose gown, unconfined at

the waist, falling in ample folds from the shoulders; but you must all be familiar with the dress of this time from the inimitable pictures of our great moral painter, Hogarth. Although fashion fluctuated much, no very material change took place until the latter part of George III.'s reign. The head-dresses of the ladies rose and fell like the stocks; now arranged in stiff buckles, surmounted by a small lace cap, stiffened with pomatum and powder, puffed out with pads of wool, and covered with riband-bows, lace, and feathers; in fact, all

sorts of appliances were resorted to to distort, disfigure, and mar the glossy honours of the ladies' heads. And here I might dilate on the loathsomeness of this fashion, but I dare not tell its results to ears polite, they are better imagined than described. It is sufficient to say, that so complex was the arrangement of their *coiffures*, that they were not undone for weeks, nay, months, perhaps. It was not an unusual thing for a lady to be obliged to sleep for two or three nights propped up in an easy chair, watched by her maid, in order to be able to appear at the drawing-rooms and court balls, there not being barbers enough in London to execute this more than barbarous operation in one day. The personal ornaments were necklaces composed of many rows of pearls, gems, or beads, according to the rank or wealth of the wearer, arranged in festoons upon the bosom, and called, I think, a *negligée*. Chatelaines were worn at the waist, from which were suspended scent-bottles, scissors, and other useful articles. This fashion was revived in our time, but instead of the elegant form worn by our grandmothers, they were long, inconvenient, glittering steel appendages, reaching three feet below the girdle.

"The next great change in dress took place during the time of that greatest blot on the page of the world's history—the French Revolution—when Satan seemed to have been unbound, and treason triumphed over—not us, thank God, but our Gallic neighbours. All was then 'confusion worse confounded;' right and wrong changed places, in the seething cauldron of politics the scum rose to the surface, and the demons of the Republic aped the manners and dress of the ancient Romans. Look at the female adaptation of the classic costume, and behold such a wretched caricature! A figure forced into a garment a world too narrow for it, the girdle placed immediately under the shoulders, and the hair cropped short. In order to display their figures, the ladies wore petticoats, called *Receamier*, after the inventor. They were composed of worsted web, which clung so tightly to the person as to define the limbs beneath. And now having come to that time when the very worst taste in dress, in manners, in furniture, in fact, in everything, prevailed, I will leave the subject, as, according to the old proverb, 'when things come to the worst they must mend;' and we all know that there has been a change for the better, so that we have a prospect of attaining to something that will be at once convenient and becoming; and when

we arrive at so devoutly-to-be-wished a consummation, let us trust that it may be steadfastly retained."

The Chairman exhibited a large and valuable series of prints illustrative of the subject, and observed that it might be well to say a few words explanatory of the entire collection which hung upon the walls, and had been brought by himself and others. He commenced, chronologically, with the female figures engraved by Hollar in 1641, typifying the four Seasons, which well display the conscientious accuracy of that artist in the minute engraving of the details, such as lace, fur, &c., forming part of the costume. A similar series illustrative of the Elements and Senses, engraved by William Marshall, gave valuable points of female costume about the same time. The Queen of England being at this time a Frenchwoman, the fashions of Paris regulated those of England in a great degree. Some of the works of the engraver A. Bosse, (highly spoken of by Evelyn), were next referred to, particularly those depicting the ceremony observed at Fontainebleau in 1645, on occasion of the contract of marriage between Vladislaus III. of Poland and the Princess of Mantua; and another representing the milliners' and mercers' shops in the gallery of the Palais Royal; the latter remarkable for the well-defined and curious minor articles of costume delineated. A series of female dresses executed by St. Jean and Bonnart (1678) exhibited the formal but highly enriched habits worn by the ladies of the Court of Louis-le-Grand. One striking peculiarity marked the fashion in France and England at the close of this century, and the early part of the succeeding one; this was the high head-dress of ribbons and lace, piled tier over tier, known as the *Fontange*, *tower*, and *commode*. It originated in a caprice of fashion resulting from an accident in hunting which happened to Mademoiselle Fontange, by

which she lost her head-dress, and got her hair in disorder; she remedied the accident by using the ribands of her sleeves to tie up her hair, in a sort of pile above her forehead. The king was so much pleased with the good effect of this unstudied arrangement that it ended in the invention of this extremely formal head-dress, which continued the fashion in England until the accession of George I. The very simple costume which characterised the gentry of the court of George II. may be seen in the prints after H. Gravelot, F. Hayman, &c. About 1770 we meet with quaint and outré inventions, but they are chiefly confined to the head-dress, which about 1777 assumed a portentous size. A caricature of that year represents a beau seated behind a stout lady at the opera, using one of the large curls at the side of her head as an opera glass, and peeping through it towards the stage. Numerous were the caricatures levelled against this preposterous fashion, but most of the prints now exhibited were serious representations of a style of head-dress that was in itself a caricature. The curious print known as "the Park Shower," showing the Mall crowded with fashionable company, was exhibited as a picture of life in London at the close of last century; and Desrais' "Promenade du Boulevard Italien (Avril 1797)" as that of life in Paris during the stormy days of the Revolution. The series concluded with a view of the Parade at Bath "crowded with fashionables;" the whole being further illustrated by a series of portraits valuable for the details of costume they exhibited.

John Hunter, Esq., exhibited a number of prints, &c., illustrating dress in the reign of Charles II., and made some observations upon the little change that has been effected in the costume worn by the royal household and that used on state occasions.

Thomas Wills, Esq., exhibited a richly-worked ornamental jacket as a specimen of costume of the same period. It is of fine white linen, every part embroidered with fancy flowers and leaves, the outlines being formed of gold twist, the filling in with blue silk, the intermediate spaces are powdered with little silver spangles, producing a rich, delicate, and splendid effect. This jacket has long sleeves, is without a collar, but made to fit close round the neck. It fastens down the front with silver hooks and eyes. It is short, and can scarcely have reached the hips. No satisfactory history of this specimen can now be given: it is known to have been treasured up at Fordingbridge in Hampshire, and there are circumstances connected with it which support the idea that it is part of the wardrobe of

either the Prince of Wales or Duke of York—the sons of Charles the First. Its pedigree is however broken, and no means are now left by which the lost links can be restored. That it did belong to some youth of exalted rank will scarcely admit of doubt, and there is nothing improbable in the notion that it is in truth a relic of the fallen house of Stuart.

Mr. Wills also contributed for exhibition a collar of SS, of about the reign of James I., said to have been discovered some years since during repairs at Holyrood Palace, and an example of the *étui* in use in the seventeenth century, formerly in the Fonthill collection. The cases in this specimen are rather flat in form; the fronts and backs are of mother-of-pearl, with gilt metal edges. The whole is elegantly engraved, and suspended by five fine chains from a little plaque, linked to the girdle-hook, the front of which is inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The larger *étui* in the centre contained the scissors, the narrow cases on either side (one is lost) held the tweezers and knife, while the box-like cases depending from the shorter chains were destined for the thimble and seal. Also a pair of drab silk ladies' shoes, of the latter part of the sixteenth century; a small pair worn by the Duke of Gloucester, brother of George III.; and a pair used by Sarah, first Duchess of Marlborough, possessed by the Galway family since the reign of Queen Anne.

An extensive series of shoes, of the reigns of Richard II. and Edward III., were exhibited, by the kindness of Thomas Point, Esq., of the City Gasworks. They were found, a few years since, with numerous other relics, at a depth of from twelve to sixteen feet, while excavating for a new gasometer in Whitefriars. Some have buckles and straps across the instep, while others contain cork soles. One specimen, a long, pointed shoe, may be specially referred to; it still contains the stuffing of hay or moss with which, from their extreme length, it was customary to fill the points of the cumbersome shoes of these reigns.

Numerous prints and drawings, dresses, ornaments for the hair, shoes, chatelaines, and a variety of other objects of interest connected with the subject, were kindly contributed for exhibition, by J. W. Butterworth, F.S.A., Mr. Henry W. Sass, Mr. W. H. Overall, Mr. Charles S. Haines, Mr. S. H. Angier, and Mr. John E. Price.

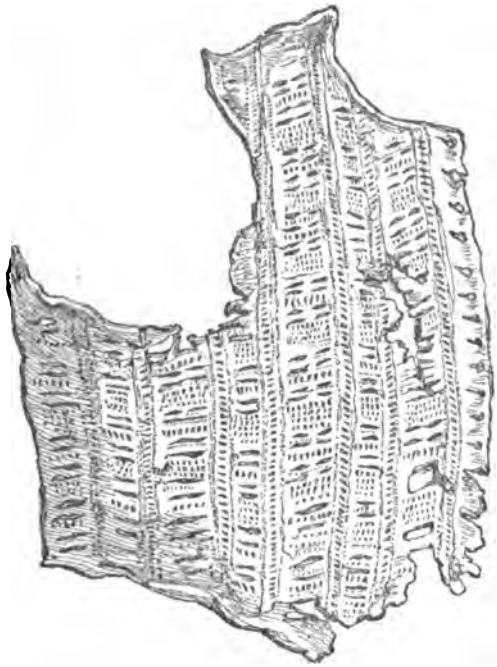
Wednesday, February 4, 1863.

Joshua W. Butterworth, Esq., F.S.A., in the chair.

Mr. Thomas D. E. Gunston exhibited a varied and interesting collection of antiquities, discovered during the excavations for the Metropolitan Railway, in the neighbourhood of the Fleet Ditch. A communication from him was read by the Secretary, describing the principal objects, some of which may be briefly referred to. A series of Silver Coins of the reigns of Henry VIII., Mary, Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and James II. The sovereign or sceptre unit of James, bearing on the obverse the King in armour, holding the orb and sceptre; and on the reverse, the arms of England and France, with Scotland and Ireland quartered. A coin in tin, struck by James II. for America; also several halfpence and farthings of the same metal, with copper plugs in the centre, numerous leaden pieces, constituting a kind of money, impressed with trade devices, merchants' marks, &c. A number of spurs and keys of various dates, and an interesting dagger presumed to be of the reign of James I. Spoons in pewter and brass, differently marked and lettered, one stamped with the date 1598. Objects in leather, comprising jerkins, collars, and

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.



shoes of periods ranging from the reign of Henry VIII., to James I. many being decorated and slashed according to the then prevailing styles. Through the kindness of Mr. John Franklin, engravings are here given of two of the jerkins, as well as portraits, one of Don John of Austria, 1576 (Fig. 2.), the other, Mathias, Archduke of Austria, 1578 (fig. 1), as illustrating the costume of the period at which they were mostly worn. In the 16th century such jerkins were used as coverings for the quilted armour of the time, and were intended to project somewhat in front; after the manner indicated by the dress of our modern Punchinello. In the examples selected for engraving the slashing may be plainly seen, the apertures were for the purpose of exhibiting the under coat beneath. An interesting series of sheaths for daggers and girdle knives were exhibited, and many notable varieties of the ink-horn; some of these latter articles are pierced for suspension in conjunction with the penner to the girdle; also shoe and girdle buckles, and buttons or studs, bearing the effigies of Anne, George I., and George Prince of Wales. Of knives a few in this remarkable collection may be referred to: one still remaining in its sheath has a metal collar and ring for suspension, another has on one side engraved the initials G. W. and on the other what appears to be a shield, charged with three piles meeting in point, with a stag springing forward for crest, the haft terminating with an acorn; the bone handle of a third represents a female, and is suggestive of the features and costume of

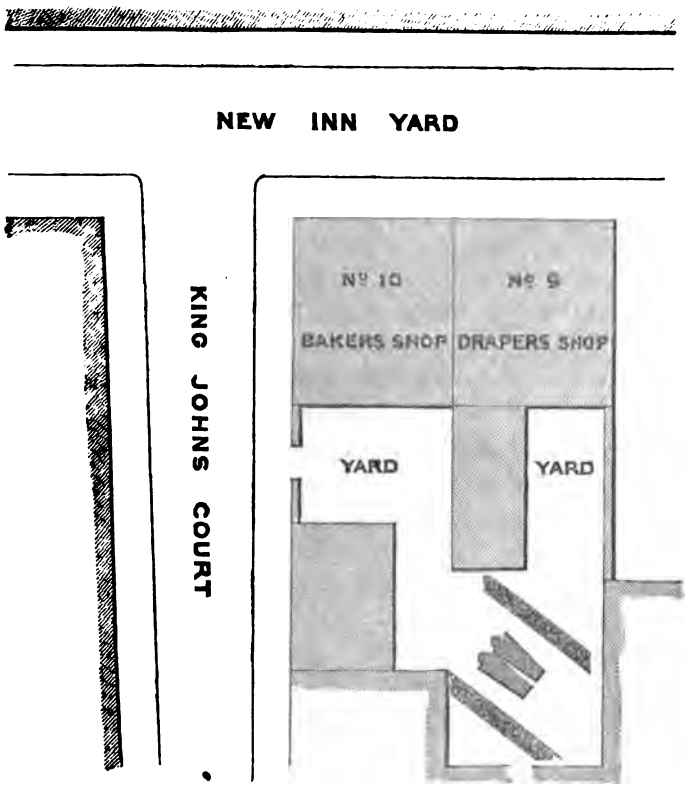
Catherine De' Medici. Penknives of different shapes, and a portion of a large blade, which bears this inscription—LEAVE TO DELYTE IN ME; a flagon, supported by a hand, and on the reverse, THE DRVNKEN NEED AND WANT CREDYT—Anno 1581. A quadrangular steel, with disc at top for suspension. An interesting specimen of Bellarmine, curious from its bearing the words —MAIDE BY R. G. A large collection of pipes, ranging from the period coeval with the introduction of tobacco down to the reigns of the Georges.

Mr. John E. Price exhibited a series of tradesmen's tokens from the same locality; of these the following is mentioned as being an unpublished example. Ob.—DVDLEY MEARES IN—A bell. Rev. CHARTER HOVSE LANE, M.D.L. Also tobacco-stoppers, one a figure representing the Pierrot, or clown of the old French stage. A number of Abbey counters, dated 1553, &c. A large number of knives of similar character to those in the museum of Mr. Gunston. Among them is one which, from its ornamentation and the peculiarity of its make, is probably one of a series which, in the time of James I., comprised the *trousse de chasse* of a gentleman hunter. In that reign it was considered a matter of etiquette for the gentleman to cut up the deer himself, for which purpose he carried a set of such knives about him. Similar specimens are engraved and described in Mr. Fairholt's Introductory Essay to the late Lord Londesborough's *Miscellanea Graphica*. Two others may be referred to, the first having a handle tastefully decorated with inlaid slips of brass, and bearing the initials S. H. on the blade; the second with a handle of wood, carved into the form of a female head attired in the costume of the time, and probably of Dutch or Flemish work. The whole of the knives are formed of fine steel and are capable of being ground to the sharpest edge.

Mr. John E. Price made the following communication on the recent discovery of two leaden coffins in Shoreditch.

"We are indebted to our member, Mr. Joseph Wilkinson, for affording prompt notice of the finding of two leaden coffins containing skeletons, in the course of the excavations for that portion of the Middle Level Sewer now being constructed in Shoreditch. The site whence they have been exhumed adjoins King John's Court, between Holywell Lane and New Inn Yard, and their position when found is accurately shown by the annexed woodcut, which has been copied from a plan prepared by Mr.

J. W. Butler, manager of the works, to which gentleman are our thanks due, both for his kindness in contributing the drawing, and for his readiness in affording every information connected with the discovery. The coffins were observed at a depth of about fifteen feet from the surface of the ground, which is doubtless considerably above its former level. They were lying side by side upon the clay, enclosed by walls of chalk, and from the undisturbed nature of their contents, were evidently occupying their original tomb, one in fact was successfully brought to the surface, without any displacement of the bones, which fell to pieces on the slightest touch. They are of curious but not unusual form, the lead being bent in at the neck to distinguish the head and shoulders, a mode of burial much practised in the sixteenth century, and resembling the



stone coffins of earlier times. They differ somewhat in size; and from the general appearance of the skeletons, it may be inferred that they are those of some illustrious lady and her lord. The dimensions of the largest of the coffins, in which the bones are entire, in good preservation and evidently those of a full grown man, are 5 feet long, width across the shoulders, 19 inches, at the feet, 9 inches. The other measures 4 feet 9 inches long, 18 inches wide, and 10 inches at the feet. The depth of each 9 inches. No inscription or ornamentation can be detected, nor is there any appearance of relics or other objects having been deposited with the deceased. From the situation of these remains, there can be no hesitation in assigning them to the Ancient Priory of Haliwell or Holywell, which flourished in Shoreditch from the twelfth century to the general suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII., and it is probable, from the costly form of burial selected, the special care with which it seems to have been conducted, and the enclosure of the coffins by walls of chalk, that they are those of important personages formerly connected with the establishment; therefore peculiarly interesting will it be to learn, if possible, something of their history—who these individuals were, what position they occupied, and when they lived and died. Owing to the entire absence of date or inscription, this, to some extent, must be conjectured; but there are circumstances, presently to be referred to, that go far to prove that the tomb now destroyed was no other than that of Sir Thomas Lovel, Knight of the Garter, and Privy Councillor to Henry VII. Sir Thomas was a great benefactor to the Priory. He died at Enfield, 25th May, 1524, and was buried in a chapel, erected at his own expense, within the Priory walls. His wife is said to have been interred with him. She was the sister and co-heir of Edmund Lord Roos, who died without issue, in the year 1508.

Haliwell Priory, founded about the year 1100, derived its name from the existence of one of those "certain sweet, wholesome, and clear fountains or wells," * which, from their supposed miraculous powers, were so frequently denominated "holy." This well and the "field and moor whereon it rose," was given before 1127 to some religious women, by Robert Fitz-Gelran, Canon of St. Paul's; and a Priory was there built to the honour of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and John the Baptist, for Nuns

* Tanner's "Notitia;" Ellis's "History and Antiquities of Shoreditch," &c.; &c.

of the Benedictine Order. In 1189, Richard I., by charter, confirmed to the Prioress and Nuns the spot of ground whereon the Priory stood, with other possessions in land, &c., that had been granted to them in previous times. It is recorded by Stow that one Richard de Balneis, Bishop of London *circ.* 1118, was the original founder of the house, but this is considered erroneous by subsequent historians; the fact being that he was but a benefactor, having at his death added a large amount of ground to the Foundation. The names of the various Prioresses are given in the old records, but Sibilla Nudigate seems to have been the last, for it was she who surrendered the Priory at the general dissolution. She afterwards enjoyed a pension of £50 per annum, probably granted to her at that time. The value of the house at the time of suppression, is said by Stow to have been £293; but Weever and others value it at different sums. Its site and appurtenances thereto were granted to one Henry Webb, Esq., Letters Patent, Aug. 5., 36 Henry VIII. There is no record of any interment, save that of Sir Thomas Lovel and his lady, and it may be fairly assumed that theirs are the remains contained in the coffins now discovered. Sir Thomas was the noblest benefactor the Priory ever had; indeed, by some he is said to have rebuilt it, and added to its endowment. In his commemoration, masses were daily said, and the following lines inscribed upon the Priory wall:—

"Now all the nunnes of Haliwell,
Pray ye both day and night
For the soul of Sir Thomas Lovel,
Whom Harry the Seventh made Knight."

There are no indications of the buildings now existing, save a piece of old wall near the site of the present discovery. In "Camden" mention is made of a gateway; this was destroyed about 1785; and in Maitland's time a few fragments of walls, &c., were then visible. Among the houses now standing few signs of antiquity can be traced, and, excepting the nomenclature of the district, all evidences of its past history have long since disappeared.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX

Archæological Society.

Vol. III. JULY, 1867. Part VIII.

THE CHURCH OF STANWELL, AND ITS MONUMENTS.

By Alfred Heales, Esq. F.S.A.

Stanwell, though within a short ride from London, possesses the tranquillity and quiet charms of rural life as fully as if it were situated a hundred miles from that great city which, extending year by year, swallows up whole villages, and, like jealousy, "grows by what it feeds upon."

The name is pure Saxon, meaning Stone-well, and, though there is no record of the existence of a church here so early as at Staines, which was founded by Ermenildis, daughter of Wulfhere, King of Mercia, A.D. 675,* the manor is particularly mentioned in Domesday Book as containing fifteen hides, and held by Walter Fitzother; that it was then of the value of 14*l.* and also of like value in the time of Edward the Confessor, when it was the property of Azor, a domestic servant of the King. Westbedefunt, another manor in this parish,† is also mentioned in the survey.

* Leland's Collectanea, vol. i. p. 1.

† Domesday, fol. ed. i. 300.

William, the son of Walter Fitzother, being warden or constable of Windsor Castle, assumed the name of Windsor, which thenceforward became the family name, and his son William (who died circa 1194) procured from King Henry II. a confirmation of all the lands which had belonged to Walter his grandfather. The manor continued in the same family until 1543. King Henry the Eighth arbitrarily required Andrew Lord Windsor to exchange his estates here for the monastic property of Bordesley Abbey in Worcestershire. The circumstances are characteristic. The King, coming on a visit to Lord Windsor, was received with munificent hospitality, in the midst of which he announced his intention of making the exchange. Lord Windsor was utterly taken by surprise, and in spite of his objections to give up the inheritance of his fathers, he was compelled to obey. Lord Windsor had laid in great stores with the expectation of keeping Christmas at Stanwell, and when he was so summarily ejected he left them all behind, saying that the King should not find the house empty. The deed of exchange is dated 14th March, 34th Henry VIII*

The rectory was formerly a sinecure in the patronage of the Windsor family, and the rectors presented to the vicarage. In 1415 Richard de Windsor exchanged the rectory and advowson with the Abbot and Convent of Chertsey for the manor of West Bedfont in this parish. The rectory was appropriated to the abbey, and a vicarage endowed, to which the abbots presented until the Dissolution of Monasteries, when it passed to the Crown, which still presents to the living.†

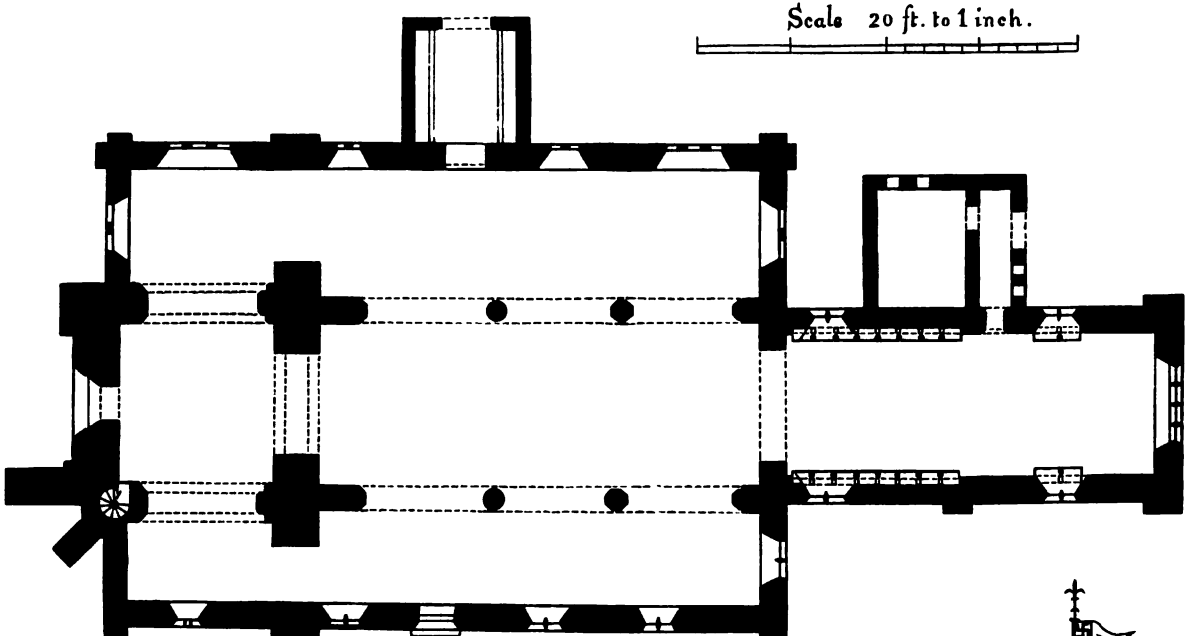
The Church.

The church is an ancient structure dating from early in the thirteenth century, say about 650 years old.

The county of Middlesex abounds with venerable churches, though most are small, and exhibit but little that is remarkable

* Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 735, and Collins' Peerage, iv. 83; Lysons, apparently in error, says (v. 251) 33 Henry VIII.

† Lysons, Environs, v. 262.



Stanwell Church.

F.H. del.

To face p. 107.

either in richness of decoration or elegance of style, suffering extensively from pews, whitewash, and barbarism, and even (which to an archæologist is important as an indication of conservation,) the hand of the restorer has rarely swept away the accumulated dirt and neglect of the last two or three centuries. Stanwell is one of the larger churches of the county, and in its chancel-arcading possesses a beautiful and uncommon feature.

It is dedicated to Saint Mary the Virgin. The orientation is three degrees north of east, being precisely the point at which the sun rises on the Feast of the Annunciation.

The building consists of nave and aisles, with engaged west tower, a very deep chancel, north porch, and vestry. The internal dimensions are as follows:—

	Ft.	In.		Ft.	In.
Tower - - - -	16	10	×	18	6
Arch - - - -	4	5			
Nave - - - -	47	4	×	18	3
North aisle - - -	68	3	×	11	6
South aisle - - -	67	8	×	8	5
Chancel arch - - -	2	6			
Chancel - - - -	39	2	×	15	3
Extreme dimensions - -	110	3	×	43	3

Adopting a chronological arrangement, the nave-arcades, probably the tower, and possibly the south aisle, are the earliest; of the same date was the north aisle until a recent period, when it was demolished and the present aisle, of greater width, erected in its place. The chancel is late in the fourteenth century. The nave clerestory was added about the end of the fifteenth century, when the south aisle roof, and perhaps the aisle itself, were also built; the north aisle, and the porch and vestry, are new.

In consequence of the aisles being continued very nearly as far west as the tower, the latter stands on arches north and south, as well as east; these two arches are recessed and chamfered, and the piers have semi-octagonal pillars, with poor mouldings to their caps. The eastern arch is also recessed, widely chamfered, and continuous, that is to say, without caps or other break. There

is a west doorway with a three-light window over, having peculiar and very modern-looking tracery. A spiral staircase runs up at the south-west angle, and in the upper storeys there are but lancets. Within an embattled parapet rises a fine shingled spire of Perpendicular date, formerly surmounted by a large buck's head and antlers,* being the crest of the Windsor family, to whom the manor so long appertained, now superseded by an ordinary vane, on the top of which is a mere toy of the same design, scarcely noticeable. Middlesex possesses scarcely any old spires, this and Harrow being exceptional.

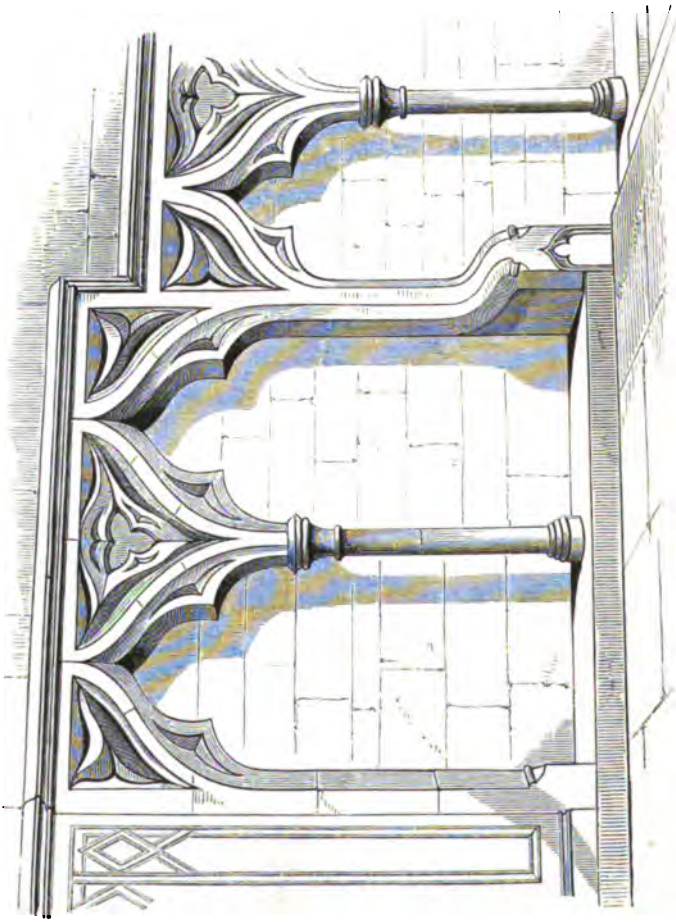
The tenor bell bears the date 1766. The other four are more recent, by Mears.

CAP AND BASE OF N.W. RESPOND.

The west responds, commencing the nave arcade, are remarkably deep, the object evidently being to act as buttresses to the tower; they have semi-octagonal pillars and caps, with by no means effective mouldings. The next pier on either side of the nave is circular, with very similar mouldings to the caps, but better bases; then follow an octagonal pair (that on the south rebuilt, and the caps of both injured); and the eastern responds are semicircular. The arches are not recessed, and the chamfering looks modern; they are bounded by angular labels or dripstones. There is a blocked south doorway of Perpendicular date, with very deep hood-moulding. It is unnecessary to remark that the quasi-transept forming the western part of each aisle is new.

The imposition of a clerestory on the nave arcade has caused the walls to spread, as is especially observable on the north side of the chancel arch. On either side there are three square-headed

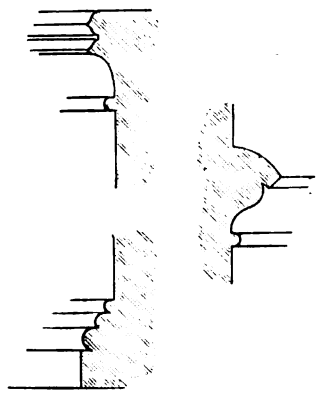
* Shown in the view of Stanwell Church, engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1793.



CHANCEL ARCADING OF STANWELL CHURCH.

windows of two lights each. The roof is of the same date as the clerestory, good, and of moderate pitch. The south aisle roof is a lean-to of Perpendicular date resting on corbels, with carved heads of a king, queen, bishop, &c.; (*see Plate over-leaf*) the side windows are like those in the clerestory, and appear modern. The porch, which forms the north entrance, is new, of open timber-work, and forms a good and marked feature. The chancel arch appears new; it is lofty and open.

By far the most interesting part of the building is the chancel, which possesses an ornamental arcading along the whole of each side, resting on detached Purbeck shafts, mostly still remaining, and having well-moulded caps and bases, but unfortunately the well-intentioned but injudicious work of a period now some time past has fitted up the place with pews or stalls, hiding the greater part of this rich and unusual feature.* At and opposite to the priest's door, which is on the north, is a break in the arcading, adjoining which at two steps, or a foot, higher level are two equal sedilia of corresponding style, and no doubt further east is a piscina now hidden by the wainscoting. That the beauty of the chancel arcading, the leading feature of the church, should remain almost concealed is much to be regretted, and it may be hoped that before long the woodwork, which has nothing in itself worthy of preservation, will be removed.



CAP AND BASE OF COLUMN. STRING COURSE.

The exterior of the church is principally faced with flints, partly in squares alternating with stone. Ancient builders, when means were not abundant, availed themselves of whatever material a locality produced, and therefore here, as in the clay

* The church at Stone, Kent, is a good example of such an arcade; engraved in Mr. Street's monograph upon that church.

districts of Suffolk and Essex and in the chalk of Sussex, flint was extensively used. It will be noticed that there is scarcely a buttress to the walls, a fact accounted for by the material. The angles of the tower are strengthened by pilaster-buttresses of an early form.

There is no old tracery remaining in the windows. Those in the chancel and at the east end of the south aisle are of a kind of Decorated style, while those in the north aisle and quasi-transepts, in some respects fortunately, cannot be mistaken for old work.

One of the windows on the north side of the chancel was in 1844 fitted with stained glass to the memory of Sir John Gibbons, the colours being rich and well chosen.

The Font is a nondescript, dating from the last century.

At the time of the Dissolution there was at Stanwell a foundation, originally given for the finding of a lamp for ever, but by whom does not appear, there being no information upon that point in the account of sales made by the Commissioners. It comprised ten acres of land in socage,* of the clear yearly value of ten shillings, and was sold at twenty years' purchase, or ten pounds, to Sir Thomas Paston, knight of the King's household. The money was to be paid all in hand, and the King was to discharge the purchaser from all incumbrances except leases. This is dated 20th June, 2nd Edward VI.† Lysons states‡ that it appears by the chantry-roll (then) in the Augmentation Office, that there were, in 1548, 240 "*houslyng*" § people in Stanwell,

* *i.e.* paying a kind of fee-farm rent, but exempt from personal service. Tomlins' Law Dictionary, *sub voce*.

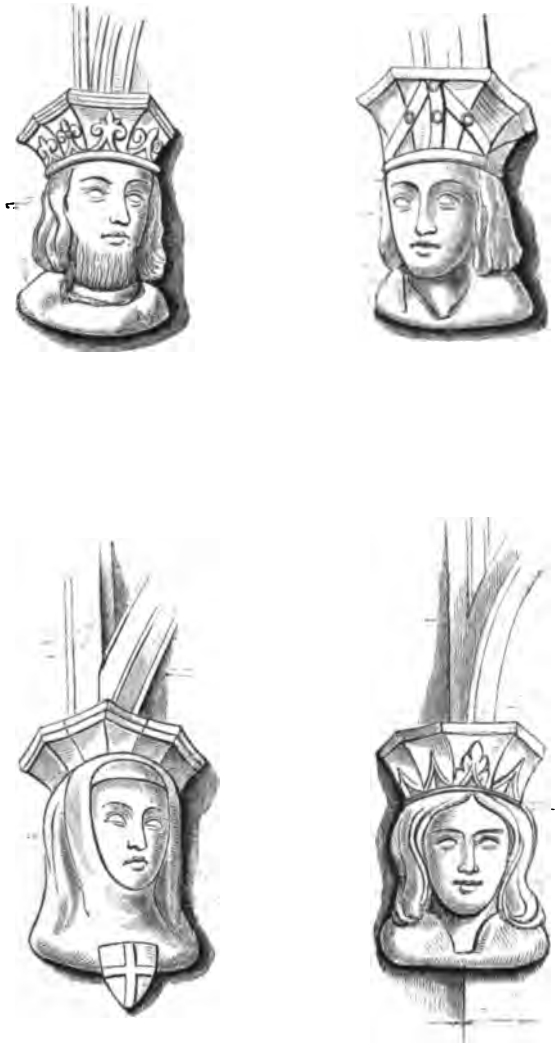
† Miscellaneous Books, 67, from Augmentation Office, now in the Record Office.

‡ Lysons' Environs, v. 263; I do not find at the Record Office the entry he mentions.

§ The noun housell or hussell, the Holy Eucharist, and the verb derived from it, are not uncommonly met with in early writers; as in the Morte Arthure, circa 1440, recently printed by the Early English Text Society, where, at the end of his career, the King exclaims:—

"Doo calle me a confessor with Criste in his armes,
I will be howselde in haste, whate happe so betyddys."—lines 4315, 16.

And in Chaucer's Parson's Tale, at the end of the second part, and in the Romaunt of the Rose at lines 6389 and 6441; and in Hamlet, Act i. Scene 5. Even so late as Johnson's Dictionary it appears, as an obsolete word.



CORBELS IN THE SOUTH AISLE OF STANWELL CHURCH.

which in a previous note* he thinks means persons qualified by age to communicate, rather than actual communicants, or apparently equivalent to adults. But by the canons of A.D. 960 (temp. King Edgar) it was directed that every child be baptized within thirty-seven nights of its birth, and that no one remain too long *unbishop'd*;† and later, in 1322, by the canons of Archbishop Walter it is directed that children be brought to Confirmation as early as may be after baptism; upon which Lyndwood's Gloss runs—"Puer; qui est major septennio, sed minor 14 annis."‡ We may therefore take the 240 houslyng people to be the amount of population independent of little children.

The Parish Registers.

The oldest existing registers here date from the year 1632, and their arrangement is notified in this memorandum at the commencement, in the handwriting of the earliest entries:—

The register for ye yeres following are sett downe severally. Christnings at ye beginning of this book, Marriages about the middle, Burialls toward the latter ende. As is noted out to mee.

A note of divers of Colbrooke-ende, whose children's names are there registered (as I had them from Mr. Richardson), I have set downe in the last page of this parchment, for memories sake.

Though this is not signed, no doubt the volume was commenced by the Rev. John Macarnesse, who was instituted as vicar on 12th June 1632, on the retirement of Nathaniel Duckett, the previous vicar, who had held the living eighteen months only.§

The writing is very good and regular at first. The year ends on 31st December, except for a short time about 1641, when the ordinary custom was followed of reckoning the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25th, as the first day of the year.

The entries are throughout of the most meagre description, rarely giving the place of residence, or the occupation, or any in-

* Lysons, v. p. 5, note.

† Johnson's Canons. A.D. 960, par. 15.

‡ Gibson's Codex, 454.

§ Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 736.

formation beyond the name, and in the case of baptism the names of the parents, and the date of christening, marriage, or burial.

The earliest entries are as follows:—

Christnings, 1632.

David son of John Poole 20 Feb.

Burialls Anno d'ni 1632.

——— Wife of Mr. John Atkins was buried May ye 30th.

Marriages Anno d'ni 1632.

Thomas Fly & Anne Osborne Widow were married Feb. ye 18th.

The ordinary form of entry of baptism states the names of both parents, and it is very rarely other than husband and wife. Occasionally it mentions that the child was born and baptised on one day and died on the next; examples occur in 1633 and 1637.

Entries of marriages are few at first; in fact, but three in the year 1633, and in one of those the wife's maiden name is omitted; thus the clear inference arises that the registration was very partial.

In the record of burial the Christian name is occasionally omitted, but here it may have arisen from the fact that in a small population precision was not necessary for the identification of an individual; thus—

1633. —— wife of olde —— Spicer, Aug. ye 15th.

1635. Olde —— Spicer May ye 30th.

Occasionally occur strangers whose names were altogether unknown:—

1637. A vagrant beggerman unknown, July ye 24th.

1652. A Glocestershire woman died at the Katherine wheele at Colbrookeend & was buried the 22th of Septē'b^r^.

1656. A poore woman died at Hammond's farme: buried on the 16 of Nov.

Apparently then (though not so now) a very unhealthy locality, for "a poore boy" died there and was buried on 24th December in the same year; a "poore maid servant of John Lidgold's, of Hamond's farme, on ye 4 of June" 1657; "a poore man" on 15th August; and "another poore man" on

the 9th December in the same year; being five people from the same place, all described as poor, in little more than a twelvemonth.

An indication of the increasing irreligion of the period appears by the notice of burial of children unbaptised, commencing in 1647. Bruno, or Bruen Ryves, who succeeded John Macarnesse as vicar,* being a decided churchman, was evicted about this period. He was a person of considerable eminence and a noted and florid preacher. After the living was sequestered, the King appointed him Dean of Chichester and master of the hospital there. At the Restoration he was appointed Dean of Windsor, and subsequently of Wolverhampton, to which was annexed the living of Haseley, Devon. He was at one time rector of Acton, having resigned Stanwell apparently in 1662. He died 13th July 1677, aged 81, when he was buried in the south aisle of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. He was the author of "Mercurius Rusticus" and various other works and sermons.†

During his deprivation, Edward Richardson, described as a pious minister observing all the commandments of Parliament, occupied his place.‡

In 1657 is mentioned the burial on 31st January of Thomas Sandford, a scholar of the free school, which was founded by Lord Knyvett in 1622.§

The records in the first volume almost cease from 9th February 1657, there being but one or two in 1658, after which the lost thread was taken up by the second volume; but the first re-commences in 1706. In fact the usual dislocation of the ordinary routine took place.

We may here pause a moment to note that the entries from Colnbrook Chapel are (as indicated) at the end of this volume; they relate to the years 1635 to 1637 only, and are thirty-four in number, chiefly of the families of Broughton, Spencer, Holiday,

* Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 737. In what year is not stated, but in the parish register is an entry of baptism of his daughter Elizabeth on 15th June 1639, so it was no doubt before that date.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, ii. 584.

‡ Lysons, Environs, v. 262. § See post.

and Browne. In the ordinary register is an entry of baptism on the 1st October 1641, at Colnbrook, of Gabriell Sedgwick.

Under the new regime a new book commenced, with the following note on the fly-leaf:—

10 Jan. 1656. Having seene 42 hands of the most substantiall men of Stanwell in recommendation of Robert Church, Clarke of the p'ish, to the Register's place, I have sworne and approved the said Robt. Church to be Register there for publications of marriages, births of children, burialls, &c. according to the Act of Parl. 24° Aug. 1653.

JOHN MORRIS.*

The clerk wrote a fair hand, and kept the books with regularity; but he did not long hold the office of register, for the following minute succeeds:—

6 Junii 1657, having seene a certificate under the hands of the maior part of the p'ish of Stanley (*sic*) for the choise of Thomas Sloper M^r^ of the freeschole there, for Parish Reg'er for publication of marriages, entering childrens births, burialls, &c. I could not but according to the last Act of Parl 24 Aug. 1653, approve and sweare the said Thomas Sloper.

JOHN MORRIS.

The schoolmaster's writing is not so good as that of the clerk; it continues till the 25th February 1660, when there is a change, and the records are very imperfect, and partly filled in until 6th October 1661, when order appears to be re-established, though subsequently in 1667 the entries are very irregular.

It may be observed that during this period (except circa 1655), it states that the children were "baptised," not "borne," though the latter was the more usual expression in the Puritan times.

The form of entry of marriage runs as in the following example:—

Publications of contracts of marriages in ye parish church of Stanwell, and of marriages, anno 1653, as followeth: Betweene William Radcliffe of New Windsor, widdower, and Anne Not, of this parish, widdow, on the 1, 8, and 15 dayes of December, and married on ye 27 day of ye said moneth.

Nothing else noteworthy occurs in the register books up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the archæologic period

* He performed a similar duty at Heston, on 22nd April 1654.—Transactions of this Society, ii. 217.

may be considered as ended; but from that time are recorded a vast number of collections made under authority of briefs, mostly for the relief of sufferers by fire, and in amounts from ten pence upwards.

Of the surnames occurring in these records few are at all peculiar—such as Charnoll, Verger, Larcken, Pewton, Juer, Kettlepin, Gandar, and Gosling; and scarcely any of a distinctive character can still be found in the parish,* although in similar rural neighbourhoods descendants of the earliest-mentioned families frequently continue through many centuries and down to the present time.

Among the Christian names of females are Morris, Bettresse (Beatrice), Armenall, Cicely, Cornelia, Dionisia, Abigaill, Sybilla, Petronilla, and Batthiah. Adre we can trace from Awdry. Of the names of males it is only worth while to mention Gabriell, Onesiphorus, Gholiah, and Ahobiab.

Between 1669 and 1689 daughter is spelt dafter, dafther, or daufter; and the so-called Cockneyism of a superfluous H is evident in the name of Harmetege in 1685: it is no doubt the writing of the clerk.

Few localities are mentioned; these are—

The Moore (1641), about a mile west of the village;

The Place (1652), about half a mile west of the village;

Hammond's Farm (1656-7) in the direction of Staines;

Poyl Farm (1663) also existing;

Colebrook-end (1635-7 and 1641), lying to the north-west; and the Katherine-wheel (1652), and the Cross Keys (1658) there.

We gather that very few persons of position resided in the parish. Sir John Bankes, and Dame Mary his wife, had a daughter, "Mrs. Bridget," who was buried 25th September 1636; another daughter, "Mrs. Anne," baptised 6th August 1637; a son, Charles, on 3rd October 1639; and a daughter, Arabella, 31st July 1642. He was a person of great note; as Attorney-General he conducted the prosecution of John Hampden, and was soon afterwards appointed Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas. Under

* Ex rel. vicar and churchwarden.

a Commission he sat as Speaker in the House of Lords, and as such had to preside at the trial of his friend Lord Strafford. On the troubles breaking out he joined the King at Oxford, but fortunately had friends on both sides. His wife was Mary, the daughter of Ralf Hawtry, of Ruislip, Esquire, which accounts for his connexion with the neighbouring parish of Stanwell. Their residence at Corfe Castle, in Dorsetshire, was during his absence besieged by the Parliamentarians, but vigorously defended by Lady Bankes, though unprovided with cannon (which she had been previously induced to surrender), and inadequately supplied in all respects; it held out for six weeks, until, on a false alarm, the siege was hastily raised.* Sir John, though impeached, by his absence escaped from further suffering than the seizure of his property: he died 28 December 1644, and was buried at Christ Church, Oxford. In 1645 the castle was again invested, and again defended by this lady, with equal courage and resolution, for forty-eight days, when it was taken, through treachery, and dismantled. Shortly after which Lady Bankes compounded for the forfeiture, and returned to Corfe Castle, which has since continued in uninterrupted possession of the family.† She died on the 11th April 1661, and was buried at Ruislip, where there is a monument to her memory.‡ Perhaps the history of this County cannot afford a parallel to her courage and heroism.

The next family of most interest, whose name appears in the Register, is mentioned thus:

Willoughby ye son of ye Honble. James Bertie, Esq. and Elizabeth his wife, was born at Lyndsey House in Westminster, ye 28th day of Novbr. in ye year 1692;

and other entries of the same family occur later. The Hon. James Bertie was the second son of the Earl of Abingdon, and married Elizabeth, daughter of George Lord Willoughby; their son Willoughby succeeded to the Earldom.§

The Lady Katherine wife of the Hon'able John Cary, Esq. was buried the 1st of September (1673);

* Mercurius Rusticus (1685), p. 13.
† Foss, Judges of England, vi. 249–254.
‡ Lysons, Environs, v. 211.
§ Ibid. v. 265.

SEPULCHRAL BRASS OF RICHARD DE THORP, RECTOR OF STANWELL.

and a son Edward (by a second marriage) was born 25th November, and baptised 14th December 1694. The Hon. John Cary was the great-nephew of Lord Knyvett, who left him a moiety of his estates; and ultimately, by a Deed of Partition, in 1678, he acquired the entirety of Stanwell manor.*

A Mr. George Stubbing is mentioned in 1638;

Mr. Peregrine Herbert in 1638 and 1643;

Felix Wilson, jun. gent. 1641;

Walter Williams, gent. 1642.

Marriages by licence were very rare; in 1641, was that of Robert Browning and Isabell, both of Eltham; and another occurred in 1663.

The Monuments.

The oldest remaining monument is a small slab, formerly inlaid in brass, with a short inscription and a shield of arms—the form of which indicates a date not later than the year 1400. Lysons speaks of one to Richard, son of William de Wyndesore, but gives no date; there is no other monument remaining to which his statement can refer. This slab now lies in the chancel floor.

Next is the brass of the demi-figure of a priest with this inscription: "Hic iacet Ricardus de Thorp nup Rector Eccl̄ie de Stanewell̄ qui obiit vi^{to} die Mēsis Junii, Anno dn̄i Mill̄o CCCC^{o}. Viii^{o}. cui^{9} aīe ꝑpiciet^{9} ds̄, amen."

It will be seen by the annexed illustration that he is represented in eucharistic vestments;† the plate, though very little worn, is rather bruised; it lies near the centre of the chancel floor.

Richard de Thorp was the last clerical rector of the parish. I have discovered his will, proved in the Commissary Court of London‡ on the 6th Ides (*i. e.* the 8th day) of June 1408.

* Lysons, v. 252.

† There is also a rough engraving of it in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1793, at p. 994, pl. 3, fig. 2.

‡ Commissary Court of London (now in the Registry of the Probate Court), Brown, 1408, fol. 5.

It is in Latin, and commences in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, and recites that the testator, being of sound mind, but infirm in body, makes his last will. Then follow an expression of Catholic faith and contrition for sins, and a devout commendation of his soul to God omnipotent, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all Saints; followed by a direction that his body be buried with ecclesiastical sepulture, but leaving a discretion as to detail to his executors, and merely directing that it be moderate and respectable without secular pomp. He bequeaths lx*s.* to be distributed on the day of his funeral, and desires 1,000 masses to be said for the benefit of his soul. Robert Roborne, his chaplain,* to celebrate in Stanwell church the divine rites for his soul, for that of King Edward III.† and for the living and dead for whom he was specially bound; and for his trouble during four years to have x. marks sterling. If the said Robert fail, then some other honest chaplain to be chosen in his place.

He bequeathes c*s.* to be distributed among the poor and beggars of the parish of Stanwell, or the neighbouring parishes, in sums, more or less, at the discretion of the executors.

To the church of Stanwell "de novo fabricand et construend" xl*s.*‡

To Robert Pankeborne v. marks sterling, and six of his books, viz:—1 Portiphorium, 1 small Bible, 1 book called *Speculum Curatoris*, 1 Catholicon, abbreviated, 1 Ordinal of the Use of Sarum, 1 book called *Flores Psalterii*, and also a plain silver cup without a cover.

Amongst many legacies are gifts of money and plate to his brother Thomas de Thorp, and his niece Elizabeth, and to one John, the son of Robert de Thorp, and his wife Isabella. One Richard, son of Felix Ledred, he desires to be put out to learn some honest mechanical art.

The residue of his property is to be divided into three parts:—1, to go to the said Robert Pankeborne to celebrate in the church

* Equivalent to curate (?).

† Who, as guardian of the heir of Richard de Windesore, presented him to the living. Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 736.

‡ The south aisle may date from about this period.

of Stanwell at the expiration of the said four years, and after him to the sustentation of other honest chaplains in his place; 2, for the benefit of poor lepers and other infirm persons, and prisoners and recluses, and other pious uses, according to the discretion of the executors; 3, for the benefit of the said John de Thorp. The will is dated the last day of May 1408.

Richard de Thorp appears to have held the living of Stanwell for a long period, having been instituted on the 4th kal. September 1368, at the presentation of the King (Edward III.) as guardian of the heir of Richard de Windesore. During that period he had the appointment of three vicars, viz:—William Barnwell, 9th Oct. 1385, John Baker, 29th Nov. 1399, and John Plomer, S.T.P.;* and after his own death the rectory became impropriate, and the Abbot and Convent of Chertsey nominated the vicars until the suppression of monasteries. It appears probable that he resigned the living some time before his death, for it is stated that William Blakwell succeeded him, and was followed by John Ayleston, instituted on the 9th July 1408.†

There have been two other brasses, of which the stone matrices only remain; one with small figures of a civilian and wife, circa 1460, the other a demi-priest about the same date, but there is no remembrance of the persons they commemorated.

The most interesting monument in the church has met with a melancholy fate. It was an altar-tomb, with a four-centred canopy, over which a band of quatrefoils formed a cornice; in the back were matrices of brasses of a civilian on the dexter, and lady on the sinister, and their children behind them, all kneeling; between them, a plate probably bearing the conventional representation of the Resurrection; above each effigy a coat of arms, and beneath their feet the inscription, while in the background were scattered ten scrolls. This description is chiefly from an engraving in the "Gentleman's Magazine,"‡ corroborated by the present fragmentary remains of the monument. It stood against the

* Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 736.

† Ibid.

‡ Gentleman's Magazine, 1793, p. 993.

north wall of the chancel, east of the vestry door, and flush with the altar step; thence it was removed (about the year 1830) to the north aisle, and when that was rebuilt in 1863, the monument was, through the carelessness of the workmen and the clerk of the works or other person by whom they were supposed to be superintended, broken into fragments, part of which have been preserved by the vicar and are now lying in the churchyard.

It was the tomb of Thomas de Windsor (father of the first Lord Windsor), who died in 1483, at the age of 43. He was the son of Miles de Windsor, of Colnbrook (by Joan, daughter of Walter Green, of Bridgnorth, esquire), who died at Ferrara, on 30th September 1451, whilst on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Thomas was then aged 11 years. On the 5th June 1483, he was summoned to prepare and furnish himself to receive knighthood at the coronation intended to take place on the 22nd of the same month at Westminster; but in the interval occurred the murder of the King by the Duke of Gloucester.*

His will† is one of considerable interest, especially in the directions for the making of the tomb, which was to serve also for the Easter sepulchre. It commences thus:—

"In the name of God, Amen. The xiij day of the moneyth of August, the yere of oure Lord God M.cccc.lxxix, and the xix yere of the reigne of King Edward the iiij^th^ I, Thomas Wyndesor, Esquire, of the parish of Stanwell, in the counte Middlesex, beyng in hole mynde and good memory, thankid be Almighty God, make, ordeyne, and dispose this my present testament and last will in maner and forme folowing, that is to say: First, I bequeth and recommend my soule to Almyghty God my maker and Savyour and to the blissid Virgyn our lady saint Mary, his glorious moder, and to all the holy company of Hevyn, and my body to be buried in the north side of the quer of the chirch of our Lady of Stanwell, afor the ymage of our lady, wher the sepultur of our Lord stondith; wherupon I will ther be made *a playne tombe of marble of a competent hight to th'entent that yt may ber the blissid body of our Lord and the sepultur at the time of Estre*, to stond uppon the same, and with myne Armes and a scriptur convenient to be sett aboute the same tombe by thadvyse of myne executors and overseers underwretyn. Item, I will that I have brennyng at my burying and funeral service iiij tapers and xx^ti^ torches of wax, every taper to conteyn the wight of x^lb.^ and every torch xvi^lb.^, which iiij tapers and

* Collins' Peerage, vol. iv.

† Prerogative Registry, 7 Logge.

xx[li] torches I will that xxiiij very pore men and weledisposid shall hold, aswell at the tyme of my burying as at my monethes mynde, and that every of the seid xxiiij pore men shal have for his labour for bothe tymes viii *d.* and a gowne of ffrise; willing the pour men of the seid parish of Stanwell be therto preferrid afor all other parishes next therto adioynyng. Item: I will that after my monethes mynd doone and fynysshed, iiij tapers be delyvered to the Chirchwardens of the seid chirch of Stanwell, to th'entent that they kepe the seid iiij tapers, that is to sey, ij of them to brene yerely as long as they will endure aboute the sepultur of our blissid lord, at the tyme of Estre, and as for the other ij tapers, I will that they help to the light that stondith upon the branch afore the ymage of our Lady in the quer ther, as long as the same wax will endur, to th'entent that the v candilstilks may bren at the antem of our Lady in the quer, and at all other tymes convenient as aforetyme hath been used. Item: I will that there be iij prests and iij clerks or moe, after the wysedoms and discrecions of my seid executours, forto syng by note, in the chirch of Stanwell aforseid, *placebo* and *dirige*, and masse of *requiem* every day during xxx dayes next ensuyng my decesse, to pray for my soule and all cristen soules. Item: Of the seid xx torches (after my seid funerall service complete and done,) I bequeath iiij of them to the seid chirch of Stanwell, and I will that the xvj torches (residue of the seid xx torches) begevyn to xvj chirches within the countie of Middlesex next adioynyng to the foreseid chirch of Stanwell, willing that the chapells of Woxbruge and Houndeslow* have ech of them one. Item: I will that therbe ordeyne C men childeren, ech of them beyng within the age of xvj yeres, within my moneth mynd, to sey for my soule, in the seyd chirch of Stanwell, our lady Sawter,† and I bequeth to eche of them for his labour iiij *d.* Item: I will that a yens my monethes mynd that the candelbrenne§ afor the rode in the seid chirch with all other lights afor oure Lady, the Trinitie, or eny other seynts in the seid chirch, be reneued and made at myn owen cost and to the honour of our blissid lord and lady, and seynts, afor whom the seid lights shall bren.‡

* * * *

"Item: I will that there be ordeyned a convenient dynner at my monethes mynd, to the pleasure of god and to the comfort of my lovers and frendes, which shall like them to be ther at that time, with all other of my tenauntes of Stanwell. Item: I will that the vicar of Stanwell have xx *s.* for my tithes, if any happed afor tyme by me to be forgoten, and for to pray for my soule."

* Uxbridge and Hounslow.

† Our Lady's Psalter.

‡ Much of the above extract is given in Collins's Peerage, vol. 4, but very inexactly.

§ Candle burning before the Rood.

He enjoins the family to perform his will without frauds as they will answer before the High Judge.

He also leaves 10*l.* to be distributed to his poor tenants that are householders at Stanwell, with other householders of towns adjoining, viz. to the former 20*d.* and the latter 12*d.* as far as the money will go. He wills that his executors provide an honest and well-disposed priest to sing and say divine service in the said church, or in his chapel at his manor of Stanwell, during twenty years next after his decease, and have for wages 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and "fynd hymself," or else meat and drink, and 53*s.* and a gown; to the intent to pray for his soul and the souls of his father and mother, and Dame Alice Wich, and all other Christian souls.

He directs that his servants be kept at Stanwell with meat, drink, and wages for a whole year, and leaves legacies to several of them.

He wills that his wife, or son, or next heir, keep solemnly his obit, by note, with six priests and three clerks in the said church, the cost being charged upon the profits of his purchased lands.

The estates are left in trust until Anthony, his youngest son, attain twenty-one, if he so long live; and then to be made over to his son Andrew, or other who may succeed to Stanwell as next heir, and duly keep the obit.

Elizabeth* his wife to have rule and oversight of the manor of Bailham, Suffolk, during the nonage of his son William.

He directs that his "sonnes befounde to scole and to court at my coost and charge."

After twenty years each son to have xx*l.*

His daughter Anne 100 marks towards her marriage; and his

* She was the daughter and co-heir of John Andrews of Baylham, Suffolk, Esq.[1] and Elizabeth his wife, who survived him. By her will dated on the Feast of St. Luke, 1474, she bequeathes to her daughter Elizabeth Windsor a blue gown, a powdre box of silver, and half the residue of her property, and legacies to the children Bridget, William, Elizabeth, and Alice. It leaves a large amount of charitable legacies, and directs burial in St. Dionys Backchurch. Proved 16th December, 1474, by Thomas Windsor, and Andrew Suliard, who was her other son-in-law.[2]

[1] Collins' Peerage, vol. vi.

[2] Prerog. Registry, 12 Wattis.

daughters Elizabeth and Alice to hold them content with what they had on their marriages.

To the other children a part of the issues of purchased lands at the discretion of the executors, and to receive money at marriage.

One hundred pounds to complete the performance of the will of Alice Wiche,* whereof he was Executor, " which appereth in the greate ligger of such debts as be Due unto her," and of amounts due to Lady Fowler and William Puttenham; and to the Lady Abbess† and Convent of Burnham, 20 marks in contentation of what she claims, if due, and if not, then that she and they may pray for his soul and all Christian souls.

The residue of the property he leaves to his wife Elizabeth, and appoints her an executrix with Sir John Tokett priest and Edward Cheesman, to each of whom he leaves £20. He appoints as overseers his cousin John Catesby‡ and John Holgrave, with £10 each.

The will, which runs to a very great length, was proved on the 15th February 1485 by the widow and Edward Cheesman. She afterwards married Sir Robert Lytton.

The directions given in the will as to the place of burial, and as to the tomb, point to a highly interesting ceremonial. The will directs that the testator's body be buried on the north side of the quire, where the sepulchre of our Lord standeth, and that

* Lady Alice Wyche was the widow of Sir Hugh Wyche, Lord Mayor of London. In her will dated 16th June, 1474, she leaves certain torches which may be unconsumed at her burial and month's mind, to Stanwell Church. She mentions her cosin,[1] Elizabeth (wife of Thomas) Wyndsor, to whom she leaves 100*l.* in plate and household furniture of the best she had; 20*l.* to their son Andrew; to their daughter her godchild 20*l.* and a silver cup; and to Elizabeth and William 10*l.* each. She appoints her "cosin" Thomas Wyndsor an executor with a legacy of 40*l.* The will with a codicil was proved 16th November, 1474.—(Prerog. Reg. 19 Wattis.)

† This was either Agnes Sturdy, who was Prioress in 1459, or Joane Radcliffe, who resigned in 1507.—(Tanner's Notitia Monastica, v. 545.)

‡ Sergeant-at-Law, 1469; Chief Justice of Common Pleas, 1481; died 1486.—(Foss' Judges, v. 42.) He was also overseer of Lady Wyche's will.

[1] Cosin merely indicating relationship; Elizabeth Wyndsor was her niece, and Thomas was that niece's husband.

there be made a marble tomb of convenient height, to the intent that it may bear the blessed body of our Lord, and the sepulchre at the time of Easter, to stand upon the same.

It was the custom* that on Maundy Thursday *(Feria quarta in Parasceve)* three Hosts were consecrated, one for the present mass, another for the office of the morrow, being Good Friday, upon which no consecration took place, and the third for the sepulchre. The mass being finished, a solemn procession was formed with torches and incense, and the officiating priest carrying the two unconsumed Hosts to the place prepared, *quædam assimilatio sepulchri*, and there deposited, and the doors closed. On the morrow one was consumed at the mass of the Presanctified, while the other remained in the sepulchre watched and with lights constantly burning, *usque Dominicam noctem Resurrectionis* (Easter Eve), when, a procession being formed, they proceeded to the sepulchre, and with much ceremony carried the chalice and host back to the altar, meanwhile singing the hymn *Vexilla regis*.

References to the Easter sepulchre frequently occur in old documents and parish accounts.†

Sir Andrew Windsor, the son of the above, succeeded to the estate at Stanwell. He was, with twenty-five others, made a Knight of the Bath on the 23rd June 1509, the day before the Coronation of King Henry VIII., and on the 3rd November 1529 was summoned amongst the peers of the realm, and on the 1st December took his seat under the title of Baron Windsor of Bradenham, Bucks.‡

His testament and last will is dated the 6th of March, 34 Henry VIII., "by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, King, Defender of the faithe, and in erthe of the Church of England and also of Ireland supreme hed." He commends his soul as his father had done, and prays for mercy; then directs —"My body to be buried in the quere of the Churche of the

* See Sarum and Arbuthnot Missals. At Rome the Mass is celebrated in the Sistine Chapel, and the Pauline Chapel is used for the Sepulchre.

† *e. g.* Lincolnshire Church Goods, edited by Edward Peacock, esq. F.S.A., 1866.

‡ Collins' Peerage, iv. 77 and *seq.*

holy Trinitie of Houndeslowe, in the said countie, whether I decease within the Realme of England or withoute of it, if it by any reasonable and convenient meanes may be conveyed thither; that is to sey, betweene the Pillers where my entire and welbeloved wife Elizabeth lady Wyndesore* lieth buried, where I will there be made a convenient Tombe of ffreestone, with such armes, ymages, and scriptures as shalbe thought best by the discretion of myn executours underwritten, and that my sonne George's† Tombe be fynyshed also accordingly." Then follow full directions for funeral, almost similar to those in his father's will, and directs his executors to keep an obit at Stanwell, or the parish where he happened to dwell, upon the day of the decease of his most loving father Thomas Wyndesore, Esquire (or within fourteen days) for fourteen years, with as many priests and clerks as his father's will was. And he charged with it the manor of Marche Baldyngton, otherwise Baldyngton Wyndesore, Oxfordshire, over and above sums already assigned for two chantries to be founded in the churches of Stanwell and Dorney "yf the lawes of this realme will it permytte and suffer." And he directs that at each obit there be distributed among the poor of Stanwell "in wheat one quarter for bred, and bere two kilderkyns, and w^t^ malmyse and cumfitts for the quere in like place as hath been used afore this tyme."

Amongst other bequests is one of his principal plate and "stuffe embrodred, as well beddes as aulter clothes," to his heir for life. He mentions his sons, William Wyndesore, Knt.; Thomas, with his children, Peter, Miles, Andrew, Agnes, and

* She was the daughter and co-heir of William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and sister and co-heir of Edward Blount, Lord Mountjoy. Collins' Peerage, vol. vi.

† The eldest son; he married Ursula, daughter of Sir John Vere, knight, and sister of John, 14th Earl of Oxford; he died without issue. (Collins' Peerage.) Part of the inscription remaining upon his monument is given by Weever, in his Funeral Monuments, p. 529, (A.D. 1631); but it was lost before Lysons' time. The chapel was rebuilt about the year 1839. There is preserved a small monument, representing, in alto-relievo, a knight and lady kneeling opposite to each other, in the costume of this date (or rather later), but as the knight is here represented as being about 45 years of age, and the monument is of an inexpensive and ordinary character, it probably does not represent George Windsor.

Ursula; and Esmonde (who was knighted at the Coronation of Queen Mary, and then described as of Stoke Poges, Bucks);* and his daughters, Elizabeth, wife of Sir Peter Vavasour, of Spaldyngton, Yorkshire, Knt.; Anne, wife of Roger Corbett, of Morton Corbett, Salop, Esq.; and Edith, wife of George Ludlowe, of Hill Deverell, Wilts, Esq. (Another daughter, Eleanor, married, first, Ralph Lord Scrope of Upsal, and secondly Edward Neville, son of George, Lord Abergavenny, and her son succeeded to that peerage.†) He also mentions his sister, Margaret Wyndesore, late prioress of the late monastery of Syon,‡ to whom he leaves an annuity of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* charged on the manor of Cranford; his brother Sir Anthony, and his children Anthony and Edith. To his said son William he leaves "my chayne of gold with the crosse of the same, garnyshed with diamondes and pearles; a spoone of gold; my cup of silver and gilte, called the helmett," &c. to remain with him according to his father's will, and afterwards to descend to his heirs male. He appoints as overseers Thomas Duke of Norfolk (with a legacy of £40), and his brother Anthony (with £10).

The document begins afresh as the last will; wherein amongst other things he appoints his son Edmund as executor to carry out the will of Edmund Dudley§ (of which testator was an executor) with Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London, John, Bishop of Calyaple, master of St. Thomas of Acres, and John Collett, late Dean of "Powles." He directs that his executors or son, Sir William, performe and fulfill the wills of his father and mother, and lady Wiche, "according to th'entents of the same, which restithe and apperith in the Inventory, and my said kynde, loving, mother, Dame Elizabeth Lytton, and that also the last wills of

* Collins' Peerage, vol. iv. † *Ibid.* iv. 86.

‡ She appears as prioress in the list of inmates made 31st August 1528; and at the surrender in 1539, when there was appointed to her a pension of 150 marcs; and it is recorded that her brother Lord Windsor came over to see and persuade her to submit to the King's authority. Aungier's History of Syon and Isleworth, pp. 88 and 97.

§ Brother-in-law of Testator, having married his sister Anne. — Collins' Peerage.

my lady my Wife, and my sonne George Wyndesore, be fulfilled, for that remayneth undon̄ moche part therof."

Besides the manors above referred to he mentions manors and freeholds and copyholds in the counties of Berks, Bucks, Essex, Gloucester, Hants, London, Middlesex, Northumberland, Notts, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Warwick, Wilts, Worcester, and York. A great part he leaves to his executors for seventeen years for payment of the debts which he owed to the King for lands lately bought—no doubt monastic and church lands.

He refers to the then recent Act of Parliament enabling persons holding manors and lands under the King by knight's service to dispose of two-thirds in value for the benefit of wife or children, or payment of debts or otherwise, at pleasure, but reserving to the King one-third of the clear yearly value for primer seisin, and fines, &c. and custody of wardship.*

The will bequeaths the residue to the son William, and appoints him as executor with Thomas Audeley, knight, Lord Audeley of Walden and Lord Chancellor† (with £50), and Sir John Baker, knight, Chancellor of the Tenths.

The whole document runs to an immense length, and the less important parts are necessarily omitted in the above notes. It was proved on the 31st July 1543.‡

Lord Windsor furnishes a paragraph for Spelman in his "History and Fate of Sacrilege." He was one of the barons who voted in Parliament for the transfer of monastic property to the King; and his vast estates show with what personal advantage. He died in 1543; his son William Lord Windsor died in 1558, and was succeeded by his fifth son Edward, who died in 1575; whose son and successor Frederick died in 1586; his brother

* Act 32nd Hen. VIII. cap. 1, ss. 4 and 5 (A.D. 1540).

† He was born 1488; Speaker of House of Commons, 1529; Sergeant-at-Law, 1531; proved a ready instrument to the King's designs; Lord Keeper of Great Seal, 1532, and very shortly Lord Chancellor. He acquired no inconsiderable share in the plunder of abbey lands, and amongst others the rich monastery of Walden, whence his title when he was created peer and K.G. in 1538; died 30 April 1544.—Foss's Judges, v. 126.

‡ Prerog. Registry, 23 Spert.

Henry became Lord Windsor, and died in 1605;* and his son Thomas Lord Windsor, who succeeded in 1610, died in 1642 without issue.† Thus five successive Lords Windsor had died within sixty-two years, while an average of five generations would be carried over 200 years.

His relative Lord Mountjoy‡ was another of the barons present on the same occasion. His son and successor, James, died in 1581; whose eldest son, William, died without issue in 1594, and was succeeded by his brother Charles, who died in 1606 without lawful issue.§

Lord Audley, previously mentioned, furnishes another example. His son, George, was succeeded by Henry; whose son George was attainted and beheaded, and the barony then became extinct.¶

Among the benefactions to the church of Stanwell there is recorded the gift by Lord Windsor of "the Horns-house," and twelve acres of land in Stanwell, for the "beautifying" the church;‖ which Lord Windsor does not appear, and it is not mentioned in the will of the first Lord Windsor, above-referred to. But though the house has disappeared the property remains, and produces about £40 per annum.

The descent of the Earls of Plymouth is from the Windsor family; their arms are, Gules, a saltire argent between twelve cross-crosslets or; crest, on a wreath, a stag's head guardant erased proper, attired or; supporters, two unicorns argent, armed, crested, tufted and hoofed or; Motto, *Je me fie en Dieu.***

The most expensive and conspicuous monument in the church is a huge edifice on the north side of the chancel, to Sir Thomas Knyvett, Lord Knyvett of Escricke, Yorkshire, who died in

* Spelman's Hist. and Fate of Sacrilege, p. 221.

† Collins' Peerage, iv. 85. ‡ Referred to in Note, p. 125 *ante*.

§ Spelman, p. 220.

‖ Ibid. p. 215; but Foss says he had no son to succeed to the title. Lives of the Judges, v. 133.

¶ It is recorded in the Table of Benefactions, whence probably Lysons obtained his information.

** Collins' Peerage, iv. 114.

1622, aged 77. The design consists of Corinthian pillars, supporting one of those peculiarly unmeaning architectural features termed a "broken pediment," beneath which are the effigies of Lord and Lady Knyvett kneeling on either side of a desk, with cherubs supporting their books; below are skulls crowned with chaplets of flowers, than which a more ghastly idea could scarcely be represented.*

Lord Knyvett was the son of Sir Thomas Knyvett, of New Buckenham, Norfolk. He was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards to Queen Anne, the consort of King James I.; to which monarch he became one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; and it was entrusted to him to discover the Gunpowder Plot, in which he happily succeeded. He was created Baron Escricke in 1607, but the title became extinct at his death. The Princess Mary, daughter of the King, who was entrusted to his care, died at his house at Stanwell on the 16th September 1607, aged eighteen months, after suffering from a burning fever for twenty-three days.†

His will, dated 38th July 1620,‡ commences with a confession of faith in the most Holy Trinity, and belief in "every Article of the Nicen, Athanasian, and Apostolike creed, littorallie, without ambiguitie or doubt; by which profession I was receyved at my Baptisme to be a member of the Church of Christ." He directs his burial in Stanwell church, "in due and convenient manner onely, fitt for a Christian (without pompe or superfluous charge or ceremony usuall at the funeralls of men as vaine by theire titles in theire lives, as by theire pompes after theire decease,) with onely a marble gravestone over me, with this inscription, 'I beleeve with theise Eyes to my comfort shortly to see my Redeemer in the land of the lyvinge.'"§ And he charges his executrix expressly to carry out this order, leaving all other conveniences of blackes to his servants, and alms to the poor at

* There is an engraving of this monument in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1794.

† Lodge's Illustrations of British History, iii. 324.

‡ Prerogative Registry, 78 Savile.

§ Book of Job, chap. 9, verses 25-27. Some notes on this favourite monumental text appear in the Transactions of this Society, at vol. ii. p. 212.

her discretion. He leaves a schedule of legacies signed, and sealed with his arms; and the residue of his property to his "most heartly beloved wife." He mentions that he had inherited little beyond a title, but that his estate had come from his mother and his wife, though he had wasted much, and refers to and ratifies the settlement made on his marriage (he then being Thomas Knyvett, Esq.) with Elizabeth Warren, widow, dated (before the marriage) on 16th July, 36th Elizabeth.

In the schedule is a legacy of £20 each to the parishes of Stanwell and Staines, to be yearly employed as a stock for the relief of the poor. He mentions his cousins, Anthony Knyvett, of Westminster, and Thomas Knyvett, of the Middle Temple.

The codicil, which is dated the 17th July 1622, especially relates to Stanwell. He directs his executrix, within two years of his decease, to build within the town of Stanwell :—

"As well, one meete, fitt and convenient buildinge and rooms wherein to keepe a ffree schole, as alsoe one meet fitt and convenient house for the abidinge, dwellinge and necessarie use of one scholemaister for ever to keepe a free schole and to instruct children within the said towne;" and within the county of Middlesex or Buckingham, or one of them, to purchase in fee simple lands and tenements of the clear yearly value of £20, to be conveyed to six of the freeholders and inhabitants of Stanwell parish and their heirs for ever, for a place of instruction of poor scholars, and for the habitation and maintenance of the schoolmaster and his successors for ever. His executrix to have the nomination for life, and then the lord of the manor; she and they to see to the making of good rules and ordinances for the order, rule, and governance of the school and master, and for the stipend and allowance towards the maintenance and relief of the said master.

This will and codicil were proved on the 3rd August 1622 by Elizabeth Lady Knyvett the relict, the executrix.

His arms were Azure, a bend within a bordure engrailed sable.*

Lady Knyvett did not, however, long survive him, but died on the 4th of September following. By her will, dated on the 4th, she directs that her funeral be without pomp, and such as her late husband had appointed for his funeral. She directs that

* Lysons' Environs, v. 259.

his debts declared to Sir William Paddy, knt. and Humphrey Dyson, notary public, amounting to about £1,000, be paid. She bequeaths to her nephew Sir Thomas Thyn, knt. a "suite of hangings of eight pieces of the story of Elizeus" (? Elijah), and mentions her nieces Lady Christian Leigh and Mary Cranwell, and Anne her daughter, and Elizabeth Hampden, widow, to the latter of whom she leaves the residue of her property; and also mentions her brother Sir John Haywood, knt. to whom she bequeaths a silver basin and ewer which were his father's; and her cousin Sir Edward Moseley, knt. as overseer, with a legacy of £50 in plate.

The will was proved on the very next day, the 5th September 1622.*

One other benefactor to the school deserves to be mentioned, viz. William Heather† of the city of Westminster, doctor of music, who by his will dated 21st July 1627 gave to the scholars forty shillings a year for ever to buy them books, pens, ink, and paper, at the discretion of the vicar, schoolmaster, and churchwardens of the parish, chargeable upon his lands in Kent bought of Sir Thomas Walsingham and Edmund Skott, and upon which he also charged a yearly payment of £17 6*s.* 8*d.* for a "musick lector and the practize of musicke in the Universitie of Oxford for ever."‡

The fit and convenient building for the school and the master's house stands untouched: a good substantial structure of old red brick, of which one half is the school-room, the full height of the building, and the other half is the dwelling, consisting of two stories and an attic.§ The land purchased was near Aylesbury, and now produces an income of £90 per annum. The lords of the manor still present, and the original rules and ordinances remain unaltered.‖

* Prerog. Registry, 84 Savill.

† Lysons, in error, calls him Thomas.

‡ The will was proved 16th August 1627 in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. 86 Skynner.

§ There is a view of it in the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1793.

‖ Ex rel. of present master.

In concluding this Paper it becomes a duty, as it is a pleasure, to acknowledge the kind courtesy and assistance of the Rev. R. Parry Burnett, the present Vicar of Stanwell, in affording every facility and convenience to the writer in his investigation of the building and registers*; and to Robert Walker, Esq., for the drawings from which the illustrations are engraved.

* Every document and work mentioned in the Notes has been directly referred to by the writer.

NOTICES OF JOHN LOVEKYN,

FOUR TIMES LORD MAYOR OF LONDON,

AND THE MASTER OF SIR WILLIAM WALWORTH.

By John Gough Nichols, Esq. F.S.A.

I beg to bring before the notice of our Society a discovery which has been lately made in the church of Walkerne in Hertfordshire. It is a portion of the monumental inscription that once commemorated, in the church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, one of the most eminent of the civic magnates that flourished in the reign of Edward III.

Upon a gravestone in Walkerne church was the following inscription in brass plate:—

> Here Lyeth buried under this stone the body
> of Rychard Humberstone, the sonne of John
> Humberstone, who Deceassed the viijth day
> of March in ye yere of or Lord God 1581.

This plate having become loose, the following has been found on its reverse:—

> [Ve]rmibus esca datur Louekyn caro pulcra [Johannis]
> [Bi]s fuit hic maior iterum bis Rege jube[nte]
> [A]nno milleno ter C. cum septuageno.

John Lovekyn was a Fishmonger, and the better-remembered Sir William Walworth was his apprentice. We meet with his name as early as 1338, when out of the sum of 20,000*l.* which the King borrowed of the City for his expedition to France, John Lovekyn contributed 200*l.* He was Alderman of Bridge Ward, and one of the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex in 1343-4. In 1347-8 he was one of the citizens sent to Parliament for the City. He filled the office of Mayor in 1348-9, and a second time in 1358-9. In 1365 he was again one of the citizens sent to Parliament. In the same year he a third time became Mayor, and this was at the special command of the King,

who retained him in office for two years. This remarkable circumstance we find particularly recorded in the lines now recovered—

Bis fuit hic Major, iterum bis Rege jubente.

It appears that Lovekyn was substituted in the place of Adam Bury, who had been re-elected by his fellow-citizens, after having held the office during the previous year. The chronicler Fabyan mentions this occurrence, but does not record the reason for it: "And in this yere (he writes), at the Kynges commaundement, Adam Bury, thanne mayre of London, was dyscharged the xxviii daye of Januarii, and for hym electe and chosen mayre John Lovekyn, grocer." Also, thus in Arnold's Chronicle: "This yere, in Janiver, Adam Bury was discharged, and John Lowken chosen, by the Kingis comaundement."

In 1367 he built and endowed a hospital, called Magdalen's, at Kingston-upon-Thames, and in 1368 (or 1370, according to the inscription) was buried in the church of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, which he had rebuilt.

The Lovekyns were a Surrey family. We find a Roger Lovekyn instituted to the rectory of East Clandon, in the hundred of Kingston, in 1301; and in 1313 he was collated by the Bishop of Winchester to the rectory of Esher, which he resigned in 1315.

Edward Lovekyn, citizen of London, but a native of Kingston, built a chapel in that parish, on the side adjoining to Norbiton, in 33 Edw. I. (1305), and the history of the foundation will be found detailed at full in the "History of Surrey," by Manning and Bray, vol. i. p. 350. For the endowment of this chapel the said Edward Lovekyn, and Robert Lovekyn (probably his brother) gave certain lands and rents for the support and maintenance of one chaplain to perform divine service every day for the souls of the said Edward and Robert, Matilda the mother of Robert, and Isabel the wife of Edward, as also for those of the sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, and all the ancestors, heirs, and successors of the said Robert, and of all faithful people deceased, for all time to come.

Of this family chapel our John Lovekyn became the second founder, by giving lands for the endowment of a second chaplain, in the year 1352. His relationship to the original founders is uncertain, for in letters-patent of 26 Edw. III. he is called the son of Edward, but in the register of Bishop Stratford the son and heir of Robert. Part of the second endowment of the chapel at Kingston, conferred by John Lovekyn, consisted of "two messuages, with their appurtenances, in the parish of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, London, of the yearly value of £4."

By inquisition post mortem 22 Rich. II. (1398), Johannes Lovekyn, civis et stock-fishmonger Londinensis, was found to have died possessed, in London, of one tenement in Thames Street, in the parish of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, one tenement in the parish of St. Magnus, one tenement in the parish of the Blessed Mary atte Hille, one tenement in Candlewick Street, in the parish of the Blessed Mary of Abchurch, one tenement and a piece of land called Tregers Wharff in the parish of the Blessed Mary atte Hille, one tenement in Towre Street, and one tenement upon Oyster Hulle in the parish of St. Magnus.*

Lovekyn became the rich man he evidently was by his extensive merchandise in salted or stock-fish, an article then in universal request as provision for fast-days. He has the credit of having removed the traffic from the ancient Stocks-market, which was on the site of the present Mansion House, to the strand on the river side near the market of Eastcheap, at the foot of London Bridge towards the west. Here arose the Stock-fishmongers' Row, subsequently the site of Fishmongers' Hall. The descent of Lovekyn's own mansion has been traced. It became the residence of Sir William Walworth, afterwards of Sir William Askham twice Lord Mayor, of Thomas Botiller also an alderman and a stock-fishmonger like his predecessors, and, after it had been for a short time in the possession of Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope, it finally became part of Fishmongers' Hall. Mr. Herbert, in his "History of the City Companies," has entered very fully into the history of these premises; and in p. 56

* Cal. Inquis. post Mortem, folio, 1821, p. 255.

he has given an abstract of Lovekyn's will, which is dated on Thursday next after the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, 42 Edw. III. (1368).

It happens that Stowe has left us an unusually particular account of the monument, or rather the two successive monuments, of John Lovekyn:

"The parish church of this S. Michael's (he says) was sometime but a small and homely thing, standing upon part of that ground wherein now standeth the parsonage-house; and the ground thereof was a filthy plot, by reason of the butchers in Eastcheap, who made the same their lay-stall. John Loveken, stock-fishmonger, foure times Maior, builded (in the same ground) this faire Church of S. Michael, and was there buried in the quire, under a faire tombe, with the images of him and his wife in alabaster. The said church hath been since increased with a new quire and side chappels by Sir William Walworth, stock-fishmonger, sometime servant to the said John Loveken. Also the tombe of Loveken was removed, and a flat stone of grey marble garnished with plates of copper laid on him, as it yet remaineth in the body of the church:"—"as it yet remaineth," and yet, long before the first publication of Stowe's Survay, in 1598, the brass plate now exhibited must have been torn from Lovekyn's gravestone, because the epitaph upon its reverse, laid down in Hertfordshire, bears the date 1581.

It is very evident that it had shared the fate of Sir William Walworth's monument, which was also in St. Michael's church, and which Stowe tells us, was, "*amongst others*, by bad people defaced in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and again renewed by the Fishmongers."

It was in the year 1562, according to a MS. in the Cottonian Library,* that both Walworth's and Lovekyn's monuments were restored by the Fishmongers' Company, William Purvis being then Master. For the Latin lines on the brass plate before us, the following English verses to the same effect were substituted, but giving the date of his death as 1368 instead of 1370:—

* History of St. Michael's Crooked Lane, p. 159.

Worthy John Lovekin stock-fishmonger of London here is leyd,
Four times of this City Lord Maior hee was, if truth bee seyd.
Twise he was by election of Citizens then being,
And twise by the commandment of his good Lord the King.
Cheif Founder of this Church in his lifetime was he,
Such lovers of the Commonwealth too few ther be.
On August the fourth thirteene hundryth sixty and eight
His flesh to earth—His soul to God went streyght.

It is justly remarked by the historian of St. Michael's Crooked Lane, that the concluding words of this epitaph, "His soul to God went streyght," are characteristic of the post-Reformation period, as directly opposing the doctrine of purgatory.

The arms of Lovekyn have been often given, as Gules, on a chevron argent three escallops sable between as many eagles rising or; but William Smith, Rouge Dragon, in his MS. book of the arms of Lord Mayors, &c., in my possession, gives the coat engraved below, viz.: Gules, a chevron argent between three doves rising or: and the dove rather than the eagle appears to be the bird which would bear allusion to Lovekyn's name.

LOVEKYN.

THE MILBOURNE ALMS-HOUSES, AND A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE FOUNDER AND HIS FAMILY.

By Mr. Thomas Milbourn.

Probably the reader will recollect the picturesque and characteristic buildings of brick, partly faced with stone, with an arched gateway, and high-pitched roof of red tiles, until lately standing on the right-hand side of Coopers Row, on the way from Crutched Friars to Tower Hill. These were alms-houses, founded by Sir John Milbourne, Knt. Lord Mayor of London in 1521.

On the 24th Nov. 1534, 26 Hen. VIII. Sir John Milbourne purchased of the prior (Edmund Stretham) and Convent of the Crossed Friars a plot of ground next adjoining on the south to the choir or chancel of their conventual church, and for some time within the precinct of the said convent; which plot is described as containing on the east part thereof from north to south, viz. from south-east corner of the said church, along by the highway there, unto the new house of one John Martin, 115 feet and one inch of assize, and in breadth from east to west, viz. from the before-mentioned way to the convent garden, 16 feet 6 inches of assize, etc. etc.; the whole being about one-eighth part of an acre. On this piece of ground he soon after erected thirteen cottages, or tenements of brick and timber, and placed therein thirteen aged poor men—with the wives of such as were married—who were to live rent-free, and to receive 2*s.* 4*d.* each the first day in every month for ever. By a deed-poll dated 5th March, 1535 (26 Hen. VIII.), the founder granted the before-mentioned thirteen tenements erected by him, and a void piece of ground, the whole containing one-eighth part of an acre, unto William Dolphin, citizen and draper of London, and his heirs for ever. The purport of this grant is set forth in the will of William Dolphin, dated 24th March, 1535, in which he recites that he was seised in fee by reason of the gift and feoffment of Sir William Kingston and others, bearing date 1st

Jan. 1535 (26 Hen. VIII.), of the premises hereafter-mentioned, viz. five messuages in Thames Street, in the parish of St. Lawrence Pountney, two messuages in the parish of St. Nicholas near Newgate, two messuages against the gate of St. Martin's-the-Great, also of two messuages which he had of the gift and feoffment of Sir John Milbourne, Knt. Dame Joane his wife, and Nicholas and William Chester her sons, in the parish of St. Mary Aldermary, in the ward of Cordwainers Street, and bounded on the east by the King's highway, being in all eleven messuages or tenements; and further recites that he was also seised by virtue of the gift and feoffment of the said Sir John Milbourne of thirteen tenements, gardens, etc. with their appurtenances, of late newly built by the said Sir John Milbourne in the parish of St. Olave's, near the Tower of London, which tenements by the name of an eighth part of an acre, with their appurtenances, the said Sir John recovered by the King's writ in the Court of Hustings, 26 Hen. VIII. 1535. William Dolphin, by his will, devised all these several messuages and premises to the Master, Wardens, Brethren, and Sisters of the Guild or Fraternity of our Blessed Lady of Drapers, and their successors; to the intent that they and their successors, with part of the rents and profits, should repair and re-build the several messuages and the said thirteen tenements from time to time when found requisite; and that, with part of the profits, they should yearly distribute on the first day of every month 32*s.* 10*d.* among thirteen poor men, being householders, married or unmarried, especially such as shall have most need, and shall be brethren and sisters of the said Company, and of good conversation; and that such as were admitted to the said alms should be resident in any of the said tenements appointed to them, and should not sell ale, wine, etc. etc.; the 32*s.* 10*d.* to be divided equally among the said thirteen poor persons at the rate of 7*d.* per week to each; and in case there should not be found a sufficient number of poor householders within the Drapers' Company to receive the said alms, that then the number required to fill up any vacancy or vacancies should be elected from other householders of the parishes of St. Edmund the King in Lombard Street, and St.

Bartholomew the Little; and he also directs if any of the almsmen die leaving a widow, that she shall remain, receive, and enjoy the said alms as long as she shall remain a widow; and that the thirteen poor men so receiving the said alms of 7*d.* per week shall be called "The poor Bede-men or Almsmen of Sir John Milbourne and Dame Joane his wife."*

Sir John Milbourne having erected a tomb in his lifetime in the Church of the Crossed Friars, appointed a solemn obit or anniversary to be kept in that church during the lifetime of himself and Dame Joane his wife, and after his and her decease for their souls; he directed that his thirteen bedemen were to come daily unto the said church, where they should in some convenient place near to his tomb remain, whilst the service of God—or at least until the whole mass—which daily should be performed in the said church at 8 o'clock in the morning, should be sung or said for evermore at the altar called "Our Lady's Altar," in the middle isle of the said church founded by him; to the intent that the thirteen poor bedemen before the beginning of the said mass "one of them standing right over against the other, about and encompassing" his tomb or burial place, and severally two and two of them together, should say the psalm *De profundis*, and a paternoster, ave, and creed, with the collect belonging to same; which prayers he directs them specially to say for the good and prosperous estate of himself, Dame Joane, and their children and friends living, and after their decease for his soul, the soul of Dame Joane his wife, and the soul of Margaret his first wife, their fathers, mothers, children, friends, and all Christian souls.†

The Master and Wardens of the Drapers' Company and their successors, for their time and trouble in seeing the 32*s.* 10*d.* monthly distributed, to have yearly 20*s.*, viz.: the Master, 6*s.* 8*d.*; the Wardens, 3*s.* 4*d.* each; the clerk, 3*s.*; the beadle, 2*s.*; and the renter for his labour in paying the almsmen, 5*s.*; and if the Company neglect to pay the alms monthly, they are to forfeit 20*s.* etc. etc.

* Report on Charities, vol. 32, p. 2, pp. 395-6-7, 1838.

† Stowe's London, vol. i. b. 2, p. 74.

The Report on Public Charities 1838 states that the records of the Drapers' Company do not furnish any direct evidence as to the property they acquired under the will before mentioned, and that no separate account had been kept of the yearly receipts of this charity, but the payments to the almspeople had been charged to the account called the "Charities General." In this Report it is mentioned that the almshouses were then sixteen in number; but that there was not any evidence as to when the three additional houses were added; and it also mentions certain properties of the Drapers' Company which appear to answer the description of those described in the said will. It further states that the revenues derived from the same amounted to £589 13*s.* 10*d.*, which is carried to the account called "Charities General;" and that five of the people of this charity were then receiving £2 2*s.*, and the remaining eleven £1 11*s.* 6*d.* each every month; that £2 was divided among them on the day of the Company's visitation, after the rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* each, besides which they had a yearly allowance of coal.

Over the gateway of these almshouses,* previous to their demolition, was an ancient piece of sculpture representing the assumption of the Virgin. On each side of the sculpture were two armorial shields; those on the right-hand side at top being the arms of Sir John Milbourne, and those on the left probably those of his wife Joane Hill. Below were shields of the Drapers and of the Merchants of the Staple.

Beneath was the following Latin inscription:—

"Ad laudem Dei et gloriose Virginis Marie hoc opus erexit dominus Johannes Milbourne miles et alderman' hujus civitatis, A.D. 1535."

This had disappeared long before the demolition of the old buildings, and was replaced by a verse in our mother tongue to the like effect. In another part of these buildings was Milbourne's merchant's mark.

The Drapers' Company, having purchased a small estate at Tottenham, erected thereon, in 1862, a school-house for fifty boys, with suitable accommodation for the masters and attend-

* Of this gateway there is a pretty etching in Archer's "Vestiges of Old London."

ants, and twenty-four almshouses at a cost considerably above £20,000. To these almshouses they removed the sixteen alms-people from Coopers Row, and also eight alms-people from their almshouses in Beech Lane, Barbican.

The new Milbourne almshouses are distinguished by the arms of Sir John Milbourne being affixed on the front of each house, and the ancient pieces of sculpture removed from over the arched gateway of the old buildings are also preserved at Tottenham (see the vignette at the end of this article).

The old almshouses in Coopers Row were demolished very shortly after the removal of their occupants, and extensive warehouses have since been erected on their site.

As a preface to the following brief history of Sir John Milbourne and his family, I may mention some early residents in London of the same name. Although I have not as yet been able to connect them, I hope to succeed at some future period in so doing. From what I have already discovered I am led to infer that the several Milbournes hereafter named, as well as Sir John, were descended from the ancient family of Milbourne of Milborne Port, Somersetshire, from which township the family is said to have derived its surname, the name being a compound of two Saxon words, *i.e.* Myll or Mylen, a mill, and Burn, a torrent.*

This family seated at Milborne Port were owners, temp. Edw. III., of the manor of Esher Wateville, in Surrey,† which is to the present time called Esher Wateville alias Melbourne.‡ William de Milbourne of Milborne Port, afterwards of Esher Wateville, served as Knight of the Shire for the county of Surrey, 51 Edw. III.§ and two of the same family served the office of Sheriff of Surrey, 11 John and 50 Edw. III.‖

* Collinson's Hist. Somersetshire, vol. ii. pp. 352 and 355.

† Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. ii. pp. 744, 745.

‡ Sir William de Milbourne, knight, of Milborne Port, obtained this manor by marriage with Margery, daughter of Nicholas de Wynton and granddaughter of Robert de Wateville, early in the reign of Edward III., and it continued in the possession of the Milbourne family until the reign of Henry VIII., when it passed, through failure of heirs male, into the family of Fawkenor.

§ Rot. Claus. 51 Edward III. m. 12 dorso.

‖ Manning's and Bray's Surrey, vol. i. pp. xxxi. xxxiv.

With reference to the early Milbournes of London, some were evidently citizens of note, and held important civic and other offices.

The earliest mention of the name in London is that of "Robert Milborne," sheriff in 57 Henry III., 1272, who, with "Peter Cosyn," his colleague in that office, was convicted before the Barons of the Exchequer, on the day of the feast of St. Andrew, for taking "mede" of the bakers of London, and not permitting them to be corrected and justified, wherefore the said sheriffs were deposed from their offices, and John Bedle and Richard Parys appointed in their stead.* In the year 1427, at the first founding of the Grocers' Hall, the name occurs; John Wellys, alderman, being named governor, and John Melborne and John Olyve masters.†

Probably this John was father of Joane Milborne, who is recorded to have married John eldest son of Robert Englefield, of Wotton Basset, Wilts, which John died 26 Feb. 1464.‡ In Michaelmas term, 6 Edw. IV. I find one William Melbourne, citizen and "payntour" of London, engaged in a lawsuit with John Pant, gent. of Yoxhale, in the county of Stafford, Thomas Lane late of Hadleigh in the county of Essex husbandman, and Sir William Vernon late of London.§ The mention of Hadleigh in this case, and the record of a grant by Henry Raynford to William Melbourne and William Broun of certain lands in Hadleigh, dated 20 April, 1448, 26 Hen. VI.‖ may be taken as some proof of his connection with the family of Melbourne, who appear to have resided at Hadlegh from about this period to early in the reign of Henry VIII. Probably he was a son of William Melbourne of London, who is mentioned as father of Margery the wife of William Kirton esquire. Stephen Kirton esquire, of Thorp Maundeville, grandson of the before-mentioned William and Margery, was an alderman of London,

* Lond. Chron. Tyrrell, pp. 25, 26.

† Hist. Grocers' Company, p. 4.

‡ English Baronetage, vol. i. p. 256.

§ Placita de Banco Michaelmas Term, 6 Edw. IV. m. 33 dorso and m. 281.

‖ Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. VI. p. 1, m. 9 dorso.

and father of Thomas Kirton, Common Serjeant of the city of London, who died in 1601.* I find the Kirton and Raynsford or Raynford families united by marriage about this time. The Milbourne arms quartered on the Kirton shield are identical with those belonging to the Milbournes of Somersetshire. The said William Melbourne was elected Chamberlain of the city of London; which office he held until the 22 Hen. VII.† Agnes his wife died in the year 1500, and was interred in the parish church of St. Vedast Foster, where the following epitaph is recorded by Weever to have been placed in the church to her memory:—

> Lord of thy infinit grase and pitee,
> Haue mercy on me, Agnes sometym the wyf
> Of William Milborne, chamberlein of this citee,
> Which toke my passage fro' this wrechyd lyf
> The year of grase On thousand on hundryd and fyf
> The xii day of July, no longer was my spase,
> It plesyd then my Lord to call me to his grase:
> Now ye that are liuing, and see this picture,
> Prey for me here whyle ye haue time and spase,
> That God of his goodnes wold me assure
> In his euerlasting mansion to have a plase ‡

This is described by Stowe as a fair plated gravestone in the middle isle.

The Milbournes of London were not altogether faultless, for it is recorded on the Patent Roll 22 Hen. VIII. that the King granted a pardon to Elizabeth Milborne, late of London, spinster, for a felony committed on the goods of John Roy at Westminster to the extent of 26*s.* 8*d.*§ Among the names of the aldermen and commons mentioned in the Treaty of Commerce between the City of London and the City of Bayonne dated 15 June, 1442,‖ occurs that of Johannes Melborne; possibly this is the same John who is before mentioned as Master of the Grocers' Company.

Although I have not ascertained the ancestry of Sir John

* Baker's Northamptonsh. vol. i. p. 719. † Journals, Court of Common Council.

‡ Weever's Ant. Fun. Mon. p. 390. § Pat. Roll, 22 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 4.

‖ Collect. Gen. of French doc[ts] to be found in England, p. 262.

Milbourne, beyond the name and residence of his father, I have strong reasons to believe him to have descended from the family anciently seated at Milborne Port, and also think him to have been allied to the family of Milbourne of Great Dunmow, in the county of Essex, my own ancestors. The early historians of London describe his father as being John Milbourne, of Long Melford, in the county of Suffolk.

Sir John Milbourne appears to have first resided in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Little, besides St. Anthony's, in the ward of Bread Street, and afterwards and up to the time of his decease in the parish of St. Edmund the King. In 1510 (2 Hen. VIII.) he was made Sheriff of London,* and his name is recorded as one of the commissioners of the King's subsidies in the 5th and 6th of that reign ;† he was also appointed 27 August, 1513 (5 Hen. VIII.), one of the commissioners to seize and sell the goods of Scotchmen in London ;‡ he was elected alderman of Baynard's Castle ward,§ and was Master of the Drapers' Company in 1514 and 1515.‖ He seems to have been very fond of litigation, for his name frequently occurs, temp. Hen. VIII. both as plaintiff and defendant in law-suits. Of his first wife Margaret or her family I am unable to say more than that she must have died previous to the year 1518, and was buried in the conventual church of the Crossed Friars, for on the 21st July in that year Sir John and his then wife (late the wife and executrix of John Chester, draper of London), presented the Drapers' Company with a " Beryall-cloth of the value of l^{c} marks for the wele of the soul of the said John Chester in especiall and all other his good friends in generall ;¶ " a salve to her conscience for her third marriage, for her second husband (Chester) left her half his goods and chattels, which bequest, he says in his will, he left the larger on condition that she would never marry, as she had promised him.

* Grafton's Chronicle, vol. ii.

† Statutes of the Realm, Hen. VIII. pp. 118, 172.

‡ Letters, &c. Foreign and Domestic, Hen. VIII. 4581.

§ Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 1049.

‖ Herbert's Hist. of Twelve Great Companies, vol. ii. p. 413.

¶ Herbert's Hist. of Twelve Great Companies, vol. ii. p. 444.

In the year 1521 (13 Hen. VIII.), Sir John was elected Lord Mayor of London; and on the 6th of June in the following year he is said by Grafton to have had the honour of receiving King Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles the Fifth on their visit to the City, on which occasion he is described as meeting the King and Emperor, well horsed, and both himself and his brethren dressed in fine scarlet. Probably it was at this period that he received the honour of knighthood. By his first wife, Margaret, he had issue Gilbert Milbourne; and Marion, who married, first, —— Burton, by whom she had issue two sons, Thomas and Ralph Burton; her second husband was Robert Fermer, citizen and leather-seller, of London.* Gilbert, his son, or as he styles him in his will (of which more hereafter), Sir Gilbert, in all probability, was a priest. The second wife of Sir John was Joane, relict (as I have shown) of John Chester; her father was —— Hill, of London.† She had been twice married previously to her marriage with Sir John; *i.e.* first to —— Wellis, by whom she appears to have had issue a son, Anthony Wellis; and, secondly to John Chester, by whom she had issue Nicholas Chester and Sir William Chester, draper and merchant of the Staple, knighted at Greenwich during his shrievalty by Queen Mary, 7 February 1555-6, and elected Lord Mayor of London in 1560, and Member of Parliament for the same in 1562.‡ By her marriage with Sir John Milbourne there was not any issue. He died the 5th day of April, 1536‖ (27 Henry VIII.). By his last will and testament, which bears date the 10th June 1535, in the same regnal year,§ after the then usual and formal bequest of his soul to the Almighty God, the blessed Virgin Mary, and all the holy company of Heaven, he directs that his body should be buried before the altar of our Lady in the midst of the middle isle within the conventual church of the Crossed Friars within Aldgate; at which altar the prior and

* Rot. Claus. 28 Hen. VIII. p. 1, No. 76.

† Heralds' Visitation Midd. 1568 (printed for the London and Middlesex Archæological Society) p. 2.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 4.

‖ Harl. MSS. Brit. Mus 897, f. 13.

§ Book Hogen, f. 35. Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Doctors' Commons, Lond.

convent there be bound daily for evermore to say a mass for his soul, the souls of his wives, and for the souls of his and their fathers, mothers, children, benefactors, and all christian souls. He also directs that a tomb shall be made over his body, where it shall be buried according to the discretion of his executors, and bequeaths to the prior and convent of the Crossed Friars for his sepulture there to be had, and to the intent that they shall pray specially for his and the souls above-mentioned, £5. After bequest to the high altars of the parish churches of St. Edmund Lombard Street, St. Bartholomew the Little, and St. Bennet Finck, he bequeaths twenty shillings each to every of the four orders of friars in London, *i.e.* Friar Preachers, Carmelites, Mynours, and Augustins, to the intent that the prior and convent of each order shall come and bring his body to its sepulture, and say in every of their conventual churches a trental of masses for his soul, etc. within seven days next after his decease; and to the said prior and convent of the Crossed Friars for like intent 20 shillings. He then directs his executors within three months next ensuing after his decease to have 1000 masses said and sung for his soul, etc. which masses are to be sung by such priests that have not any benefices or charged to pray for any other; and every priest so employed to have for his labour 6 pence. He also bequeaths to 153 poor men and women* a black gown, a black gown of linen or cotton, and a pair of black beads each, and directs them to be at his burial and mass of requiem, and to pray specially for his soul, etc. Then follow bequests to the convent of the Charterhouse beside London and the convent of the Charterhouse at Shene, the abbess, sisters, and brethren of Sion, and a bequest of 20*s.* to the brotherhood of 60 priests in London, of which he describes himself a brother, to the intent that they shall come to his burial and pray specially for his soul and the souls above mentioned; he further directs his executors to distribute in bread, drink, and victual to and among the poor prisoners in the prisons of Newgate, Ludgate, the two Compters, King's Bench, and Marshalsea, to

* The number of the miraculous draught of fishes, the same which was fixed by Dean Colet for the scholars of his grammar-school at St. Paul's.

the amount of 40 shillings to each prison, and also a further amount of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the redemption of the fees only of said poor prisoners. Then follow bequests to the poor people within the Lazar-houses within two miles within and about the city of London, and to every of the 13 poor beadmen of St. Anthony's in London, 12 pence. (This is the only mention of the alms-people in the Will.) To every sister in the Hospitals of St. Mary Spittel without Bishopsgate, Elsing Spittel, St. Bartholomew's Spittel in West Smithfield, and St. Thomas Spittel in Southwark, 12*d.*; and towards the repair and support of the beds for poor people resorting to the said spittels, 100 ells of canvas at 4*d.* or 5*d.* the ell: to the parish church of St. Edmund's in Lombard Street a suit of vestments of red cloth of gold of the value of 40*l.* or 50*l.* sterling or about the same, to be at the discretion of his executors. Next follow bequests of 20*l.*, *i. e.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each, to the marriage of 60 poor maidens of the town or parish of Long Melford, in the county of Suffolk; and to 13 poor people of the same place weekly, every Sunday, during a term of ten years, 13 penny loaves, to the intent that they shall come to the parish church of Long Melford, and there kneel down before the Holy Sacrament at the high altar and say a paternoster, an ave, and a credo, for his soul and the souls before mentioned. To his son, whom he describes as Sir Gilbert Milbourne, he only bequeaths £40 sterling to be paid him after the rate of 13*s.* 4*d.* quarterly until the whole is paid, with reversion of such part of the £40 that may remain unpaid through decease of Sir Gilbert to Thomas and Ralph Burton, sons of his daughter Marion. To this Marion his daughter he bequeaths £500 sterling, to be paid her as he had previously directed his executors, and not in any other manner. To the before-mentioned Thomas and Ralph Burton he leaves 100 marcs each. To the master and co-brethren of St. Thomas Acon of London he bequeaths £10, and £10 to the prior and convent of St. Mary Overy in Southwark, to pray specially for his soul and the souls before mentioned; and to the abbess and convent of the Minories without Aldgate he bequeaths 100 marcs on condition that the said abbess and convent, before receipt of same, shall be bound by deed under their conventual

seal for performing and keeping such obits, anniversaries, and obsequies as they the said abbess and convent by their promises were charged to keep within their conventual church for ever for his soul and the souls of those whose names he had caused to be written down and delivered to the said abbess, and further and to every of the ladies of same convent to pray specially for his soul and souls before mentioned 12*d.* each. He directs his executors, with part of his goods, shortly after his decease, to cause a good, sure, and substantial foundation to be founded within the Fellowship of the Drapers of London, if they will be therewith content, for the performance and sure payment of 4*d.* to every of those thirty of the said Fellowship that shall come and be in his livery yearly, with the master and wardens of the said Fellowship for the time being, to his obit or anniversary which he had founded to be within the conventual church of the Crossed Friars for his soul and souls above mentioned. He bequeaths to the master and wardens of the said Fellowship of Drapers his standing cup of silver with a cover, all gilt, weighing 63½ ozs. To Katherine Smyth, his cousin, and to her heirs for ever he bequeaths all his lands and tenements, with their appurtenances, situate in Long Melford; and the residue of his goods, debts, and chattels, after his debts, burial and funeral expenses paid and his last will and testament fulfilled, he gives to his executors to dispose of according to their discretion, and appoints Dame Johane Milbourne his wife, Bartholomew Linsted prior of the monastery of St. Mary Overy, and Cutbert Becher draper of London, his executors, and his right-trusty friend John Baker, Esq., Recorder of the City of London, overseer of the same, and for his labour in that behalf bequeaths him £4 sterling.

This will is signed "John Milbo'n," and was proved in London 12 May, 1536, by the executors before-mentioned.

In accordance with the instructions before described the body of Sir John Milbourne would be buried in the conventual church of Crutched Friars. Stowe, however, asserts that he was buried in the church of St. Edmund the King in Lombard Street. There his widow was certainly interred, as was her son Sir William Chester, Lord Mayor in 1560; and in that church was formerly

a fair monument in the wall on the south side of the chancel,* which bore the following inscription:

D. JOANNI MILBURNO vitrico,
D. JOANNI CHESTERO patri,
D. ROBERTO TEMPESTO genero,
GULIELMUS CHESTERUS posuit.

Elizabetha suo postquam Chestera marito
Sex natos natas octo dedisset, ait:
Non opus in terris nec fas me vivere supra:
Jam sat habes comitum, chare Marite, vale.

Quam quoniam nequiit vivam revocare sub auras,
Quod potuit fecit dum fuit ille super.
Illa ex parte suam faciem de marmore duci,
Jussit at ex ista Conjugis ore suæ.

Hac natos, illa natós subjunxit, eodem
Vultu, quippe albos Mors facit esse suos.
Hæc cecidit, manet ille super, quando moriturus
Inscius, at certus quod moriturus erit.

D. JOANNÆ MILBURNE secundo marito matri suæ optimæ GULIELMUS CHESTERUS posuit, Anno Domini 1561.

There is some little confusion in these epitaphs as thus given. It is apparent that Sir William Chester commemorated Sir John Milburne his step-father, Sir John Chester his father, Sir Robert Tempest his son-in-law, and Dame Joane Milburne his mother by her second husband. The intervening verses commemorate Sir William Chester's wife Elizabeth,† and they state that she, with her husband, and fourteen children, were represented on the monument. The whole were destroyed at the Fire of London.

Dame Joane Milburne survived her husband Sir John, for nine years, and died 21st September, 1545 (37 Hen. VIII.)‡ By her last will and testament dated 12 November, 1542§ (34 Hen. VIII.) she desires to be buried in the church of St. Edmund, Lombard Street, of which parish she describes herself a parishioner, and bequeaths to the high altar of said church 3*s.* 4*d.*

* Stowe's Survay. † Pedigree of Chester, as before referred to.
‡ Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 897, f. 13.
§ Book Pynnyng, fol. 36, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Doctors' Commons.

for tithes forgotten; also to the brotherhood of 60 priests in London to come to her burial to pray for her soul, 10*s.* 0*d.* She also leaves bequests to the Brotherhood of Pappey and the Brotherhood of Clerks in London, also to come to her burial to pray for her soul; and to the prisoners being in Newgate, Ludgate, the two Compters, the King's Bench and Marshalsea, for bread, drink, and victual to be distributed to the prisoners, to every prison 6*s.* 8*d.*, and to 80 maiden's marriages £20, viz.: to every maid 5*s.*, to pray for her soul; to her very good friend, Bartholomew Lynsted, sometime prior of St. Mary Overys, near London, she bequeaths 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to pray for her soul; to her son Nicholas Chester she bequeaths 400*l.* sterling, to be paid unto him after the rate of 5*l.* sterling every quarter until fully paid, with reversion to his children and the children of his brother William, should he not comply with certain conditions expressed in the will; to the children of the said Nicholas, 200*l.*; to the children of her son William she bequeaths 300*l.*; and, amongst other bequests, to friends and servants, she bequeaths to the 25 wards in London, to be disposed among poor people to pray for her soul, 20*s.* each; and to the Company of Drapers she bequeaths a cup of the value of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling to pray for her soul; to Sir John Baker, Knt.* Under-Treasurer of England, a ring of gold with the five wounds, and to Lady Baker his wife a ring of gold with a tablet diamond; to every sister in the four spittell houses in London, 12*d.* to pray for her soul, and to come to her burial; and she directs her executor, as soon as he conveniently may after her decease, to cause to be "mortised" as many messuages, lands, and tenements as will amount to the clear yearly value above all charges and reprises of £7 10*s.* 0*d.* to and for the finding of five poor women within the city of London for ever, to each of them 7*d.* per week, to be paid the first day of every month; and for the same intent she bequeaths £250, provided that if she purchased lands for this purpose in her life, then this legacy to be void. The residue of all her goods, debts, jewels, and chattels, after her debts, funeral, and burial expenses paid, and her last will and testament fulfilled, she gives freely

* Her husband's executor.

and wholly unto her son William Chester, for his own use and benefit, and also appoints him sole executor, and her trusty and wellbeloved friend Sir John Baker, Knt. sole overseer, and bequeaths him £20 for his trouble in that behalf. To the will is annexed a codicil, dated 15 July, 1543, in which she reduces the amount bequeathed in will to her son Nicholas Chester, to £300, with the like conditions; this reduction, she says, is owing to her having been, since making of her testament, at divers charges, and also paid divers sums of money for him and for his business. She also directs that an honest priest, of honest conversation and living, shall sing for her soul and the souls of Sir John Milbourne, Knt. and John Chester, and all christian souls, in the parish church of St. Edmund, in Lombard Street; for which she directs the said priest to have a convenient stipend or salary, and the said priest so to sing for the space of two years.

Both will and codicil are signed Jane Milbourne, and were proved the 28th September, 1545, by William Chester her son and executor.

SCULPTURE FROM THE MILBOURNE ALMSHOUSES.

NOTICES OF DEORMAN OF LONDON, A DOMESDAY TENANT IN CAPITE.

By Henry Charles Coote, Esq., F.S.A.

Through the obliging courtesy of Francis Woodthorpe, esquire, I have been favoured by the municipal authorities with the view of an Anglo-Saxon charter preserved in the archives of the City, that favour being extended into a permission to copy it.

This charter, which has not hitherto been published, is textually as follows:—

"Willm Kyng gret Willm ƀ and Swegen scyrgerefan and ealle mine thegnas on East Seaxan frendlice. And ic kythe eow thæt ic habbe geunnen Deormanne minum men tha hide landes æt Gyddesdune the him of geryden wæs. And ic nelle getholian Frenciscan ne Engliscan thæt him æt ænigan thingan misbeode"

In modern English it may be translated thus:—

"I William the King greet William the Bishop, and Swegen the Sheriff, and all my thanes in Essex, as a friend. And I make known unto you that I have granted to Deorman my man the hide of land at Gyddesdun that he was deforced of. And I will not suffer any Frenchman or Englishman to injure him on any pretext."

This charter is by its terms simply a confirmation made by the Conqueror to his English thane Deorman of a moderate estate already that person's property, and being directed to the Sheriff of Essex it is necessarily implied that Gyddesdun was situate within that county. This conclusion is verified by the Domesday survey, which places it in the hundred of Ceffeord, now Chafford:—

"Geddesdunàm tenet Sanctus Petrus pro una hida. Semper unus villanus et unus bordarius. Tunc dimidium carucatæ, modo una. Semper valuit xx. solidos."

From the hands of Deorman it had passed to the convent of St. Peter at Westminster.*

The place of deposit of the charter, viz. London, would show that that city either was, or subsequently became, the domicile of Deorman.

Taking the latter inference to be correct, our information respecting Deorman will not stop here. In the Domesday survey of Middlesex I find the following entry:—

"Terra DEORMANNI Lundoniæ, Osulfstane hundred.

"Deormannus tenet de rege in Iseldune dimidiam hidam terræ et dimidiam carrucatam. Ibi est unus villanus. Hæc terra valet et valuit X solidos. Hanc terram tenuit Algar homo Regis E. et vendere et dare potuit."

In English this may be thus rendered:—

"The land of Deorman of London, Osulstone hundred. Deorman holds of the King in Islington half a hide of land and half a carucate. There is one villan. This land is and was worth ten shillings. Algar, a man of King Edward, held the land, and could sell and give it."

These two Deormans on paper can only, I think, be one in reality. Deorman a King's man, who, as depositing with the authorities of London the King's confirmation of his land in Essex may, without stretching, be inferred to be a Londoner, must be the same as the Deorman of London, who, as we have just seen, holds in chief of the King half a hide or so in the neighbouring vill of Islington.

This is not all. Deorman is again mentioned.

At folio 142a of the Domesday for Hertfordshire I find this heading:—

"Terra tainorum Regis in Bradewater hundredo."

Among the entries which follow this heading are some which speak specifically to certain extensive and valuable manors held by Deorman, whom the heading shows to have been one of William's thanes.

* Geddesdun, Wochendun, and Wemtun, all in the hundred of Ceffeord, belonged to St. Peter at Westminster. See Morant's Essex, vol. i. p. 102, for the second, now Okendon. (J. G. N.)

These manors had been held by Alwin Horne, a thane of King Edward.

The entries themselves, though very interesting, are too long to insert in the present paper.

I should mention that in the brief index * which recapitulates the estates in the county there are these words:—

"Derman et alii Anglici regis."

This must, I think, be the same Deorman. He is a King's thane and an Englishman, an union of facts very rare after the Norman Conquest.

Being assumed to be the same man, his Hertfordshire manors demonstrate him rich and fortunate in the midst of the dispossession and poverty of his countrymen.

The entries which refer to his estates, both in Middlesex and Hertfordshire, show also that he had succeeded other Englishmen therein.

Whilst they had lost he had gained.

In other words we find Deorman attached by homage and fealty to the Norman king, and presumably rewarded by the latter with forfeited estates.

These facts are plain, but it nowhere appears what the services were which had entitled him to so bountiful a gratitude on the part of the foreign king.

Upon this, as upon all which concerns Deorman, history is silent.

But, though rich in the spoils of his countrymen and the favour of the new dynast, Deorman was still no other than Deorman the Englishman; in no way Normanicized save in his feelings and his interests. He could not change his baptismal appellation, for no law has ever permitted that, and his modesty perhaps forbade his assuming a surname after the Norman fashion.

But, though he did neither of these two things his descendants were of a different mind, and so Normanicized themselves that without the necessary clue it would be impossible to regard them as anything less than Norman.

* Vol. i. p. 142.

The chartulary of the nuns of Clerkenwell, preserved in the British Museum, and from which Mr. Tomlins in his very excellent History of Islington has made copious and interesting extracts, enables us to pursue the history of this family.

By these extracts I find that Deorman had two sons, of whom the one, Algar, became a prebendary of St. Paul's London, while the other, baptised by the name of Thierry (*Theodoricus*), succeeded to his father's estates.

This Thierry—this Frenchified Englishman—has a son Bertram, who, not content with his Norman Christian name, takes a surname also after the Norman fashion.

He is Bertram of Barrowe—the manor of Highbury in fact.

The same chartulary also shows that the family never returned to English names. The descendant of Deorman, with whom the family terminated in the reign of Henry the Third, was named Alice.

These facts in the history, such as it is, of an English family of the epoch of the Conquest raise a suspicion that other presumed Norman families may be in the precise position of that of Deorman—English beneath a foreign disguise.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX

Archæological Society.

Vol. III. SEPTEMBER 1868. Part IX.

AN ARCHITECTURAL NOTICE OF ST. JOHN'S PRIORY, CLERKENWELL.

BY W. PETTIT GRIFFITH, ESQ. F.S.A.

[Read at St. John's Church, 10 June, 1867.]

THE story of the religious Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (as well as that of the Knights Templars) has been so often told, and is so well known, as to render a repetition unnecessary. Some authors have entered so enthusiastically into the exploits of the knights as either to lose sight of the buildings belonging to the Priory, or to allude to them in a very cursory manner. Beyond the mention of the church by old John Stowe, in 1598, who naturally raises curiosity by his statement that "the great bell tower was a most curious piece of workmanship, graven, gilt, and enamelled, to the great beautifying of the city," there is not much trust-worthy information on the subject. The object of the present paper is to place on record certain facts and data connected with the Priory buildings, the result of discoveries and observations made during a residence of many years on the site of the Priory.

The Priory was founded about A.D. 1100, by Jordan Briset and Muriell his wife, near "unto Clarkes Well" (now Clerkenwell),

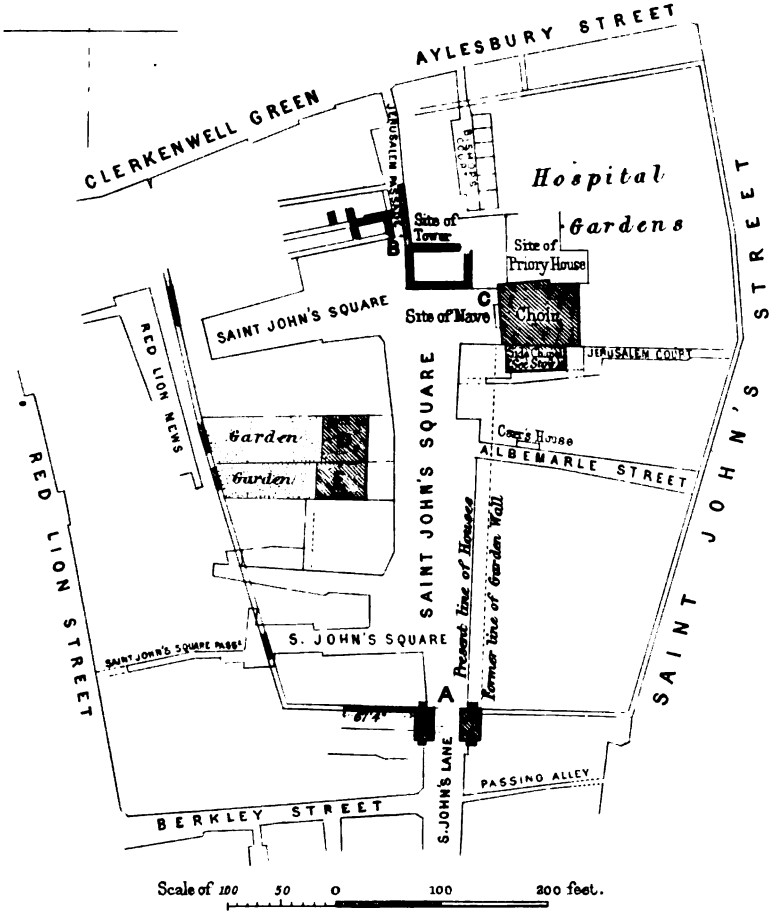
in the reign of Henry I. Ten acres of land were purchased for the above purpose, of the adjoining Priory of St. Mary; and for those ten acres, twenty acres were given in his lordship of Willinghale in the county of Kent.

In the plan are set forth from measurement the traceable remains of the boundary walls and buildings. No restorations have been attempted. The two principal objects of interest connected with this once important religious military institution are the southern entrance, known as St. John's Gate, and the Church; these are both situated in St. John's Square, which latter, in old maps, is called St. John's Priory. St. John's Square was the Priory-court, and bounded by the ancient buildings; in Robert Seymour's Survey, 1735, it is named "St. John's Court, vulg. St. Jones', St. John's Square." The inclosure walls can still be traced on the north, south, east, and west sides; and the modern dwellings in St. John's Square are mostly built upon the old rubble walls of the hospital: fragments of the ancient buildings are frequently discovered.

The north boundary comprised the north postern and the Priory buildings and walls, extending from the north postern westward towards Red Lion Street, and from the north postern eastward towards St. John's Street. The foundations of the Priory buildings and walls form the foundations of the cellars under No. 19, and the basements of Nos. 21 and 22, on the north side of St. John's Square. An opening was made in the basement wall between Nos. 19 and 20, St. John's Square, on Sept. 12, 1851, and the wall was found to be 7 feet thick, and formed of squared stone on the outer or north side, and chalk rubble within. Some of the stones had been used for windows, &c. One stone was exactly similar in nature to the mantel stone found in the cellar by St. John's Gate, and was covered with black shining flinty particles, as if it had been subjected to fire. This wall was close by the northern postern. In tunneling beneath No. 46, St. John's Square, for the main drainage, in Aug. 1863, solid concrete foundations of the Priory buildings had to be cut through. The distance from the surface of St. John's Square to the bottom of the concrete was 26 feet.

SAINT JOHN'S PRIORY, CLERKENWELL.

Ground Plan.



A. Saint John's Gate. B. North Postern. C. Saint John's Church.
D. Burnet's House. E. Dr. Clarke's House.

We are informed from the minute book of the Commissioners for Paving, &c., of the parish of St. John, Clerkenwell, that permission was granted on May 19th, 1780, to Mr. Gabriel Gregory, the proprietor of the house adjoining (then about to be rebuilt) at the south-west corner of Jerusalem Passage, to take down the north postern, and thereby leave the south entrance to the above passage "open from the ground to the sky." The north postern, therefore, was previously covered, and by the plan in the Commissioners' book it appears to have been 17 feet 10 inches long (inside measure), and 10 feet 1 inch wide at the south end, and 10 feet 9 inches at the north end, and inclosed next St. John's Square by a light inclosure with a gate 10 feet 7 inches high, and at the other (north) end by a gate 5 feet 5 inches wide and 8 feet high. This was an outer gate in the north boundary wall, which latter was 3 feet 6 inches in thickness at this part.

The Priory was inclosed on the south side from St. John's Street (eastward) towards Red Lion Street (westward), with St. John's Gate in the centre. Of the southern boundary there are St. John's Gate and 67 feet of wall extending westward from the gate remaining.

Of the eastern boundary, Hollar has given a view as it appeared in 1661. It portrays the east end of St. John's Church, with the hospital gardens and boundary wall; all of which faced St. John's Street.

Regarding the westward boundary, there are remains of the old Priory wall in Ledbury Place, being also the west garden wall of Bishop Burnett's house, and in the west garden wall of Dr. Adam Clarke's house, which adjoins Burnett's house southward, and in Red Lion Mews or Yard; all these portions remaining formed a continuous wall, which was the western boundary.

Cromwell, in his *History of Clerkenwell*, mentions a circumstance which occurred in November 1826, that seems to establish the probability that, *previously to* 1381, when the hospital was destroyed by Wat Tyler, its buildings extended southward beyond the present Gate.

In excavating the ground on the east side of St. John's Lane, for the purpose of making a new opening into the sewer beneath,

the workmen came to a wall between four and five feet thick, which crossed the lane from east to west, and, there can be little doubt, both from its situation and strength, formed part of the original erection of the Hospitallers. This idea receives confirmation also from the discovery of a similar wall in digging out the ground for the foundation of the houses in Albion Place, (formerly George Court,) the direction of which appeared to be north and south.

Of the early buildings, which were of the semi-Norman and Early-English style, there are, besides the crypt, a few remains in the south wall of the present church next Jerusalem Court, and fragments have been found built in the basement walls of St. John's Gate; the latter I exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1856.

St. John's Gate.

St. John's Gate was originally built at the foundation of the Priory, about the year 1100, and was rebuilt by Prior Docwra in 1504. This Prior, 1502 to 1523, was the immediate predecessor of the last Superior of the house, Sir William Weston, who died on May 7, 1540.

In Hollar's view of the Gate, the effect produced by the battlements, then complete, is shown to advantage. In some respects Hollar is not correct: the windows on each side of the large central arch and window in both fronts are in one light, while in the view they are shown in two lights. In alluding to the great multitude of prints of St. John's Gate which have been issued on the exterior of the *Gentleman's Magazine* during the previous hundred and fifteen years, the editor of that publication remarked, in 1845, that they probably, in all, exceeded ten millions of copies, and presented in succession a considerable variety, arising from the respective taste or talent of the draughtsmen employed whenever a fresh engraving became requisite. Hollar's view of the Gate is the earliest extant, and is the most picturesque, but not the most accurate. (The vignette in page 170 is copied from it.) It gives an undue altitude of proportions to the whole structure and to its parts.

In 1856 a view of the Gate, as restored, superseded the old cut on the Magazine.

Boswell says that "when Dr. Johnson first saw St. John's Gate he beheld it with reverence;" no doubt referring to the edifice itself, with its chivalrous memories, and not, as has been supposed, in allusion to the magazine. Johnson himself was oftener to be found at St. John's Gate, where the *Gentleman's Magazine* was published, than in his own lodgings.

The walls of the present St. John's Gate are about 3 feet thick, of brick, faced with stone 9 inches thick, brought from Reygate. This stone is of the same description as that used in building Henry the Seventh's Chapel in 1502.

Rickman considers the style of architecture of the Gate to be Perpendicular work of pretty good character. On the ground-floor is a central arched entrance, with rooms on the east and west sides. On the north front, next St. John's Square, is a projecting tower on each side, and on the south front is also a projecting tower on each side; and, as the rooms above-mentioned project beyond the centre, they form, in appearance, double towers, which give an imposing aspect to the south front, and constitute the front by which the Priory was approached from the city.

In Hollar's view of the Gate is shown an inner wooden erection, adapted to the admission of carriages and foot passengers by separate entrances, which was succeeded by a billiard-room, which filled all the upper part of the gateway from the springing of the arch. This was purchased by St. John's Paving Commissioners for 62*l.*, and cleared away in 1771, and the arch repaired and restored to its original dimensions. Sir William Staines restored the masonry for 25*l.*

In 1856, Mr. B. Foster, the occupant of the Gate at that time, discovered one of the original stone chimney-pieces, and a singular secret communication from the groined archway to the large room above. The chimney-piece, which is engraved in the *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 4, 1856, is neatly moulded, with spandrils containing cruciform gilt ornaments; the opening of the fire-place is 4 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 2 inches, and the stone is the same as that of which the Gate is constructed. Over the

chimney-piece is a relieving arch. The chimney-piece is restored and preserved, and also the chamber. The secret chamber, or communication, occurs in the inner side wall; the latter is 3 feet 4 inches thick, and the former is 1 foot 11 inches wide, and 2 feet 9 inches in length. At the base of the chamber or shaft is an arched opening (now filled up), communicating with the open archway beneath the gate, and the top of the shaft is immediately under the floor of the hall. This communication may have been formed for the purpose of entering the billiard room, although its appearance is not modern.

In the room over the bar of the tavern, on the east side of the Gate, another original chimney-piece, similar to the one above described, has been laid open.

In the interior of the Gate-house remain several stone arched doorways, recesses, &c. with ancient hook-and-eye hinges. The ceilings are mostly divided into compartments by large and boldly carved oak rib-mouldings.

On the south front of St. John's Gate are sculptured five shields in foliated panels. The central panel contains the arms of France and England, surmounted by a crown. The panels on each side of the above have the cross, the ensign of the Priory. On the outer panels are a chevron engrailed, between three roundels, and the cross in chief, for DOCWRA; and the same impaling a bugle-horn between three griffin's heads erased for Greene, being the arms of the Lord Prior's father and mother.* Beneath the above panels was the following inscription:—tomas + Docwra + Prior, Anno dni. 1504. Sans + roro.

The north front has three shields in cinquefoil-headed panels. The central one has the cross; on the left hand side are the arms of Docwra, and on the right hand side the same arms, but with an impalement (probably Greene again). Beneath the shields was inscribed "Ano dni. 1504." In the groining beneath the gate-way are sculptured bosses (and moulded ribs) ornamented with shields; on two are the Priory cross, and on two are the arms of Docwra; upon the central boss or keystone is the Paschal Lamb.

The arms of the Priory were, Gules, a cross argent. The arms

* See the pedigree of Docwra in Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire, vol. iii. p. 83. A more particular examination of these shields of arms will be found in Dingley's History from Marble, (Camden Society, 1868,) p. 142.

of Docwra were, Sable, a chevron engrailed argent, between three plates, each charged with a pallet gules.

In each angle of the gateway is a slender attached column, with moulded capital and base, from which the groined ribs spring.

In the spandrils of the door-head to the north-west tower are the Priory cross, with a cock and a hawk, and Docwra's arms, with a hen and a lion.

Shields with the arms of the Priory and of Docwra are also very sharply carved in an oak door-head formerly on the south side of the north-west tower, in the ground story of the Gate. It was discovered in 1813 when this part was converted into a watch-house, and then used in a partition, which was taken down in 1866, and the room restored to its original proportion. The door-head is preserved in the Gate.

The staircases were constructed in the towers on the north side next St. John's Square. They were spiral, of solid stone from the ground story up to the first story, and of solid oak from thence to the top. The stone staircase in the north-west tower was removed in 1814; the solid oak steps still remain; as do the inner stone Tudor-headed doorways leading to the floors.

St. John's Gate had a narrow escape in 1845, when the new Metropolitan Building Act came into operation. The old Gate was condemned as being dangerous, and it was proposed to repair and compo it; and, had I not formed a committee to restore it to its present condition, the Gate would have been destroyed. In 1846-7 the stonework was reinstated, the embattlements added to the north front, and partly to the south front, and the angular turrets partly rebuilt, with new windows, &c. under my superintendence, by public subscription.

St. John's Gate had been at various periods spoliated and modernised to serve the requirements of a tavern, until 1865, when the freehold was purchased by Mr. Wickens, the present occupier, in whom the old Gate has found another friend anxious to retain the fabric as far as possible in all its integrity. With this view, in 1866, 350*l.* was expended upon its further restoration; the modern staircase on the west side was cleared away, and the staircase in the north-west tower, winding from top to

bottom with solid oak steps, and an oak newel, was restored; also the old stone doorway, formerly the entrance to Cave's printing-office, in the same tower, was raised 3 feet in height; the continued raising of the street paving having shorn this doorway of its fair proportions.

St. John's Priory Church.

The dedication of the original church by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, is recorded to have been in the year in which the Temple Church was also dedicated, and by the same Patriarch: "In ye yere of Christ 1185, ye vj Ides of Merche, ye dominical lettre being F, ye chyrche of ye Hospitall of St. John's Jerusalem was dedicatyd to ye honor of *S. John Baptiste*, by ye worschypfull fader *Araclius*, Patriarke of ye resurrection of Christe; ye sam dey was dedycatyd ye high altre, and ye altre of S. John Evangelist by ye sam Patryarke."—*Cottonian MS.*

The Norman or circular portion of the present Temple Church formed the building alluded to above, and there is no doubt that the masons engaged in sculpturing the arcade in the aisle of the circular portion of the Temple Church were also employed on the ornamental capitals, &c. of St. John's Priory Church.

The erection of the first buildings of the Priory occupied several years. It has been stated that, between the years 1274 and 1280, Joseph de Channey, Prior, built a chapel; and that William de Henley, Prior, erected a cloister, between 1280 and 1284. In 1338 it appears that some repairs were effected.

The original church, of which part of the crypt remains, was semi-Norman and Early-English. Some of the bases remain *in situ* beneath the present modern floor; and part of the south wall remains, in which can be traced narrow window openings, and a doorway also beneath the floor, formerly facing Jerusalem Court. In one of the houses in the court, built against this wall, can be seen a Norman capital in the wall.

With the exception of the crypt, all the Priory (including St. John's Gate) was destroyed in 1381 by the rebels of Essex and Kent, who set fire to the buildings, causing them to burn seven days.

After this calamity the Priory was rebuilt, Prior Docwra completing it in 1504. Docwra's church was in the Perpendicular style, and grafted upon the Early-English crypt, and consisted of nave, aisles, a great bell-tower, graven, gilt, and enamelled, a choir, with side chapels, &c. and the remains of the Early-English crypt. The present church is a part only of the ancient choir, and beneath it is the crypt.

The crypt (which has been frequently engraved) comprises a central avenue 16 feet 3 inches in width and 12 feet in height, with an aisle on each side extending from east to west, and is, with the aisles, of the same extent and length as the present church above. The west end of the crypt is bricked up; it originally extended westward, which has been proved from time to time when excavating for drains, &c.

The most interesting remaining portions of the crypt comprise the central avenue and a small compartment on each side of it by the entrance at the east end. The compartment on the south side is bricked up, and forms a private vault in which are deposited the remains of Simon Michell. It is 13 feet by 10 feet, and was inclosed in 1793.

This system of allotting portions of the crypt to other families as well as Michell's injured its fair proportions and lessened its original size.

The entrance to the crypt is at the east end by a flight of stone steps beneath a modern vestry. The crypt appears to have been originally above ground, and not subterraneous: an entrance to it may be seen in Hollar's view of the east end as it appeared in 1661 from St. John's Street, with the hospital gardens and boundary wall.

The central portion of the crypt consists of four severeys or bays: two are simple and plain, being semi-Norman, and two (towards the east) are Early-English, and very perfect, the details and mouldings being worthy of a careful examination. The voussoirs of the arch ribs are wrought in a similar manner to the voussoirs of the former nave, chancel, and aisles; these are often dug up in the vicinity of the Priory. The voussoirs are worked with great precision about 5 inches long, are not

arched, and their shortness enabled them to be set to the proper curvature with apparent exactness; while the frequent occurrence of the mortar joints between them has preserved them from fracture by settlement.

The ribs of the Early-English bays spring from triple-clustered columns, 3 feet 9½ inches high, in each angle of the bays, with moulded capitals and bases. An excavation was made in 1854, exposing the bases to view; the upper moulding is horizontally fluted similarly to some Grecian Ionic bases. The central shafts of the clustered columns are pointed, and the diagonal ribs have three mouldings; the central one is pointed, and the outer are rolls. This pointed bowtell occurs frequently in semi-Norman and Early-English work, and is coeval with the introduction of the pointed arch. Suspended from the keystone of each arch is an iron ring. On each side of the two western bays of the central aisle is a deeply-recessed pointed window; the opening was long and narrow, 3 feet 9 inches high, and 9 inches wide, and the inner splay is 7 feet 7 inches by 4 feet 2 inches wide; the wall is 4 feet thick. The trefoil-headed doorway on the west side of the north compartment has the large iron eyes of the door-hinges still remaining. The original pavement of the crypt is 1 foot 5½ inches below the present level. Clay introduced in modern times to prevent the damp from rising lies over the original pavement, and conceals the bases and part of the shafts of the columns.

A bird's eye view of St. John's Priory, Clerkenwell, restored, with its boundary walls, St. John's Gate, and the church, having its nave, aisles, transepts, tower, chancel, and chapels complete, may be seen in W. Newton's "*London in the Olden Time*, with a Pictorial Map of London *temp.* Henry VIII." folio, 1855.

In the 3rd of King Edward VI. in 1549, the church for the most part, the body and side aisles, with the great bell-tower (a most curious piece of workmanship), were undermined and destroyed with gunpowder, and the stone was employed for building the Lord Protector Somerset's house in the Strand, and the porch of Allhallows' Church, Gracechurch Street. That part

of the choir which remained, with some side chapels, was closed up at the west end (next St. John's Square), and otherwise repaired by Cardinal Pole in the reign of Queen Mary, when Sir Thomas Tresham, knt. was made Prior, with restitution of some lands; but the convent was again suppressed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth. Five years subsequently to the Dissolution, Henry granted to John Dudley, Lord Viscount Lisle, Lord High Admiral of England, "as well in consideration of his service as for the sum of 1,000*l.* sterling, the site, circuit, and precinct of this Hospital or Priory of St. John of Jerusalem; only the lead, bells, timber, stone, glass, iron, and other things of the church, were specially reserved to the King's Majesty." *Newcourt, Repertorium Londinense.*

James I. granted, by letters patent, dated the 9th of May 1607, "the scite or house of the late Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, in the county of Middlesex, and all the scite, circuit, and precinct of the same house, having thereon one great mansion-house and one great chapel, and containing by estimation five acres, to Ralph Freeman and his heirs in free and common soccage."

The choir passed by various deeds to as many persons: in 10 James I. to Sir William Cecill, Lord Burghley, son and heir-apparent to Thomas Earl of Exeter, by marriage with whose daughter, Lady Diana, it became (5 Charles I.) the property of Robert Bruce, afterwards Earl of Elgin, whose son Robert was created Earl of Aylesbury. It was now used as the Earl's private chapel, and for many years was called Aylesbury Chapel. In this noble family the estate continued till 1706, when it was sold by them. Being finally bought by Simon Michell, 1721, the chapel was by his instrumentality converted into a church for the intended parish of St. John; and, in 1723, having enlarged and repaired it, he built the present west front, of brick with stone quoins, (which has been since compoed,) and re-roofed the whole. Michell and Hutton his trustee transferred the church, vault, vestry-room, and adjoining grounds, together with two messuages fronting St. John's Street, for 2,950*l.*, to the Commissioners for building fifty new churches, usually called "Queen Anne's," of

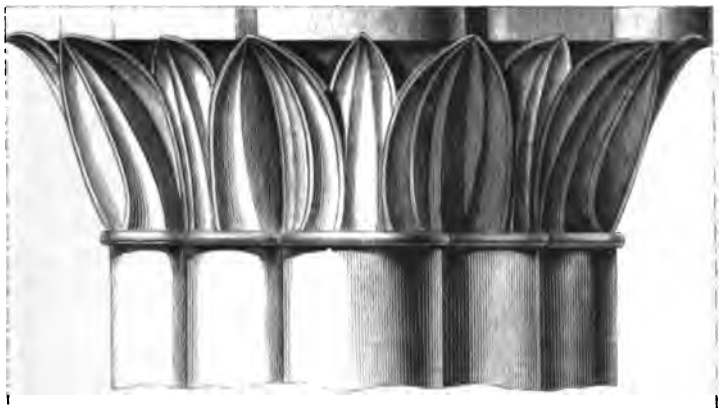
which St. John's, Clerkenwell, was the second in order of consecration, Dec. 27, 1723.

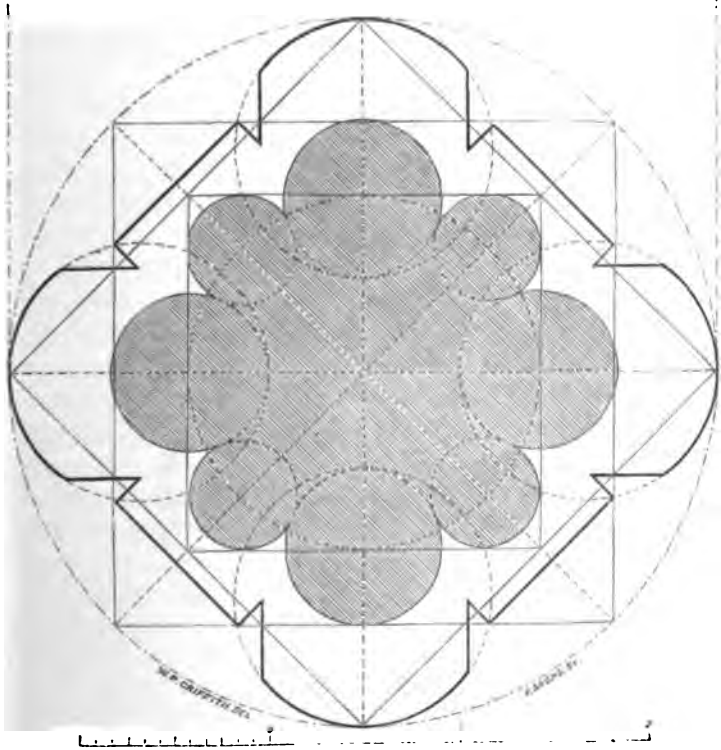
The turret was added in 1813, and the clock originally belonged to St. James's old church. The head of the beadle's staff also belonged to that establishment, and was used in James the Second's time; it has the following inscription: "Anno dom. 1685. Anno 2° Regni Regis Jacobi." It is silver-headed, and was made at "ye charge of ye inhabitants of ye east liberty of St. John of Jerusalem." A portable baptismal bowl formerly supplied the place of the font now in use; it has a scriptural quotation round its rim, with the name of the parish and "Deo et Sacris." It is engraved in Mr. Foster's "St. John's Gate."

The font is a white marble pedestal with bason (not capacious enough for total immersion), its date being probably coeval with Michell's alterations and additions in 1723.

In 1845 this church was repaired under my direction, and I took care to note the following:—

Upon removing the plaster from the inside of the east wall and central window, it was discovered that (Docwra's) masonry still existed from the ground to the middle of the said window-arch, in altitude 27 feet, all of the wall above that having been rebuilt in brickwork (by Michell). This window remains in the same state as shown in Hollar's view next St. John's Street. It has still its stone mullions, but the foils are gone. In the south aisle the pews against the south wall were removed, and it was found that Simon Michell, when he partly rebuilt the church, used portions of the former church to support the pews; these consisted of ribbed mouldings, parts of shafts, portions of the groining, capitals of clustered columns, coloured and gilt, and other remains of the former church. Several of these remains were presented by me to the Architectural Museum. The pew-front No. 82, opposite window-recess in south wall by west end, stands upon the capitals of eight clustered shafts. The accompanying illustration shows one of these capitals from actual measurement, and the plan upon which is marked the geometrical system employed by the mediæval architects in designing their edifices, and which has been propounded by myself during the last thirty





years. The bulk of the shafts, the capitals, and the centres for producing the large and small columns, are all accurately defined. There is no guess-work; the diameter of the pier being determined, the whole of the parts produced bear a proportion to each other and to the original unit.

The floor of the original church was 1 foot 2¼ inches below the present floor. In the south-east corner of the south aisle is an angular column and base. The south wall I found to have been built by Docwra on the remains of the Early-English wall, which latter now remains some few feet above the floor, and contains the narrow splayed openings of the original windows, and a doorway that opened into Jerusalem Court. These are not visible without removing the pews. Docwra's wall contains large Perpendicular windows. The upper part of the south wall was rebuilt by Michell. The north wall has been partly rebuilt, but still contains some of Docwra's windows. Upon taking down this wall, built by Docwra on the wall of the crypt, the angular capital above referred to was discovered built in the wall. This capital, now in the Architectural Museum, belonged to the original church, and by referring to the plates of ornamental capitals in Billings's *Account of the Temple Church*, it will be observed that the resemblance is striking. As the Priory and Temple Church are of the same date, 1185, the same masons may have been employed on both buildings. A small gilt capital was also found in the wall.

In the central east window is a coat of arms, a chevron between three combs, in painted glass, stated in Cromwell's *History of Clerkenwell*, p. 150, to be the coat-armour of Tunstall of Tunstall, in Lancashire. They are, however, the arms of Prior Botyll. Glover gives this coat, Gules, a chevron between three combs argent, for Robert Botyll, who was prior in 1439, and until 1469.

The church was considerably injured and interfered with by the erection of houses on the south side next Jerusalem Court, between 1600 and 1700. These contain the oak wainscoting of the period. The south entrance and windows of the church were unfortunately blocked up by these buildings. The old gabled

wooden building shown in Hollar's view of the Priory in 1661, next St. John's Street, and adjoining the south side of the church, is still standing.

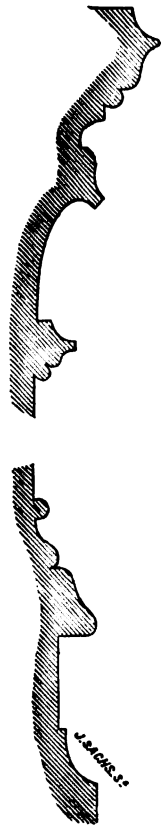
In conclusion, any further comments upon St. John's Church, as spoliated by Simon Michell, will be mis-spent, as all real interest to the architect and antiquary ceased the moment Michell put his classic extinguisher upon the Gothic edifice. The day may arrive when this classic fungus will be removed, and Docwra's Perpendicular Church reinstated upon the ancient crypt.

PINNER CHURCH.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM M. HIND, M.A. VICAR.

[Read at Pinner, Sept. 11, 1867].

Pinner Church, which is dedicated in the name of St. John the Baptist, was built (as stated by Lysons) A.D. 1321, in the reign of Edward II. at a time when the more simple Early-English style of architecture was passing into the Decorated. It is constructed of flint, with the occasional introduction, especially in the south transept, of a very hard dark-coloured grit stone, found in the clay and sand-beds of the neighbourhood. Its plan is cruciform. The internal length, including the Perpendicular or Third Pointed west tower, is 120½ feet, measuring from mullion of east to mullion of west window, and the width across the transept is 53⅝ feet. The south porch is in the Perpendicular style. There is a chapel on the south of the chancel of the Early-English style. This was erected in 1859 A. D.; and is by faculty appropriated to the exclusive and perpetual use of the Commercial Travellers' School. On the north of the chancel there is a vestry of brick.

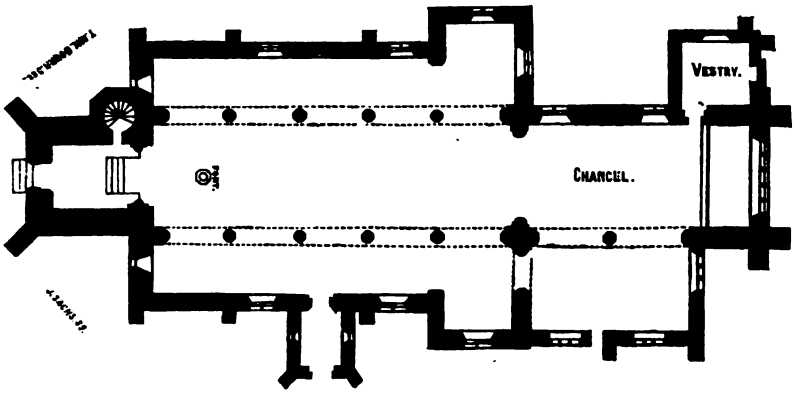


The nave consists of five bays of Middle-Pointed or Decorated arches, on octagonal columns with good bases and caps. The nave communicates with the tower by a very fine arch, which is the best architectural feature of the church. The archway is adorned with circular shafts, with caps and bases as in the margin; and the wall being 3 feet 6 inches thick has furnished an opportunity for bold and impressive

mouldings. The beauty of the arch is, however, completely lost, by an unsightly gallery, and by the organ, which fill up the west end of the nave. I earnestly hope that an opportunity may be afforded at an early day to clear away the encumbrances, and give an uninterrupted view of the church from end to end. The chancel is 39 feet 6 inches long, and 18 feet wide, being one-third of the whole internal length of the church, and only 22 feet shorter than the nave.

There is a very close similarity in the general style and architecture of Pinner Church to that of Harlestone, near Northampton. The columns, caps, and mouldings are almost identical, save that in Harlestone the arches are enriched by a label. I refer to this general likeness as a matter of interest, as both churches were built in the same reign, and within two years of each other. The date of Harlestone Church is certified by a MS. written at the time, and still in existence.

The chancel arch and one of the arches of the north arcade are imperfect. The rib of the chancel arch fell in A.D. 1811, during the execution of some general repairs. When the other gave way is uncertain. There is mention in the parish records of a meeting held A.D. 1717 about a pillar in the church; but it not improbably refers to a pillar of the south arcade, which is not on its original base, and is still a little out of the perpendicular. The west and east windows are Perpendicular. The latter was filled with new glass in A.D. 1862 by Messrs. Heaton, Butler, and Bayne, in memory of the Rev. Thomas Burrow, M.A. late Perpetual Curate of Pinner. The Early-English triplet window in the east wall of the chancel chapel is an imperfect copy of a triplet which was in the south wall of the chancel before the erection of the present chapel; and which not unlikely was the original east window of the church. It is a fine example—the mullions are adorned with internal shafts; the original was within one internal hood. It is filled with stained glass by Hardman in memory of the late Lady Milman. There are two small Early-English triplets under hoods in this chapel, which of course are modern. There are two windows of two lights each in the north wall of the chancel. One of these was filled with



grisaille glass in A.D. 1864, in memory of the parents of the present perpetual curate. The transept windows are all double lancets under internal hoods. One of these, in the east wall of the north transept, shows an external relieving arch. The window of the south transept contains a memorial in grisaille glass to John Wheelton, Sheriff of London and Middlesex in 1839, and Mary his wife. The windows of the aisles are Perpendicular of two lights; one of those in the north aisle has been partly filled with the old glass which was formerly in the headings of the east window. In the west end of each aisle there is a single lancet window. There is no clerestory to the church; dormer windows have been introduced, which, however useful, are not ornamental. The reredos has nothing to recommend it further than that it affords convenient space for exhibiting the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, as is required by the canon. The canopies at each end belonged to pews or stalls which were removed A.D. 1859, when the square box pews throughout the church were removed, and open seats introduced. At the same time the font was removed from the west end of the north aisle to its present position near the west door. It is Third-Pointed octagonal; the panels of the bowl have quatre-foiled circles, inclosing Tudor flowers. A piscina, probably dating from the erection of the church, still remains in the south transept; and a

mural painting, near the junction of the north transept and chancel, lies hid under the undiscriminating whitewash. It was partly uncovered some years back; but it appears that it had not sufficient beauty to induce the churchwardens to restore it to the full light of day, and it was therefore covered again.

The roof of the nave is wagon-shaped, and was put up A.D. 1811. The fine old open roof appears at that time to have been much decayed, and a person was appointed by the Vestry to examine it; who reported—

> He found the said roof in quite as bad or worse state than he expected to find it, as the major part of the boards are decayed and the edges of them rotted off and gone; and by old age the nails in many places eaten in two with rust, so that nothing can be done to repair it but pulling it down in parts and putting up new, and nailing a great number of slips and pieces over the decayed joints and bad places, which would come to something considerable, but no person could ascertain what; and then it will be a patched job. Therefore I don't think any mode of making a good job of it better than a new lath and plaster ceiling.

It was not an age for effective restoration; so lath and plaster triumphed over wood, and the result is as you see. I have lately ascertained from personal inspection that a considerable portion of the old wood was used in effecting the repairs; and it is now in a very unsatisfactory condition, as well from decay as original fault of construction. It is to be hoped that an early and effectual repair will be undertaken by the parish.

The roofs of the aisles and chancel are older and better. Their probable date is, for the aisles the latter part of the fifteenth century, for the chancel A.D. 1638. The churchwardens' accounts for that year contain an entry:—

> Item, paid John Wathen for seeling ye chancell church aisles, whitewashing, and coloring of them.

I take it that the timber framework was originally clean and sightly; now whitewash has spread over it its ghastly hue, and makes us long to restore the woodwork to its former state.

As the church is placed on a slope, the architect, in accommodating his design to the natural fall of the ground, has built it on different external levels. This is not seen inside, as the floor has been laid level from the tower-arch to the steps leading to

the communion table. The church floor is, however, 2½ feet higher than the floor of the tower. The ground to the east of the chancel is 9 feet higher than the base of the tower, and the floor of the chancel is considerably below the natural level of the ground.

The tower is plain and massive, but of admirable proportions. The plinth shows a fine moulding, a considerable part of which is well preserved. The windows and other stonework have unfortunately been repaired with Roman cement, which only hides the defects, but does not remove them. A bold newel turret, in the north-east corner, gives access to the clock and bell lofts and the tower roof. The staircase, which had been much worn, was effectually repaired three years ago. A lofty wooden cross, covered with metal, and surmounted by the four cardinal points and a weathercock, rises from the centre of the tower. It was erected in 1637, probably to replace a former cross, but of this we have no evidence. The churchwardens' accounts contain an item of 12*s*. 3*d*. "for a diner and bread and beare in ye morning when the cross was rared." Also "3*l*. 3*s*. 0*d*. for ye weather cocke, ye painting and bringing home of it." Also "2*s*. for ye plumers; a quart of wine when ye weather cocke was sett upp." There was a clock in the tower some time before 1623, as in that year I find an item, "Laid out for mending the clock, Jan. 20, vij^s^.; for oyle for the clock, Febru. 20, vij^d^.; for oyle again, April 13, ij^d^.; in all vij^s^. ix^d^." This clock very likely remained until 1845, for in that year I find the entry:

It appears from the great age and antique construction of the church clock it would be a complete waste of money to do anything in the shape of repairs to it; and that it is expedient that a church clock should be put up in lieu thereof. It was resolved unanimously that the churchwardens be authorised to have a new clock, and that the expense thereof should be defrayed by a church rate.

The clock was not the only timekeeper possessed by the parish, as an hour-glass was kept in the church to keep the preacher within moderate limits. There was also a peal of bells in 1622, the furthest time back of which we have any records. There were six bells, as I find an early item in the accounts "for six keys for ye bells." An old inhabitant told me a few days ago

that our peal was formerly called "Pinner old five." The sancte-bell made up the six. The present peal consists of eight bells, cast in 1771 by Pack and Chapman of London. The great bell has on it the names of the perpetual curate and churchwardens. Two of the small bells have rhyming couplets on them; on the small bell:

> Although I am but light and small,
> I will be heard above you all.

On the second bell:

> At proper time our voice will raise,
> In sounding to our benefactors praise.

Connected with our bells I find the term baldrick frequently used; this was the leather thong by which the clapper was suspended within the bell. The sixth bell was the "Saunce" or "Saunt's Bill," which is mentioned in 1729 and 1747, as if it were then in use; and from this fact I think it must have been larger than an ordinary sancte-bell. It is certain that it was furnished with a wheel for ringing like the other bells; and it is most likely represented in the present peal by the parson's bell, used after chiming to gather the congregation into church.

The vessels for the communion table are plated, the old plate having been stolen in A.D. 1830.

I am indebted to J. R. Daniell-Tyssen, esq. F.S.A. for an inventory of the vestments, &c. of this church, taken on the 3rd August, in the sixth year of Edward VI.:

Imprimis, one cope of blewe velvet.
Item, ij other olde copes.
Item, ij vestimentes of velvet.
Item, one vestyment of velvet.
Item, one vestyment of grayne color sylke.
Item, iiij olde vestymentes.
Item, vj belles, wherof one is called the saunce bell.
Item, x awlter clothes, good and badd.
Item, towelles, good and badd.
Item, one payre of orgaynes.
Item, ij latten crosses, and one sencor of latten.
Item, ij hande belles, iij olde chestes.
Item, vj surplyais, one crosse clothe of sylke.
Item, iij cushians of sylke for the aulter.

Item, vij banner clothes.
Item, a Byble and a paraphrisis of Erasmus.
Item, one aulter clothe of satten of bridges.
Item, ij corporascis.

ROGER CHOMLEY.
ROBERT BOWIS.
RANULPH CHOMELEY.
ROBERT CHIDLEY.

Of the date 1625 we have another account of the church goods:

A note of such goods as belongeth to the chappell of Pynnor, w^h is yearly delivered into the hands of the churchwardens elected for the next yeare by the old churchwardens when they give up their accoumpts before the Mr. and parishioners.

Imprimis, a greate Bible and booke of common prayer, Erasmus paraphrast on the gospells of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; two little bookes, formes of thanksgivings for ye delivrance on ye fift of August and the fift of November.

Item, a silver chalace or cup for the comunion, with a cover and a silver plate of the same thereto belonging, a fayre greene cushion and cloath for ye pulpit, a new greene cloath, w^h greene frenge about it, for a comunion table cloath, w^h an ould carpett besides for ye table, and a new diaper table cloath for ye comunion dayes, and a towel.

Item, a church box, w^h some money in it, for the poore, kept with three locks and keys, one by ye Mr. and each of the churchwardens one.

Item, a greate chest in ye vestry, w^h two locks, to keepe the Church vesture in, and an old ragged, tattered, and moth-eaten surplice, not seeming as of use.

Item, two brass potts, a greater and a lesser, two pans of brass, a greater and a lesser, a pewter flaggon, a black leather botle for wyne, and a bible, another brass pan.

Item, two dozen and nine pewter dishes, three greate spits, a hearse cloath, a coffer standing in ye Vestry, w^h the church booke of accoumpt, both the old and the new.

Item, a Rhegister booke.

Item, a new Surplus.

All w^h goods of the church were de^d by Robt. Finch and John Jacket, to Richr. Nicolas and Richr. Byrd, churchwardens, elected for ye service of this yeare 1625, in the p'sence of ye Mr. and parishion^rs ye daye and yeare above written.

Teste me JOH'NE WILLIS, Curat.

The church pewter was likely for the vestry dinners. It was, however, occasionally let out on hire. All the brass and pewter vessels were sold by the churchwardens in A.D. 1702. The second entry is as follows:

An account of the communion plate taken from Mrs. Randall's and put into a chest provided for that purpose in the Vestry-room in the Chapel of Pinnor:

The articles inclos'd thus was given and mark'd wth Lady Hundon's * arms } A Flagon, w^t 56oz. 10 pts. A plate. A salver.

* Lady Hunsdon's.

A smaller ditto [*i.e.* salver.]
A calice.}
A ditto broke.
Linen: Two napkins and two table cloths.

The above Inventory was taken and rec[d] by us on this 17th day of March, 1767,

WA. WILLIAMS, Curate.
HENRY FEARNE, } Chaplewardens.
PHILIP ALDWIN, }
MATTHEW SARDGERSON, Overseer.

There is a very fine copy of the book of common prayer, handsomely bound, bearing the royal arms on the covers, and the monogram of Queen Anne. It was given by "Madam Gibson in 1721 for the sole use of y[e] altar." It is the more interesting as it contains the healing service. It was printed by Charles Bill and the executrix of Thomas Newcomb, 1706. I find the same service in a 12mo. edition of the Latin version of the prayer book by William Bowyer, 1733. (The property of Albert Hartshorne, esq.)

Above the chancel-arch there is a painting of the royal arms, set up A.D. 1811. There was a former painting, of the date of 1725, which it likely replaced.

Pinner church cannot boast of any monuments of very great interest. There is a small brass, representing a chrisom child, of the probable date A.D. 1560. The piece of laten plate, on which it is engraved, bears on its reverse face the words HIER LIGHT, part of an old Flemish inscription.

Another small brass has the following inscription incised:

Here under lyeth the bodye of Anne Bedingfeld, the daughter of Eustace Bedingfeld, gent. who dep'ted this lyfe y[e] xxiij[th] of February, 1580, and buryed at the charge of Margery Draper, widow, late wyfe of John Draper citizen and here brewer of London, her graundmother.

A mural monument of black marble, on the north of the chan-

cel, near the communion table, represents the effigies of the Rev. John Day, who was minister of Pinner, and deceased in 1622, leaving, by will, in case of the failure of direct heirs of Martha Flacke, his sister, two-thirds of his real property for the endowment of the preaching minister of Pynnor. The bequest has never taken effect.

Mrs. Flacke had two daughters at the time of Mr. Dey's death, and they very likely survived her, and so took precedence of the parish of Pinner; but there is no description in the will of the land bequeathed, and therefore there was no means of identifying it in order to secure to Pinner the endowment of the testator in case of failure of Mrs. Flacke's heirs.

A monument on the north wall of the chancel records the death, in the village of Pinner, of Thomas Hutchinson, a native of Richmondshire, citizen and alderman of London, who died June 20th, 1656, aged 84 years; and of Margaret Allanson, his wife, in her 73rd year, on the 22nd April of the same year. They had been married 48 years. Their son Michael, a knight, was attached to the court of Charles I., and died thirteen years before his parents.

An elaborate monument, on the south of the chancel, was set up to the memory of Christopher Clitherow, son of Christopher Clitherow, and grandson of Christopher Clitherow, lord mayor of London, who died May 12, 1685. Also in memory of his wife Jane Clitherow, daughter of Ralph Hawtrey of Ruislip.

Three slabs in the chancel-floor refer to members of the same family. The first is of A.D. 1681, but the name is covered. The second records the death, in the same year, of John Hawtrey, July 19, 1682, and Jane, his wife, September 23, 1682. The third is in memory of Christopher Clitherow, May 12, 1685, referred to in the above-named monument.

Sir Bartholomew Shore (or Shower), knight, of Pinner Hill, was interred in the chancel in 1701. A flat stone has been said to mark his grave, but no such monumental stone now remains.

John Zephaniah Holwell, one of the survivors of the imprisonment in the Black Hole of Calcutta, formerly lived in Pinner Place. His wife was interred here in 1794, as appears from a

tablet in the north aisle. The register contains no record of his interment.

In the churchyard there are three records of great longevity. William Skenelsby, died 1775, aged 118. Ann Winfield, aged 100, died 1851; and Betty Evans, aged 102, died 1853. There is at present an old man living in Pinner who was born in 1774; and who consequently was contemporary with old Skenelsby for a few months; so that the joint lives of these two cotemporaries occupy the period from A.D. 1657 to the present time, or from the Commonwealth to the thirty-first year of her present Majesty Queen Victoria.

A brass in the east window of the Chancel Chapel records the death of Sir William George Milman, of Pinner Grove, deceased August 21, 1857; and Lieut.-General Francis Miles Milman, Colonel of the 82nd regiment, and formerly of the Coldstream Guards, deceased Dec. 9th 1856.

Pynnor, as the name was formerly written, was, until a hundred years ago, a member of the parish of Harrow, being a hamlet and ancient chapelry thereof. It had, however, "from time immemorial exercised the right of levying its own rates, electing chapelwardens, having overseers and surveyors of the highways, and transacting all parish business within its own boundaries as if it had been a separate parish and totally distinct from Harrow." It appears that in 1699 the churchwardens of Harrow attempted to levy a rate in Pinner, but the attempt was successfully resisted on the ground of immemorial immunity. Under this date I find the entry:—

Memorandum y^t^ in ye year above written y^t^ there was a Law-sute depending between Harrow and Pinnor: and in their parish book they made a rate upon Pinnor, whereupon ye inhabitants of Pinnor opposed them and a Sute of law commenc^d^ thereupon. Therefore this is to testifie y^t^ we never paid any nor they could never recover any by Law towards ye repairs of their Church and Stepple.

On the other hand the churchwardens' accounts show that a rate was regularly charged and paid on the tithes arising from Pinner by the lessees of the rectors and the vicar of Harrow until a recent date. In 1742 the rate on the tithes was not collected, and an entry in the account states that there was

allowed "Matt^y Fearn for tithes to be enquired into 2*l.*" In the next year the rate was paid, and continued to be paid in succeeding years. I may note that the tithes appear to have been then valued at 205*l.* per annum. Lysons tells us that "in 1650 it was reported by the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of ecclesiastical benefices that 60*l.* per annum had of late been allowed to the curate of Pinner; and the Commissioners thought it convenient that Pinner Chapel should be made a parish church." By an indenture, dated Jan. 8th, 1766, the chapelry of Pinner was, under an Act of the first year of George the First, severed from the mother church at Harrow, and for ever thereafter was to be deemed and taken to be a separate, distinct, and perpetual cure and benefice of itself. The right of patronage was reserved to the Vicar of Harrow, he having agreed to pay out of the small tithes the sum of 8*l.* yearly to the Perpetual Curate of Pinner, to be paid in the porch of Pinner Church by four equal payments on the four several feast days of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, St. Michael the Archangel, and the birth of our Lord Christ, between the hours of nine and eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The Perpetual Curacy was further endowed with a close of land called Willatt Streete, alias Howlis, containing 3¾ acres, given by Francis Tyndall of Harrow, May 20th, 1630, for the maintenance of the preaching minister. Also with a house purchased with 100*l.* the bequest of William Norrington, who deceased May 11th, 1705. Also with a rent-charge on Field-end Farm in Eastcott and Pinner, the bequest of Sir Thomas Francklin, Bart. Also with two common field lands in Pinner, purchased with money arising from a fall of timber on Willat Streete aforesaid in 1731. These field lands were, by consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury, sold by the late Mr. Williams to redeem the land-tax on the other glebe lands. At the time of the severance a sum of 400*l.* had been collected by public subscription, which was paid to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, and this was met by a similar sum from them; and with the 800*l.* so obtained, two fields known as Howlis and Hungerlands were purchased, containing, together with a portion of common added

by the Inclosure Commissioners in 1817, 22¾ acres. Since the severance the income has been further augmented by a bequest of 600*l.* from Mrs. Mary Roberts of Harrow. To secure this legacy it was necessary to file a bill in chancery, which in the end reduced the amount to 548*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* In 1811 or 12 a new front was added to the parsonage. The total amount of the endowment is 88*l.* 9*s.* 0*d.* per annum and a residence. Through the kindness of the Vicar of Harrow, the fees and offerings in Pinner, which are attached to the vicarage, are allowed to be retained by the Perpetual Curate. Attached to the church there is a sum of 1,910*l.* producing 56*l.* 10*s.* per annum to be distributed at Christmas, 20*l.* 5*s.* in money, the remainder in bread, meat, fuel, and blankets.

The existing parochial records do not go back further than A.D. 1622. There was at one time a register book and churchwardens' accounts book of an earlier date, which it is feared must have perished. The following extracts from the surviving records may prove interesting.

The first entry in the churchwardens' book is A.D. 1623.

Imprimis, received upon a Cease for the Church, vij*l.* xix*s.* vj*d.*

Item, received for Coxs [cocks] at Shrovetyde, xij*s.*

Item, received for three buryalls in the Church, one whereof was a strang^r, who paid double dutyes to the Church, xxvj*s.* viij*d.*

The fee of 6*s.* 8*d.* appears to have been paid to the churchwardens for a burial in the Church, and 10*s.* for one in the chancel, and double fees were charged to non-parishioners.

In 1628 there is an entry—

Item, for three spits, sold w^h ye consent of the parishion^rs, 17*s.* 9*d.*

Item, for cocks in towne, 19*s.* 10*d.* and out of towne, vj*d.* 1*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*

Item, for the lent of the Church vessell, in towne, 11*d.*

In the same year there is mention of repairs for the Church-house, as also in subsequent years, and in 1634 there is mention of an acknowledgement paid by the curate for the use of it.

Item, rec^d of Mr. Willis for a yeares rent of the Church-house, ended at Michaellmas last, 4*d.*

I find no mention of this house being sold or otherwise disposed of. Unless it was part of the old workhouse it is no longer in

the possession of the parish or the minister. The first mention of it is in the will of John Day, 1622, the last in 1719.

In 1635 there is incidental mention of a school, but no clue to its site unless it was part of the Church.

Item, layd in ripping and tiling the school laught [loft ?], as by the p'ticulars at arge appeares, 1*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*

There are no entries between A.D. 1649 and A.D. 1662.

In 1671 the parish seems to have found fault with the personal expenses of the churchwardens, and so passed the following resolution:

Memorandum, it was agreed, and an order then made by the p'shee that no one churchwarden shalbee allowed him above 5*s.* towards his jorney expenses to the vestry-court, and in case hee or they doe not goe, then nothing from the parishe.

An entry in A.D. 1687 is interesting in connection with the direct succession of the house of Stuart.

Item, for a prayer booke for the Queen's being with child, 1*s.*

There are various entries of collections for charitable purposes. The following are some of the most interesting:

June 29th, 1689. Gather'd of the hamlet of Pinnor, for the use of the Irish Protestants, the sum of twenty eight pounds twelve shilllings, (28*l.* 12*s.* 02*d.*) by us

BARDSEY FISHER, Curate.
RANDALL PAGE,
WILLIAM LAWRENCE, } Chappell Wardens.

1692. Memorandum, colected a breife the same year for the ransom of the Slaves and Captives out of Algeir, the full sum of three pounds one shilling eightpence (3*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*)

Agest the 18, 1694. Gathered of the hamlet of Pinor for the use of the french prodstants, the sum of four pounds and a eleven shling, by us

JOHN HATCH,
HENRY WAYLAND, } Chapel Wardnes.

May the furst 1695. Collected in the Hamlet of Pinner for the poore Soufres att the Twon of warwick for a great and dreadful fire thare, the som of fouer pounds fief shillings and eaght penc, by us

HENRY WAYLAND,
JOHN HACTH, } Chapel Wardens.

Collected May ye 15th, 16th, 17th, 1699, for the poor Vaudois that are to be settlid in Garmine, ye sume of fivetteen pounds sixteen shill' and a penny, (whereof Sr Edward Waldo gave of ye said sume tenn pounds) wch 15*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* was paid by John Kirton, Churchwarden, att ye Visitation att Puttney.

Collected for the poor Captives in Fes and Moroccoe by John Tayler and John Dell, Churchwarden for the year 1700, the sume of three pounds sixteen shil' 7¾*d*, (3*l*. 16*s*. 7¾*d*.)

June ye 10, 1704. Collected for ye Oringe Protestants, seven pounds nine shill' and two pence ½, by Jno Bird de Marce and Jno Tame, sen^r^, Churchwardens (07*l*. 09*s*. 02½*d*.)

The following entry in 1692 shows the change of political feeling shortly after the accession of William of Orange:

Payd for Ringing Day on the 29th May, being in dispute, now to be payd and noe more, 00*l*. 06*s*. 8*d*.

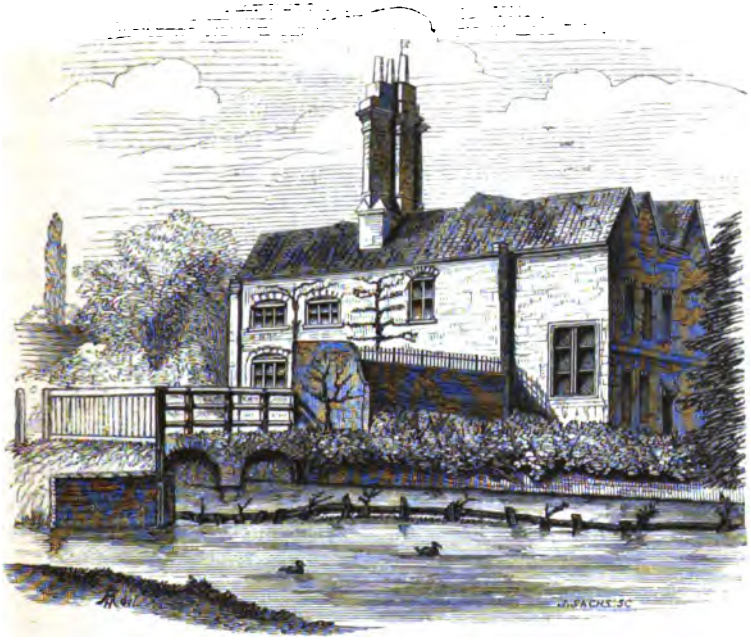
The parish seems to have hailed the accession of the House of Hanover, as the payment for ringing was doubled on that occasion.

Joey Frayl for Ringing when King George came to London, 0*l*. 14*s*. 06*d*.
Rich. Oates for Ringing when ye King was crown'd, 13*s*. 4*d*.

There are sundry entries of payments for whipping of dogs out church, killing foxes and other vermin. In one account we have five items, as follows, A.D. 1730—1.

P^d^ James Tame for hedge hogs, 00*l*. 00*s*. 06*d*.
„ Mr. Fearne's Sons for Polecats, 00*l*. 00*s*. 06*d*.
„ Mark Porter for Ditto, 00*l*. 00*s*. 04*d*.
„ Mr. Bellamy for hedgehogs, 00*l*. 00*s*. 06*d*.
„ Ditto, 00*l*. 00*s*. 06*d*.

Pinner was formerly, with the mother church of Harrow, in the peculiar jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but was transferred in 1836 to the diocese of London.



HEADSTONE HOUSE, NEAR HARROW.

BY ALBERT HARTSHORNE, ESQ.

[Read at Headstone House, Sept. 11, 1867.]

The ancient manor of Heggeston, Heggeton, or Headstone, formed, from a very early period, a part of the manor of Harrow, and, indeed, up to the fourteenth century, it is not mentioned in documents as a separate estate. It is therefore, to such documentary evidence as exists relating to the manor of Harrow that we must refer for the early history of Headstone.

The earliest mention that we find of the manor of Harrow is in the year 822, when Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, possessed himself of Harrow and other lands by purchase, for the purpose of restoring them to the Church of Canterbury, from

which they had been taken by Cênwulf, King of the Mercians. Wulfred subsequently granted them for life to his relative Warherdus, a priest.

The will of Warherdus, printed in Mr. Thorpe's admirable collection of documents of the Anglo-Saxon period, bears date 830.* In it he leaves to the Church of Canterbury, in accordance with the wishes of Wulfred, and for the health of his own soul, and that of the Archbishop, Hergas or Harrow, consisting of 100 hides of land, and other places, besides all his own estates, amounting to more than 60 hides, in different parts of the country.

At the time of the Conqueror's survey Harrow was returned at 100 hides, 30 of which belonged to the demesne. A priest had one hide, and three knights held six hides. The whole was in the possession of Archbishop Lanfranc, and was valued at 56*l.*

In the absence of any information directly relating to Headstone at this early period, it may not be out of place to mention, in a few words, the importance attaching to Harrow and its manors, from the frequent visits they received from archbishops of eminence. The famous Thomas à Becket spent some days here on the occasion of a visit he attempted to pay to the court of Henry II. at Woodstock, in 1170. Failing in this endeavour, and receiving messages forbidding him to go to the court, he spent some days at Harrow, and many courteous interchanges took place between him and the Abbot of St. Albans. The feeling of dislike evinced by the King to Becket was participated in by men of all grades. The Rector and Vicar of Harrow showing their dislike to the prelate in a conspicuous manner.

Eight days after Becket's return to Canterbury he was murdered before the altar of St. Benedict.

In 1250, five years after his elevation to the see, Archbishop Boniface was at Harrow for the purpose of holding a visitation, and in 1300 Archbishop Winchelsea writes from here.

The Archiepiscopal residence appears to have been subsequently removed to Headstone; for in the year 1344 (18 Edward III.)

* Thorpe's *Diplomatarium Anglicum ævi Saxonici.*

Robert de Wodehouse had license from the King to alienate a house, three carucates of land, twenty acres of meadow land, and 24*s*. rents of assize in Harrow, to John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his successors. This, I take it, was the manor of Headstone.

In the year 1396 that learned man, Archbishop Arundel, was translated from York to Canterbury; upon charges of high treason, he was banished two years after, at which time inquisition was taken of his property, and it is in this document that we first have actual mention of Headstone as a separate manor It consisted of a well-built house and 201 acres of land, valued at 6*d*. an acre. Arundel returned on the deposition of Richard II. and crowned Henry IV. 1399, and in 1407 he writes from Headstone.

The Lambeth Library contains a large number of "Registers" of the Archbishops of Canterbury from the time of Peckham (1278), but, owing to the non-appointment of a librarian, I have been unable to obtain any information from this quarter. In the Record Office, however, I was more fortunate, for the Computus and Court Rolls there preserved relating to the see of Canterbury, from 1278 to 1645, give the following facts:—In 1451 (37 Henry VI.) Headstone was in the occupation of William and Richard Redyng, who appear to have been farmers, and in 1466 (6 Edward IV.) William Page held it in the same manner. In 1483 William Redyng is returned as occupying it, and in 1488 and 1490. In 1503 it was in the hands of Isabella, widow of William Redyng, while Richard Redyng renders an account of the estate in 1543. The value of Headstone is stated in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of the time of Henry VIII. to be 13*l*. 11*s*. 8*d*. In this last-mentioned year all the lands and manors of Harrow, together with others in Essex, Sussex, Suffolk, and Kent, then forming part of the possessions of the late Priory of St. Gregory, without and next to the walls of Canterbury, were given by Archbishop Cranmer to Henry VIII. in exchange for other estates. Three years after (in 1546) the King granted them to Sir Edward Dudley, afterwards created Lord North, at that time a person in high favour. They remained in this family until

1630, when Headstone was alienated by Dudley Lord North to a Simon Rewse. Towards the close of the seventeenth century it was purchased by Sir W. Bucknall, whose descendant John Askell Bucknall bequeathed it to the Honourable William Grimston. It has since been in the possession of Mr. Bucknall Estcourt, and is now the property of William Bush Cooper, esq.

It will have been observed from the foregoing notices that the earliest mention of the existance of a house at Headstone is in the year 1344. The formation of a moated dwelling will probably date from this time. A moat was the general method of protection at that period, and in this case one involving little difficulty in its construction from the low-lying marshy nature of the land; and, when we have mention in 1398 of the house as being "well built," we can readily conceive that it was a place sufficiently protected, as much by the moat surrounding it as by its own strength of wall, and we can understand Archbishop Arundel making it a place of abode, as he did in 1407.

At this time, then, I conceive that Headstone House was simply a fortified dwelling for the occasional residence of the archbishops of Canterbury. It appears, however, that towards the middle of the fifteenth century the place was diverted from its original use, and was in the occupation of farmers. This change was probably caused by the infrequency of visits to it by the archbishops, added to the fact of its situation making it a good centre for farming purposes, and which brought about, from time to time, the erection of the large barns and outhouses in the immediate vicinity.

I am unwilling to fix any precise date to the Great Barn,* or indeed to any of them, because, in the absence of any mouldings, there is nothing to go upon but the general appearance of the woodwork, the construction, the size and shape of the timbers, and the present condition of these buildings.

We are however enabled to form an approximate idea of their age by comparing them with similar erections of known dates. Fer instance, the noble barn at Harmondsworth near West Dray-

* The external length is 147 feet 8 inches by 38 feet 8 inches wide. It is built entirely of oak, some of the timbers being 14 inches square.

ton, built before 1387, and one of equally fine proportions at Cuxton near Rochester, erected in the reign of Henry VII. are both very similar in their construction to the Headstone example, and I am disposed to think that its erection took place between the years 1458 and 1543; certainly before the alienation of Headstone from the see of Canterbury. It is worthy of observation that the country in the neighbourhood of Harrow abounds with ancient wooden barns, and most of which are of undoubted antiquity; but the mode of construction which may be observed in them has been continued with slight modifications and smaller timbers up to the present day. It is a method of building well suited to the requirements, and one which has become in later times a kind of traditional mode of treatment. For example, the modern barn on the west side of the farm-yard at Headstone has been rebuilt with old materials used in new positions, but the ancient arrangement has been in a great measure adhered to.

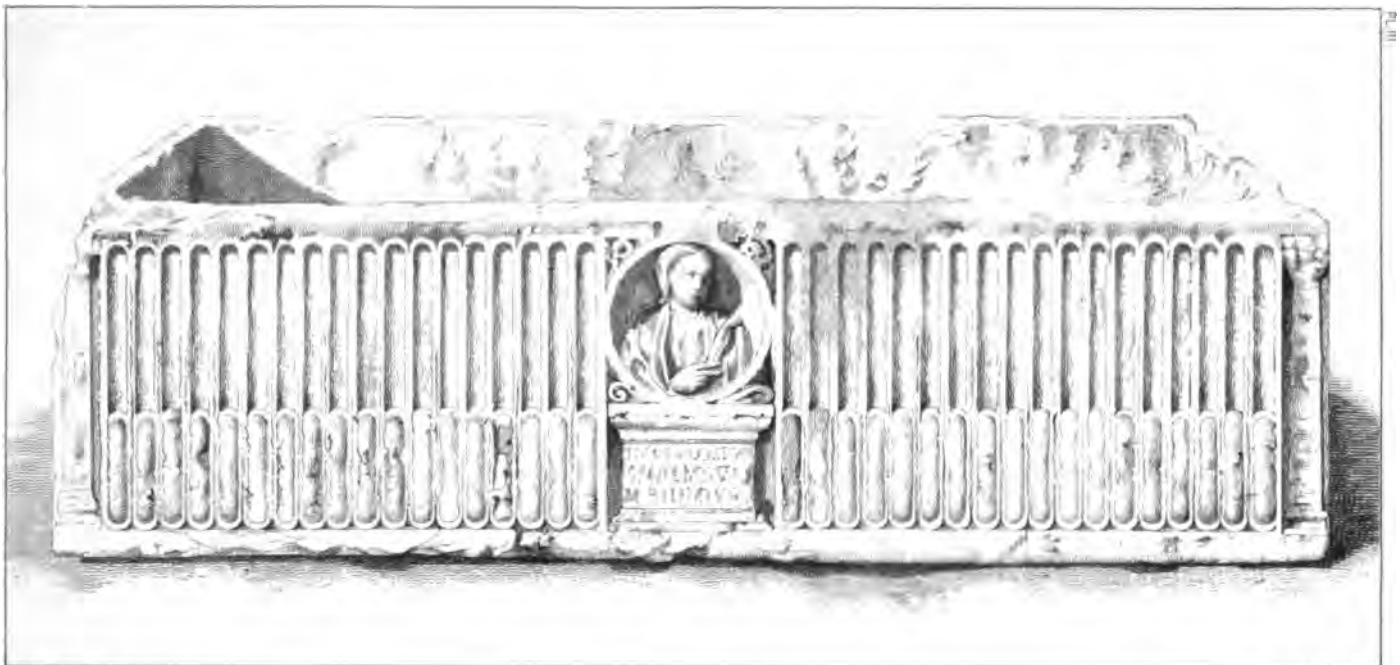
The smaller erections, now converted into stables, appear to be of nearly the same date as the large barn, and are worthy of inspection. They retain the greater part of their orignal rafters. With regard to the present dwelling, it will be observed from the engraving, that with the exception of the fine old chimneys there is little attraction on the outside. In the interior there is a lofty room with bracketed and moulded beams, called, on what authority is not apparent, the chapel. The principal window looks to the north-west. This has a wooden transom and mullions, and does not appear earlier than the time of Elizabeth; and the same remark will apply to the low six-light window at the back of the house.

There exists here the back of a fire-place in cast iron, dated 1596, and bearing the arms of Philip of Spain, the consort of Queen Mary, upon a double-headed eagle displayed. I am at a loss to account for its presence here. It was taken from a bedroom fire-place.

There is little of interest upstairs except a few seventeenth century doors and plain chamfered beams. The whole house was so fearfully modernized at the beginning of the present century

that but few evidences remain of its condition previous to its alienation from the see of Canterbury.

It was a common fashion in the last century to attribute buildings and other objects of antiquity to Julius Cæsar or King John. In our own day the favourite heroes are Queen Elizabeth, Wolsey, and Cromwell. I was therefore prepared to hear that Wolsey both built and lived at Headstone. It seems that he held the rectory of Harrow, but there is no evidence that he ever visited that place or Headstone. It is scarcely necessary to say that this tradition, together with that of the subterranean passage spoken of as going from here to Harrow, may be at once dismissed from the mind as childish fables.



R.B.Mather, del.

J.Emslie & Sons, lith.

ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS DISCOVERED AT LOWER CLAPTON.

IN THE POSSESSION OF T.D.F.GUNSTON, ESQ.

R P Mather, del. J Emslie & Sons, lith.

BUST AND INSCRIPTION ON ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS

IN THE POSSESSION OF T D E GUNSTON, ESQ.

ON A ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS OF WHITE MARBLE DISCOVERED AT LOWER CLAPTON, MIDDLESEX.

BY BENJAMIN CLARKE, ESQ., F.R.C.S.

[Read at an Evening Meeting of the Society, Jan. 13th, 1868.]

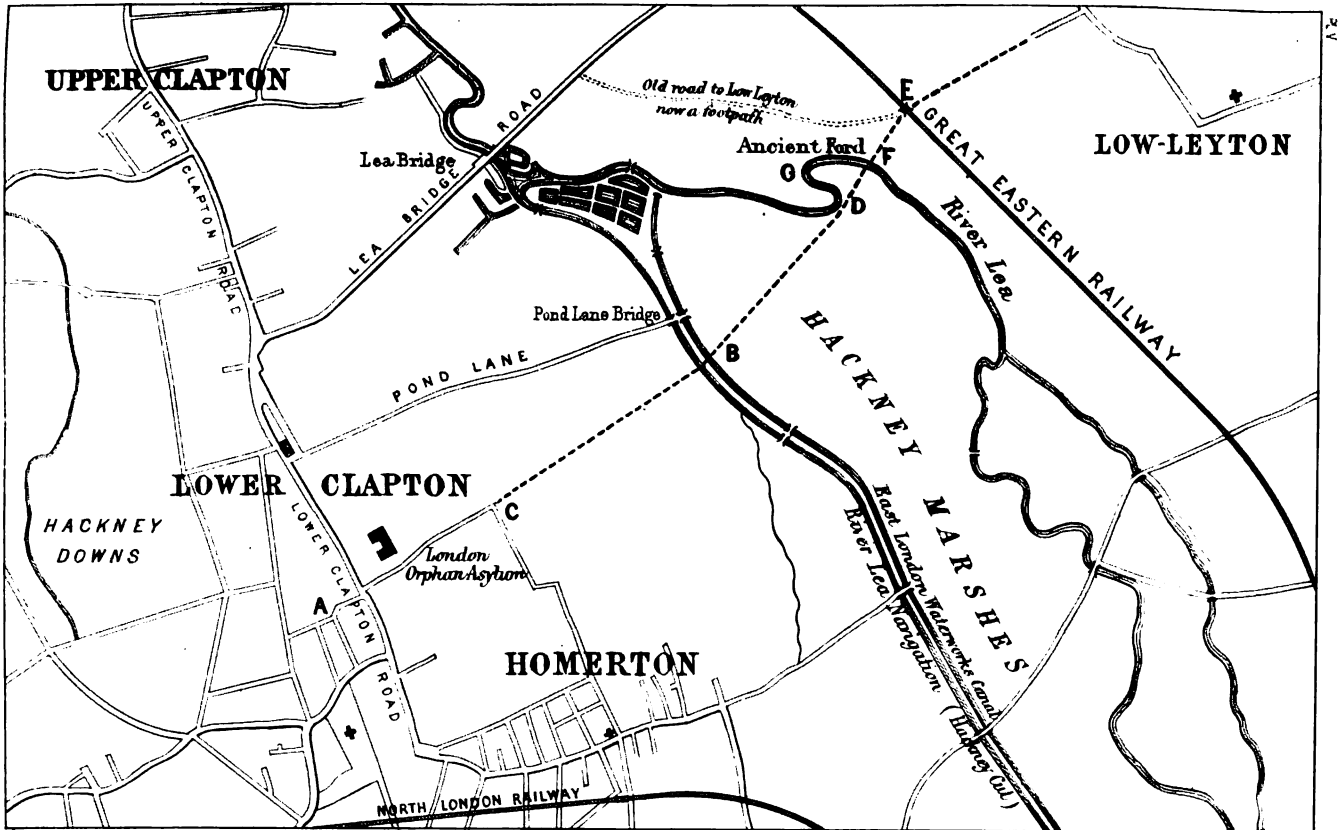
EARLY in September, 1867, a notice appeared in the papers of the discovery of a Roman sarcophagus of white marble in the course of excavations for building purposes at Lower Clapton. I at once proceeded to the spot, and acquainted myself with the facts relating to the discovery, condensing them into a short paper which I now bring under the notice of our Society.

The site is levelled ground, recently meadow land and market gardens, situate at the rear of the London Orphan Asylum, Clapton, on the brow of the hill passing down to the marshes and river Lea, within a few feet of an old path just demolished which ran from Homerton to Lea Bridge, viâ Brooksby's Walk, in the direction from south to north, and another way, for many years past but a private road to a farm, running west to east, viz. from Clapton Square, viâ Clapton Alley or Passage, to the Lea river. These paths intersect each other near the spot; they are very ancient, and, in all probability, old Roman ways. The coffin was found on the natural gravel, 2 feet 6 inches from the surface, lying due east and west, the foot to the east; it is of white coarse-grained marble, and is cut from a solid block. It is about 6 feet 3 inches long, 1 foot 3 inches wide, and 1 foot 6 inches deep; the thickness being about 2½ inches. The inner surface is smooth, with a rise of half an inch at one end, to serve as a rest for the head. No vestige of a lid or covering has been found, but at each end are evidences of clamp fastenings. It is plain on all sides but the front, which is ornamented with a fluted pattern, the channels being filled to a third of their height with a bead, and is an excellent illustration of cabled fluting. This is well represented in the accompanying plate (3), as is also the medallion in the centre (plate 4), which is deeply cut, about 12 inches in diameter, and

encircles a well-executed bust, possibly a portrait of the deceased. This is much damaged, with the exception of the hair and the folds of the toga about the shoulders. These are as sharp and clear as if just cut. The right hand is supported by the thumb (apparently hooked within the folds across the breast), the fore and middle fingers being stretched to their full length, and in an upward direction. The third and fourth fingers are doubled in. Beneath the medallion is an inscription in Roman letters, but, unfortunately, it has not yet been deciphered. This side of the coffin is finished off by two Corinthian pilasters, as shown in the illustration. I am informed that, on clearing away the superincumbent *debris*, the coffin was found to contain a skeleton, in the position of ordinary Christian burial, with black mould about it. The skull soon fell to pieces, and the bones were much decayed; those remaining comprised portions of the head of a femur (right), middle third of left femur, portions of left tibia and fibula, and two pieces of ribs. I should judge the deceased to have been a small-boned man, about 6 feet high, and rather knock-kneed; and take him to have been a civilian of rank, possibly a jurist, but not a military man. Not far from the sarcophagus a small brass coin of Gallienus was discovered.

The site of the interment indicated in the accompanying plan of the locality (plate 5)* possesses many features of interest. Where the causeway, in a line with Clapton Alley and that from Brooksby's Walk, Homerton, meets, the latter passes on due north-east for half a mile further in a straight line, until it reaches the banks of the river at a point which a hundred years ago was the Lea Bridge Mill Head. On the opposite bank, Mr. Maine, the resident engineer of the East London Waterworks, informs me, that at 6 feet below the present surface they have discovered a hard well-made road, composed chiefly of gravel resembling forest

* The following explanations have reference to the letters marked upon the plan:—A. Clapton Alley. B. Line of Roman road passes here within 184 yards of Pond Lane Bridge. C. Coffin's site. D. Curve point of old River Lea. E Railway bridge. F. Ancient ford. G. Bend of old river. Line of road 850 yards from B. to F, within 20 yards of point D, and 216 yards of point G.



B. Clarke, del.

J. Emslie & Sons lith.

gravel, and that this road still tended towards the north-east, perhaps to the Old Copper Mills, formerly the Walthamstow Mill, and I believe it is stated in the *Domesday Survey*, "*Here was always a mill.*" Leland would seem to indicate a Roman way in the direction of the coffin's site. Roman coins have at various times been found, and some 25 years ago, when excavating for a wall at the rear of the asylum, a coin of Nero was discovered near the margin of a natural watercourse some 100 yards north of the spot. On more carefully inspecting the direction of the different paths, I became convinced that the Farm Road passing from Clapton Alley to the River Lea Navigation Cut in all probability passed on in an easterly course until it reached the old River Lea (which runs from north to south), and that somewhere at that point a ford would be discovered. I, therefore, have followed the course of the Farm Road from west to east, taking up the line on the other side of the Navigation Cut and East London Waterworks Aqueduct, about 184 yards south of the Pond Lane Bridge. Looking easterly, the bridge over the Great Eastern Railway carrying the Old Marsh Road to Low Leyton appeared to be in a straight line. This line, about 850 yards in length, brought me to the bank of the old river, and at a remarkable spot known for years as the "boys' bathing place," where the bottom consists of a hard smooth material and greyish sand, quite unlike the general bed of the river, which, excepting at fords, is of mud and clay. At this point the river is 64 feet wide, and only from 3 feet to 4 feet 6 inches deep. On the opposite bank, 150 yards in an easterly course, is the bridge carrying the old Marsh Road, this portion of it being in a direct line from Clapton Alley.

Having carefully noted the relative position of the more prominent points along the brow of table-land where the coffin was found, I am sure that no spot (not even excepting that in the grounds of Craven Lodge, Upper Clapton,) commands so extensive a prospect as this particular site. An observer would to the south note the Kentish Hills from Shooter's Hill to beyond Dartford (assuming the absence of the buildings from fifty to a hundred years old now intervening in this direction); the valley of the Thames could be traced to Purfleet; the horizon

itself would be the only barrier to the east, the high lands of Essex over Romford and Brentwood, with the forests of Hainault and Epping being within easy range; from thence by Chingford and Waltham until the view is closed by the wooded hills of Enfield Chase to the north. From this elevated site at least two historical events may have been observed by our predecessors, whether Roman or Saxon. Some four miles distant, as the crow flies, are seen the wooded heights over Walthamstow. Near the house known as Copt Hall are the remains of a British encampment (said to be about eight acres). At this spot Boadicea, with her daughters, is said to have mustered her forces, and thence marched to London. Her army would then pass in close proximity to this site. In the autumn of A.D. 896, in the reign of Alfred the Great, our then invaders, the Danes, having towed their fleet of war galleys up the Thames, and thence up the Lea, anchored and fortified their positions, entrenching a powerful land army as well. Alfred, knowing that the then ripening corn, the property of the Londoners, and may be of farmers in this very parish of Hackney, would become the prey of the Danish host, determined to overcome them by strategy. He laid his plans well. Within his own camp he had channels cut for the river, so that as suddenly as secretly the Lea became too shallow to admit the return of the Danish fleet to the Thames. The Danes were compelled to quit their ships, which were at once seized by Alfred, the enemy passing across the Midland counties to the Severn, where their reinforcements were stationed, and thence quitting our land. According to Camden, the navigation, thus obstructed, was not fully restored till A.D. 1580, by Lord Burghley.

As no vestige of any lid to this sarcophagus has been discovered, it may during these troublous times have been rifled, and, while the skeleton remained undisturbed, the lid and clasps may have been carried away; the security of the coffin itself being perhaps due to the pious care or superstitious fears of some Saxon yeoman who probably became the possessor of the land, who, finding a rifled tomb, and not appreciating its value even as sculptured marble, had a superficial hole dug for it in the surface gravel, where, passing from the eye, it soon passed from the memory of man.

NOTES ON ROMAN REMAINS
RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN LONDON AND MIDDLESEX.

BY JOHN EDWARD PRICE, ESQ.
Director of Evening Meetings.

IT is proposed in the following observations to lay before our members a record of the more important discoveries of Roman Remains that have been made in London since the publication of the last number of the *Transactions*, and which have for the most part been under the notice of our Society at its evening meetings. So rapid has been the progress of metropolitan improvements that excavations have been going on in almost every part of the city and its vicinity; occasionally revealing what was the condition of London and its inhabitants in Roman times. The works for the Cannon Street Railway Station have long since been completed, and whatever relics of past ages may be still beneath its massive foundations will now probably remain buried for ages to come. The additional observations made since the publication of my *Reminiscences of the Steelyard* will be presently referred to. Nearly all West Smithfield has been excavated, and the amount of soil removed consequent on the erection of the Dead Meat and Poultry Market has left but little for investigation. The result, however, has been a full corroboration of opinions formerly expressed as to the locality having been extensively used as a Roman cemetery. Adjoining St. Mildred's Court, Poultry, a tesselated pavement has been found; and from this spot, from Tokenhouse Yard, and Lothbury, numerous antiquities have been exhumed. Remains of other Roman buildings have been traced in Southwark. A marble sarcophagus was found at Lower Clapton, and an interesting series of stone coffins have been discovered in the vicinity of Old Ford. Other excavations are in progress, and further discoveries may be anticipated.

The marble sarcophagus found at Lower Clapton is unique (at least in modern times), and therefore possesses the first claim to

our attention. The earliest notice of its discovery was communicated to the Society by our esteemed member Mr. Alfred White, F.S.A.; and subsequently a paper on the subject was contributed by Mr. Benjamin Clarke, F.R.C.S., of Clapton. Soon after its discovery, the coffin came into the possession of my friend Mr. Thomas D. E. Gunston, who very kindly permitted drawings to be made for illustration in our Journal, and has since readily afforded every facility for its complete investigation. It still occupies an honoured place in his valuable collection. The site of this discovery has been so ably described by Mr. Clarke that I need only refer to it here. It is a locality that has not hitherto been considered as productive in Roman remains, and but few instances of such discoveries have been recorded. During some repairs at Temple Mills, on the borders of Hackney Marsh, in the year 1783,* an urn was found full of Roman coins, some in high preservation, from Julius Cæsar to Constantine the Great, several medals, a stone coffin (with the skeleton in it entire) measuring 9 feet 7 inches long, and an inscription on it unintelligible; it is added, that in removing the old foundation a vault was discovered in which were several urns, but very imperfect, and that it is very remarkable the vaults for centuries past are supposed to have been 16 feet under water. In the year 1814, Mr. Bros, who was making some improvements in his grounds in Springfield Lane, at Upper Clapton, a short distance from the River Lea and the marsh, discovered several stone coffins, and other relics of antiquity. The first coffin was found on the north side of the sloping line which forms part of the pleasure ground, sixty feet above the level of the marsh; the coffin was about 7 feet long and 4 feet wide, of hewn stone, lying about 6 feet under ground. Near this, in the year 1837, another was found, and at about the same depth; both coffins lying north and south. The latter one contained the remains of two human skeletons, male and female, the bones being in a very decomposed state, except the skull. A great quantity of human bones were also found near the last coffin, and some rude pottery, most of which was broken by the workmen. The bones

* Gentleman's Mag. vol. liii. p. 899.

were removed and buried in the churchyard, but the skulls and remainder of the pottery fell into the possession of Mr. Greatrex, the occupier of the premises.* In the fourth volume of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* we read that Mr. Southcott, of Dalston, forwarded for inspection some Romano-British urns, recently dug up (1849) near the canal adjoining Sir W. Middleton's estate, at the bottom of Shrubland Road, in the Queen's Road, Dalston. In taking a map of the locality it will be seen that while the above places are some distance from the site of the sarcophagus, they are in a direct line across the rising ground, which is flanked on one side by the great Roman road from London into Essex, and on another by the River Lea. The numerous interments discovered near the highway need only be alluded to, as they are fully described in the *Archæologia*, and other antiquarian works. Sepulchres were placed by the public ways as a warning to the living, and that the dead might benefit by the prayers of the passer by; they were likewise considered as boundaries in the division of property, particularly in military allotments of land.† There were also public cemeteries, but the wealthier classes were frequently buried on their own estates, generally selecting an elevated spot. Instances of this have been demonstrated in discoveries at York. The interments lately examined at Eastham,‡ in Essex, are considered to be those of a Roman magnate, with his family or retainers.

The coffin is in tolerable preservation. Its general description with accurate dimensions have already been given by Mr. Clarke. The ornamentation is thoroughly classical in its design; the bust inclosed in the medallion, the attitude, and position of the fingers, are all characteristic of Roman work. This will be readily

* Robinson's History of Hackney, vol. i. 1842.

† Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, p. 95, cit Laws of Tiberius in the *Authores Rei Agrariæ*, Paris ed. 1554. "Cum ager divisus militi traderetur extremis a compaginantibus agris limitibus, monumenta sepulchrave sacrarentur." And "eorum igitur sepulchrorum sequenda est constitutis quæ extremis finibus concurrentes plures agrorum cursus spectant."

‡ Essex Arch. Transactions, 1867.

recognized on examining the statues and bronzes of the period. The fluted channels with the cylindrical pieces termed cablings are designed in accordance with the rules of the Corinthian order. Cablings in architecture were not generally used until after the time of Constantine, but were afterwards frequently introduced. The two pilasters are of peculiar interest. Pilasters are said to be a Roman invention differing only from columns in the fact of being square. These diminish upwards from the base, which is thought to be unusual; but I observe in the late Mr. Joseph Gwilt's work on architecture "that among the remains of antiquity there are numerous instances of such diminution, particularly where they are employed in connection with columns;" among others, "the Temple of Mars, the portico of Septimus Severus, and the Arch of Constantine, all at Rome." They at first sight appear to have been polished; but the gloss may be only where time has spared the original surface, and merely indicate the usual softness and finish peculiar to marble sculpture. The inscription comprises three lines of what were well-cut letters; unfortunately so many have been worn away that no satisfactory reading can be given. From a tracing and rubbing examined by the Rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A. author of *Aquæ Solis*, he considers the last line to contain the word MARITIMIUS, a name shown by Gruter to have occurred before in Roman inscriptions; the other lines he fears are illegible. Whatever the inscription may be it is brief; the first line would possibly be the dedication, the second the name of the individual interred, and the third doubtless that of the person who erected the sepulchre or provided the sarcophagus. In assuming the first line to commence with the usual D. M. or D. M. S. we are influenced by the knowledge that such was the pagan practice. We cannot satisfactorily define the letters; and were the tomb to be assigned to Christian times, their absence would be accounted for, as would also that of any coins, urns, or other funereal accompaniments. Though not always the case, these letters generally have a line to themselves, stand alone, or are divided from the general inscription by an intervening space. Of this there is no evidence; if anywhere they commence the first line, and it is hardly probable that they would be thus crowded in a monument

so beautifully executed. The date of the interment may be attributed to the third century or possibly early in the fourth. Whether Christian or pagan can only be conjectured: the presence or absence of the letters above referred to would be no conclusive testimony to its origin any more than does the existence of the well-known cypher, the Christian monogram, on ancient monuments stamp them as belonging to Christian times. Maitland, in his *Church of the Catacombs*, remarks that the D. M. is often to be found on tombs undoubtedly Christian, and gives examples in the Vatican, observing that it was often but an imitation of the old practice—"that the ignorance of the sculptor led him to continue the old heathen formula, neither understanding its meaning nor reflecting on its unsuitableness to a Christian grave." Their absence in this case would be a reason for its preservation from the effects of the iconoclastic spirit that prevailed in former times. The base of the sarcophagus presents a singular appearance. It is either unfinished or was left in its present condition for the purpose of resting the tomb on some support or ledge above the ground, or for placing it in a wall. In tracing a line midway from end to end, one half of the base or underside of the sarcophagus will be seen to be in the same state as when it left the quarry, the other having been chiselled out as shown in the diagram; the cuttings of the marble, from the marks of the mason's chisel that remain, appear to have been made in an upward direction towards the centre. Mr. Thomas Milbourn, Hon. Sec. suggests that this was probably done after the sarcophagus had been fixed, otherwise the sharp line of division would have been fractured by the course the chisel took; and that the object of the undercutting was to prevent any water which might fall upon the face from running underneath the projecting portion, and down the face of the wall in which the sarcophagus was placed. There being no ornamentation at either end favours the idea that little more than the sculptured front was intended to be seen. There is no evidence of any such supports or traces of any wall in which it could have been inserted. Such, however, may have been destroyed when the tomb was rifled, and the lid—which is missing—removed.

A fragment of the coffin has been submitted to Professor Tennant, F.G.S. for examination. He describes the material as crystaline magnesian carbonate of lime, a variety of white marble of coarse crystaline structure, and probably from Greece or Italy. The coarseness of its grain accounts for the honeycombed appearance presented by its surface. I am informed by Mr. John G. Waller that in character it is identical with the Elgin Marbles now in the British Museum. These were sculptured by Greek artists, and the stone of which they are composed is said to have come from the marble quarries of Mount Pentelicus in Greece. The beauty of the design on the sarcophagus, and the highly artistic way in which it is carried out, would seem to indicate that it was brought over from the continent. I may mention that, in Mr. Roach Smith's *Catalogue of London Antiquities*, he refers to a work by Count Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquité*, in which it is stated that several ancient quarries of different kinds of marble have been discovered by M. Carrey on the banks of the Loire, and one in particular of white marble. It is known by the name of Vaudelat, and is situate at five leagues to the north-east of Moulin en Bourbonnois, three leagues from the left bank of the Loire, one league from the river Besue, two from the little town of Donjon, and half a league from the hill of Puy St. Ambroise. This quarry is said to be very productive; the marble is neither so white nor so fine as that of Carrara, but it possesses the grain, colour, hardness, and in short all the qualities of Parian marble. Mr. Smith considers it probable that the quarry furnished most of the material for the marble statuary, and other sculptures in marble discovered in France, and also for the architectural remains found in England.* It is probable, too, that marble was imported into this country direct from Rome itself. That it was traded in extensively has been evidenced by some valuable discoveries recently made on the banks of the Tiber. In the course of excavation, under the direction of the Papal Government, an ancient wharf has been found, extending some distance along the river bank. On a length excavated nearly 500 blocks of different qualities were observed, with fragments that might be counted by thousands. Here was the *Marmorata*, the emporium to which

* *Catalogue of London Antiquities* by C. R. Smith, F.S.A., p. 3.

the quarries of ancient Greece, Africa, and other subject provinces sent their tribute to the imperial city; and, knowing as we do that wherever the Romans settled they opened up trade and commerce, marble may have been shipped at this very wharf for transport into Britain. In England ancient works of art in marble are extremely rare. The scarcity is easily explained. The necessity for bringing it from the continent would, in architecture, confine it to buildings of importance only; and in the construction of tombs or sepulchres its costly character would restrict its use to individuals of rank and wealth. The Romans always turned to account the products of the countries they inhabited; and in the clays, the oolites, and other stones indigenous to Britain would find ample materials for such requirements. Their monuments and altars are mostly of native stone, and their sepulchres were usually constructed of the same materials: sometimes leaden coffins would be employed, or those of baked clay, and even wood; but there seems to be no authentic instance of one in marble that can be described with certainty. There is reason however to believe that such were used by the Romans in this country. In Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* there is mention of a marble coffin which is thought to have been of Roman workmanship. The story is frequently quoted, but always cautiously. It often happens that statements made by the early chroniclers are from their improbability looked upon as fables until subsequent discoveries confirm them as facts; and the doubt that has been cast on the material of the coffin referred to by Bede, is, perhaps, due more to the circumstance of there being no example in England to be produced as an illustration, rather than the existence of any ground for questioning the veracity of the record. The passage relates to the burial of St. Etheldreda at Ely. About the year 673 she is said to have founded a religious society there. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under this date, we read that "St. Ætheldryth began the monastery at Ely." It was subsequently destroyed by the Danes, but restored A.D. 963 by Æthelwold Bishop of Winchester. The foundress died in 679; and in the year 695, a period contemporary with Bede, her sister Sexburga, then Abbess of Ely, had her remains col-

lected for interment at the church, and commanded some of her brethren to seek stone from which they could fashion a coffin (or chest) "suitable for the burial of such a virgin." There being no native stone in Ely or its vicinity, it would have to be sought for at a distance. In pursuit of this object, they came, says Bede, "ad civitatem quandam desolatam, non procul inde sitam, quæ linguâ Anglorum Grantacæster vocatur, et mox invenerunt juxta muros civitatis *locellum de marmore albo*, pulcherrime factum, operculo quoque similis lapidis aptissimè tectum." * Translated as follows: "They came to a certain desolate city, situated not far from thence, which is called, in the language of the English, Grantacæster; and soon they found, close to the walls of the city, a chest of white marble, beautifully wrought and fitly covered with a lid of the same stone." The words *marmore albo* are perfectly clear, and the reference by the writer to the lid being of the same material would imply that he was acquainted with what he was describing. The desolate city, Grantacæster, was a Roman station in ruins at this very time. It is thought to have occupied the site of the modern Grantchester, a village some two miles south-west of Cambridge; but Professor Babington is of opinion that the place so named was situate at Cambridge itself. This is the more probable as it is often referred to in Saxon documents as Grantabrycg, Grantebrycg, &c. Granta being the ancient name of the Cam, Grantbridge and Cambridge would seem to be identical. The present town of Cambridge originally rose from the ruins of the Roman city, the adjoining villages of Grantchester and Chesterton deriving their names from the same source. In the *Palæographia Britannica* occurs a description of the walls and boundaries of the ancient "Granta," as traced by Stukeley, with an account of numerous antiquities discovered. Where so likely a spot for the existence of a sarcophagus as *outside* the city walls? Amid the ruins of the deserted place there would be doubtless many tombs, but it was the material and beauty of the one mentioned that attracted the monks of Ely. And in continuing the narrative we read that, "impressed with the belief that God had prospered their journey,

* Bede, *Ecc. Hist.* iv. c. 19.

they returned as quickly as possible, and with a favourable mind, to the monastery." If this story be divested of its miraculous garb, it is credible enough, and receives some confirmation from a mention of the tomb in the Saxon Charter, as being that of "Ætheldrytha, the holy maiden, that there lieth entire till now in the white chest made of marble." And again, in a charter attributed to King Eadgar, 970, mention of her is made as "remaining incorruptible in a white marble tomb." In the *Liber Eliensis* it is also referred to. From a reference to a portion of this work, corroborative of the foregoing facts, and for which, with other assistance, I am indebted to Mr. T. Felton Falkner of Christ's College, Cambridge, the precise spot of the discovery at Grantacæster is indicated, viz. "a place which to this day is called Ærmeswerch." Where this is I have as yet been unable to ascertain.

In a paper by Mr. Essex in the fourth volume of the Archæologia, the author, while considering marble to have been used by the Saxons both for coffins and fonts, refers to this sarcophagus as being probably of Roman workmanship, but thinks it must have been of some other kind of stone, and quotes a passage from a work on Cambridge by Dr. Caius in favour of the supposition. I am unable to identify the reference, and, with the present discovery in view, should in the absence of more authentic information be inclined to believe the original statement of the chronicler. The inquiry may suggest itself that if marble tombs are known to have been in use, why, amid all our discoveries, has one never been found before? Rather should we express surprise at one ever being brought to light at all. The monuments and tombs discovered are as nothing to what must have existed, and when we consider the wholesale and constant destruction of them in early times, the avidity with which any at all suitable for building purposes would be seized, added to countless other causes for their disappearance during the lapse of centuries, the wonder is that anything has been spared. The Romans themselves were poor conservators of their own works. If wanted for other purposes they were destroyed, and when they relin-

quished Britain we read that "they collected their treasures, hid some in the earth that no man might afterwards find them, and conveyed some with them into Gaul."* The presence of marble fragments, pieces of statuary, and architectural remains, all go to indicate the magnificence of their cities, but we are fully alive to the fact that it is principally due to their use in the erections of later times that they have been preserved. The pilasters and fluted slabs from Cloak Lane,† and other parts of the City, were found worked in Roman walls. Slabs of marble have been observed at Bath, and also at Richborough in Kent.‡

The only sarcophagus that has been found in London which bears any resemblance to that under consideration is the one from Haydon Square, Minories,§ and that only in the fact of its being ornamented on its front and side; the lid too, which is sharply ridged, is decorated with a foliated pattern. It is formed of ragstone, and more roughly made than that from Clapton. In the centre is a bust in bas-relief, and on either side a striated pattern, such as may be frequently observed on examples from abroad. At York, sarcophagi have been discovered with inscriptions upon them on plain labels; others have had objects in relief. At Avisford in Sussex, a fine example was exhumed containing glass, pottery, &c., which has been described in the Journal of the Sussex Archæological Society and other antiquarian publications.

In Gaul and Italy marble sarcophagi are of course the rule; the material was at hand, and easy of access; consequently the ruins of the Roman towns produce countless instances of ornamented marble tombs. Some are described by Mr. Roach Smith, F S.A. and the late Mr. F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. in their papers in the *Collectanea Antiqua* on the Antiquities of Treves, Autun, the town of Arles, and other places. In a valuable and profusely illustrated work of De Rossi, "*Christiana Sotteranea*," comprising a full descrip-

* Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 418.

† See *Collectanea Antiqua* by C. Roach Smith, vol. i.

‡ *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, by C. Roach Smith, p. 48; *Aquæ Solis*, by H. M. Scarth, p. 77.

§ Now in the British Museum.

tion of the Roman catacombs, various figures are given, (p. 109) possessing in their general design the especial features of the one from Clapton.* Many fragments are drawn, and there are also perfect examples. The two cuts here given will at once indicate the origin of the devices on such sarcophagi as have been found in England, showing them to be but variations of a type frequently met with on the continent, one which has been in use for centuries, and with slight alterations been handed down to modern times. Fig. 1† appeared in a paper by Dr. McCaul on Britanno-Roman Inscriptions printed in the *Canadian Journal* of last year. Fig. 2 is from a tracing in De Rossi's work. The inscrip-

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

tions are in the Greek language, often adopted in Roman customs. That on fig. 1 is read as follows:

* In the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge there is preserved a marble sarcophagus of analogous form. I am informed by Mr. Massey, Curator, that it is considered to be of the time of Septimus Severus; it was brought from Rome by W. Lloyd, Esq. Beaconsfield, Bucks, parted with by him in 1761, and subsequently fell into the possession of John Disney, Esq. Ingatestone, Essex, by whom it was presented to the Museum. The devices upon it comprise scenes from the life of Bacchus.

† In Mus. Vat. De Rossi, n. 69.

ΚΑΤΑΘΕCΙC
ΟΚΤΑΒΙΛΛΗC
ΠΡΟΘΚΑΛCΕΤ
ΡΩΜΟΥΛΙ

Καταθεσις Οκταβιλλης προ θ καλ(ανδων) Σετ(εμβριων) Ρωμούλι.

The burial of Octavilla (took place) on the ninth day before the calends of September (in the consulship) of Romulus, *i.e.* August 24. 343 A.D.

On either side the bust appears the striated ornament as observed at the discovery at Haydon Square, and which is seen on numerous examples among the collections at the Vatican.

The centre portion of fig. 2 bears great resemblance to the medallion and bust from Clapton; the figure is in the same attitude, and the general treatment of the design bespeaks a common origin. Such sarcophagi were kept by manufacturers ready made, and the prevalence of one style of decoration over another would be a matter of fashion; one would die away and another be favoured with popular patronage, as might be the case in our own day. It is more than probable too that the Clapton tomb was brought from abroad, may be by the individual himself for whom it was intended. So beautiful is it as a work of art that it is hardly probable for it to be of native workmanship.

Ordinary stone sarcophagi are by no means uncommon, but they are principally of uniform type, generally plain and devoid of ornaments; the prevailing form is that of which selections are given in the annexed plate from drawings by Mr. Emslie. An interesting form of coffin is that shewn in the woodcut. It is an outline of one discovered at Sydney Gardens, Bath, and preserved in the museum of that city. It is Roman, and contained the skeleton of a female, and is curious as indicating the antiquity of the shape universally adopted in our own times.

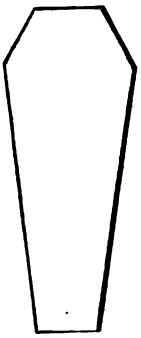
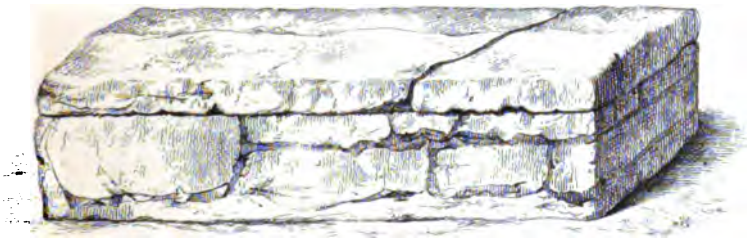


Fig. 1, plate VI. is in the museum of Mr. Gunston, and was discovered in the vicinity of Old Ford, near Bow, associated with

Pl. VI.

1



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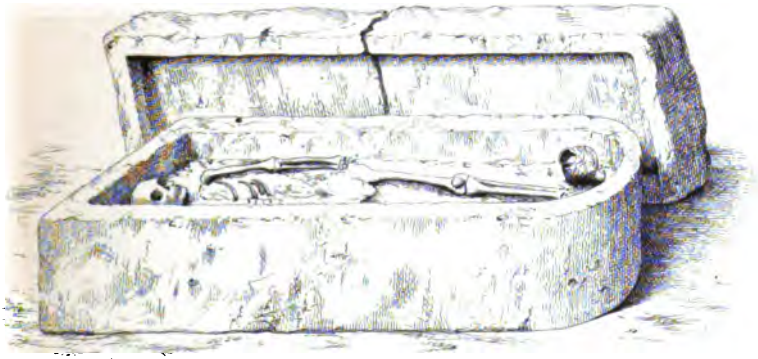

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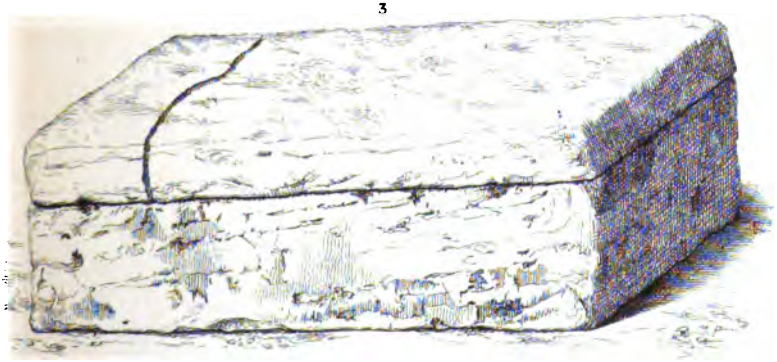
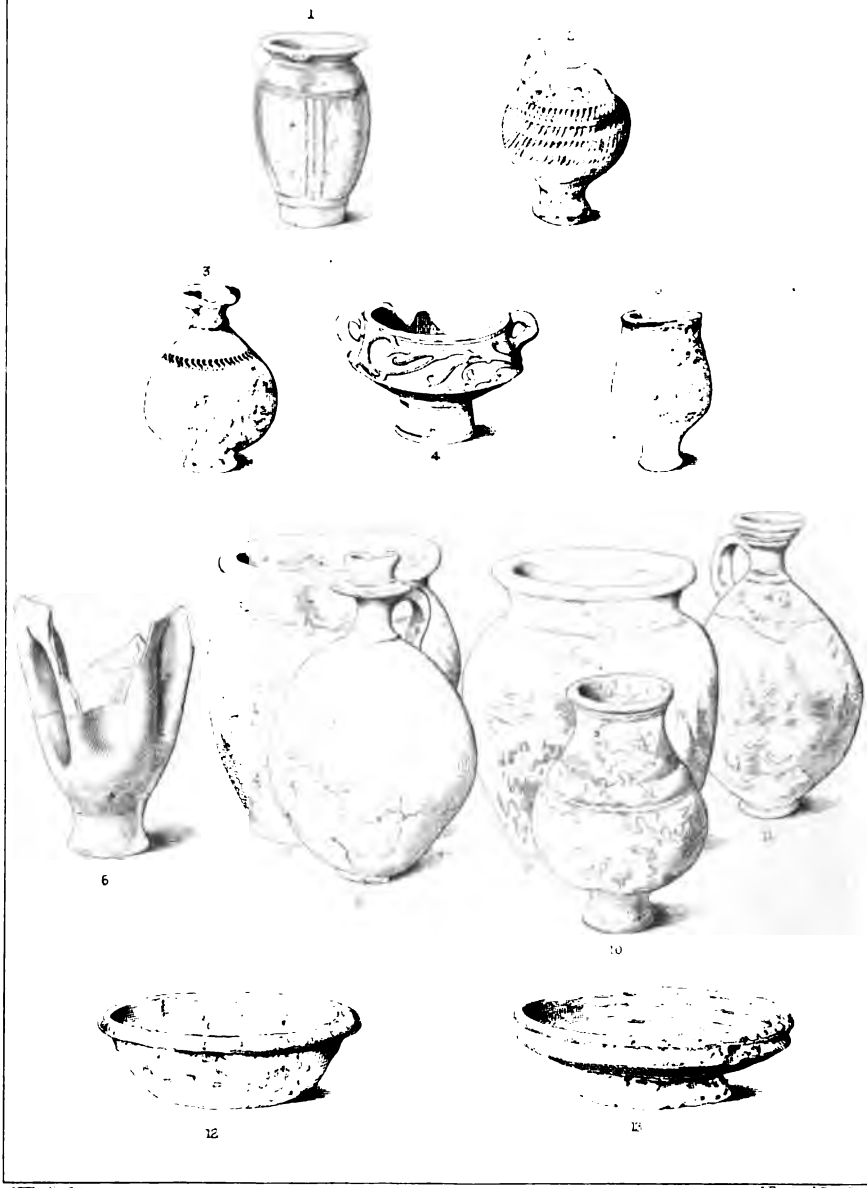


J. Emslie & Sons, lith.

ROMAN SARCOPHAGI FROM THE VICINITY OF OLD-FORD.



J.P.Emslie del.

J.Emslie & Son lith.

ROMAN POTTERY DISCOVERED AT OLD FORD.

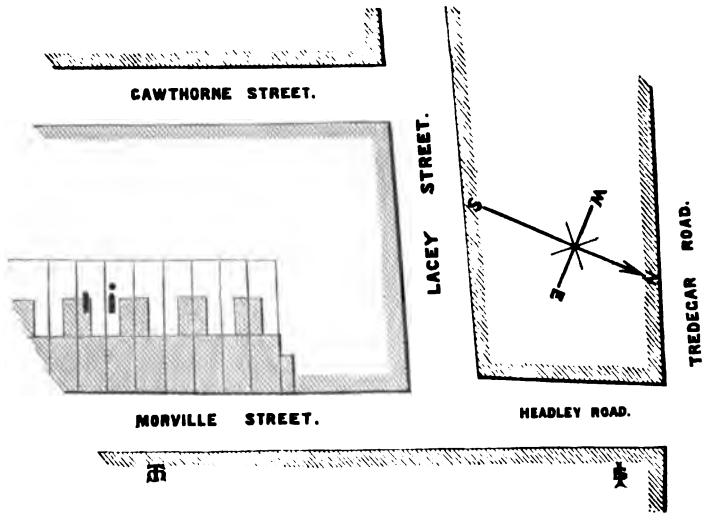
pottery. Another of the same character was found not long since in the same locality on some property belonging to Mr. Joseph Wilkinson. He has very kindly sent me all the particulars concerning it. He describes it as being excavated from some ground held by him for building purposes near the Saxon Road and Coborn Road, Bow, some 60 yards south of the Roman highway. The coffin lay upon the gravel beneath some 30 inches of superincumbent soil. Its length is about 6 feet 6 inches, width 2 feet 1, 2 inches less at the foot. The lid is slightly ridged. In it were contained the bones of a full-sized man in a good state of preservation. There was a fracture across the lid through which a quantity of gravel had fallen, covering as it were the skeleton, which appeared to have been buried, as the custom was, in lime. Its situation was east and west, and the arms of the skeleton were drawn down at the side, differing in this respect from that found some years since in the same locality, and described by Mr. B. H. Cowper in our Journal.* In the latter case the arms of the skeleton were crossed upon the breast, and the form of the coffin similar to that in fig. 1. At a distance of some 2 feet south of the coffin a large collection of pottery was discovered. The more perfect specimens are in the possession of Mr. Thomas Mathews, Resident Engineer of the North London Railway in Broad Street, who has kindly permitted me to select examples for illustration; they are given in plate VII., and are such as are usually associated with Roman burials.

With the exception of fig. 4 they will be at once recognised as examples of what is known as Upchurch pottery. The two cinerary urns, figs. 7 and 9, are of this familiar ware, and are rather rough in character. They contained burnt bones, but no coins or other relics. The two vessels 8 and 11 are varieties of the water jug (*gutturnium*), and are often met with in Roman graves. Fig. 4 is a pretty little vase of black glazed ware. In form it resembles the Greek pottery. In a border round the vessel runs the ivy leaf, a favourite ornament in ancient pottery. Its diameter at the mouth is 3½ inches. Fig. 5 is of white ware with black glaze. Fig. 10, a perfect specimen; it measures 6

* Vol. i. pp. 192, 193.

inches high, and is of a coarse red ware. Fig. 12 is black; and 13 the only perfect example of what is termed Samian in the series; it is 7 inches in diameter, and resembles those dredged off the Pan Rock near Whitstable.

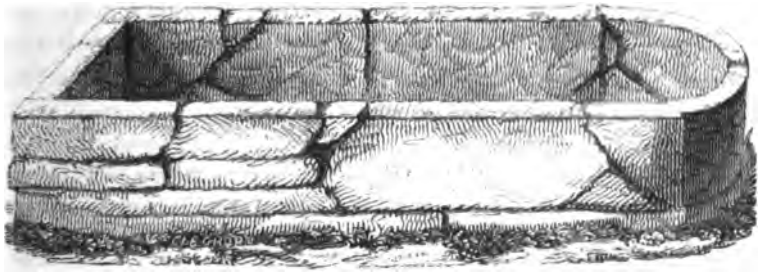
In May last I received a letter from my friend Mr. H. W. King, Hon. Sec. Essex Archæological Society, announcing that two more sarcophagi of a similar character had been found in the same locality in the course of excavations for buildings on a site some 200 yards south of the former discoveries. Their position when found can be well identified in the annexed plan taken on



the spot, and kindly contributed by Mr. Thomas Milbourn, Hon. Sec. The first found was the smaller of the two, and is illustrated by fig. 2, in plate VI. It is hewn from a solid block of stone, which is highly fossiliferous, and belongs to those oolitic beds which may be observed in the neighbourhood of Bath, Dundry, Northampton, Uppingham, and other places. Its main peculiarity consists in its being rounded at one end, which is rather unusual in London. There is one similar, but of much rougher execution, found at Binstead, Hants, and now in the British Museum. Also one preserved at Bath, where the form has been

often met with; and in a grave cut in the chalk for a young Frankish warrior at Envermeu, France, the excavation is of the same form.*

I find among some of my late father's antiquarian memoranda the account of a similar one being found on the 7th August, 1841, in digging the foundations for the new buildings situated in Victoria Park, near the Hippodrome, Notting Hill. The annexed illustration of this coffin, for the loan of which I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Nichols, F.S.A. appeared with full description by Mr. Thomas Faulkner, the historian of Chelsea, in the November number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that year:



It was discovered 6 feet from the surface of the turf, was composed of a single stone, and contained a skeleton, the teeth of which were nearly entire, and the cranium and bones in good preservation, the interior being filled up with lime. Its internal length is 6 feet 2 inches, its external length 6 feet 8, breadth without 2 feet 3, within 1 foot 8. It was placed north and south, the head lying to the north. Adjoining were found the remains of wooden coffins containing bones, but quite rotten. Several pins of bone or ivory were also discovered. The material of the coffin is said by Mr. Faulkner to be Purbeck stone.

The extreme length of this from Old Ford is 6 feet 2 inches, width 2 feet; inside measurement 5 feet 6½ inches long, and 1 foot 6 inches wide. Its depth is uniform, 12 inches inside and 16 inches outside. It contained the perfect skeleton of a female in excellent preservation. It will be noticed in fig. 2 plate VI. that,

* See *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii. p. 102.

instead of the head occupying the rounded end, as is usual in coffins of this form, the position of the body is reversed. By the side of the ancle was a small cup of the black glazed pottery of the Northamptonshire make. The ornamentation is simple and laid on in white. The body had evidently been covered in with lime as usual with the Romans, especially as regards interments in the vicinity of London. The practice does not seem to have been entirely universal throughout the country. At Bath, where Roman interments abound, it appears to have been the custom to cover the bodies with fine sand. Examples of this are given by Mr. Scarth in his *Aquæ Solis*;* and in one case the sand found had evidently not been collected in the neighbourhood, but must have been brought from a long distance, probably from the mineral district of the Mendip Hills, as on examination it was found to correspond with that which occurs in some of the ancient mining seams of that district.

The lid of the sarcophagus was as usual broken, and through the aperture the overlying sand had fallen, which, on being cleared away, revealed the lime as pure and white as when first thrown in upon the corpse. The dimensions of the lid are 6 feet 3 inches long and 2 feet wide. On the under surface a space measuring 5 feet 7 inches and 17 inches wide has been hollowed to the depth of 2 inches. It is of the same stone, but does not appear to have been made for the sarcophagus, inasmuch as it is square at both ends. It may, though, have been thus made designedly, for the few inches that overlapped the coffin partly covered one of the most interesting features of the discovery, viz. a large earthen vessel in the form of an amphora; this was the first thing found by the workmen, and it was much broken in being extracted from the soil. It is of coarse red pottery of globular form, 2 feet in diameter, and has a pointed base for resting in the ground. Being fractured at the top it is impossible to get at the width of the aperture; there are traces of strong handles at the sides. It contained the remains of two skeletons of adults. Mr. Roach Smith says that it was a "common practice with the Romans to use the amphora, after separating the upper part, as a

* Page 101.

cist or coffin for the cinerary urn."* This would be where cremation was practised, of which there was no evidence in the present case. It is therefore difficult to conceive how two full grown bodies could have been inclosed in this vessel, unless we assume them to have been skeletons when placed there; in fact, that they had been exhumed, collected, and re-interred by the Romans themselves. Earthen vessels of large size have been before noticed in Roman graves. At Crendon, in Buckinghamshire, portions of an urn, with handles 5 inches in circumference, were discovered some years since associated with burnt bones. It also joined a sarcophagus, and stood at least 3 feet high. An account of this interment is given by Mr. Smith, in his valuable but insufficiently known work the *Collectanea Antiqua.*

The second coffin, illustrated by fig. 3 in the same plate, lay about 10 feet from the other, and is of much larger dimensions; it measures 7 feet 2 inches long by 2 feet 4 inches wide. At each end its outside depth is 20 inches. It is of simple, trough-like form, and square at each end, formed also of oolitic stone, but of finer texture. The lid is extremely massive, and the same length as the coffin; its thickness is 9½ inches; it is flatter than the other, and has the same hollowed panelling on the under surface. It also has been filled with lime. It contained the skeletons of three adults, two males and a female, in perfect order. Two lay side by side; the third had been placed at the other end of the sarcophagus, and laid between the others. It would appear that one male had been interred subsequently, as he was lying at full length, whereas the body by his side had apparently been shifted to make room for the new comer, and been buried sideways. Not far from this interment the fragments of a sword were found; unfortunately many pieces had gone to the relic-hunters, but sufficient was preserved to indicate that it had been a short flat sword of iron. The pieces were tinged with the oxide of a bronze covering, and a thin plate of this metal was adhering to a portion of the weapon. From this it would seem to have been encased in a bronze scabbard. Such have been noticed among Romano-British remains, especially of late date,

* *Illustrations of Roman London*, by C. R. Smith, F.S.A. p. 88.

but not usually associated with interments. Almost the only articles not found in Roman graves, says Mr. Thos. Wright, F.S.A.* are arms; and he instances no example in Britain of a Roman being buried with his warlike weapons. No personal ornaments were observed, or any further examples of pottery; but, as the excavations were not completed, more may be revealed. The only coins that have been noticed are two small brass of Probus; the reverses are well known. These, taken in connection with the coin of Gallienus, found at Clapton and referred to by Mr. Clarke, and the large quantities of still later dates, found some years since with the leaden coffin from Bow, and described in the *Archæologia*, all point to the conclusion that the whole of these interments are to be ascribed to a very late period in the history of Roman Britain.

Excavations at Cannon Street, Dowgate Hill, St. Mildred's Court, Lothbury, Tokenhouse Yard, &c.

In pages 74-5 of the present volume a general description is given of the various antiquities found during the progress of the excavations for the Railway Station, Cannon Street. Prior to the completion of these works, some additional discoveries were made which are worthy of attention, as indicating how densely occupied by buildings must have been this portion of Roman London. The numerous piles and transverse beams which extended across Thames Street were traced for a considerable distance along the river bank, and in an upward direction towards Cannon Street. So complete a network of timber did they form, and so massive and durable were the means employed for holding the entire fabric together, that it is evident it was intended to resist a heavy strain or pressure. The Wallbrook† here

* T. Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon.*

† A series of piles adjoining the line of this ancient stream were observed some years since in Prince's Street and Lothbury at a depth of 12 feet from the surface, and their position clearly indicated the embankments of a watercourse. They penetrated the earth to a depth of 5 or 6 feet, were of oak, and quite black from the boggy character of the soil. In Cateaton Street in the year 1843 a number were discovered at a depth of 10 feet;

flowed into the Thames, and the drainage of the old city being on a different scale to what it now is, it is probable that the soil of the locality would be damp and yielding, and that some protection for the foundations of the buildings reared along the water line would be necessary against the inroads of the river. Above this embankment buildings of great magnitude must have existed, if we may judge from the strength and solidity of these foundations. Mr. Thomas D. E. Gunston, who paid great attention to the excavations at the time, took copious notes, from which he has courteously permitted me to condense the more important particulars. Running nearly in a line with Bush Lane* was an immense external wall, some 200 feet long, 10 feet high, and 12 feet in thickness, formed of rag-stone, chalk, and a variety of materials bound together with mortar in the ordinary Roman fashion. At an angle were foundations 8 feet wide, of flint and rubble supporting smaller walls, some 3 feet wide, composed principally of bonding tiles 18 inches by 12. These were connected by a series of cross walls 2 feet 6 inches thick, and built of flat tiles 14 inches by 11; also set on rubble footings 4 feet in width. Still nearer Cannon Street were the remains of an apartment 50 feet by 40, floored with a coarse red concrete; this was connected with a second, which had access to a third but smaller room. A long series of smaller apartments were satisfactorily traced, with floors of coarse tesseræ of red and yellow brick in cubes about an inch square. Some little distance in front of the centre apartment in this series was a square

these, however, from the quantity of Roman pavement and other relics, had evidently formed the foundations of extensive buildings. In November 1867, while excavating in Southwark Street, between Southwark Square and Worcester Street, a large number were met with; they were at a depth of about 12 feet, were as close together as possible, and driven straight into the earth. They varied from 5 to 11 feet in length, and many were as thick as 12 inches square. A large quantity of Roman pottery, pieces of Kentish rag-stone, and other evidences of buildings were observed. Some account of this discovery was contributed to one of our Evening Meetings by Mr. John Wimble.

* See references to Roman Buildings in Bush Lane and Scots Yard in Mr. Roach Smith's papers in *Archæologia*, vol. xxix.

piece of paving comprised of oblong bricks on edge, known as "herring-bone pavement." Adjoining a thick rubble wall was a large portion of a mosaic pavement, comprised of half-inch cubes of black, white, red, and grey tesseræ, worked into a simple pattern and surrounded by a double border of black and grey stones of a compact nature and from 4 to 6 inches square, but varying in thickness. In close proximity to this human remains were found. There were evidences of strong timber drains, or waterways, one 5 feet beneath the foundations of the building, and having a steep incline to the river. This measured 4 feet across, and was 18 inches deep, the boards forming the sides being 4 inches and those at the bottom 6 inches in thickness. The other channels were of smaller dimensions.

Within several of the rooms wall paintings remained, the designs in various colours; some divided by lines and bands into panels, others ornamented by a trellis-pattern, or powdering of fancy-coloured spots: besides a quantity of roofing, hypocaust, and building tiles; fragments of pottery, glass, and articles of personal and domestic use. On many of the tiles were the letters PPBR . LON,* such as have been observed before to be worthy of notice as "recording the fact of their having been made by the first cohort of the Britons stationed at Londinium;" others were scored with geometrical figures, or small squares worked with a diamond pattern. In Mr. Gunston's museum is one indicating a rude attempt at portraiture, as shown in the accompanying illustration. It would seem the intention was to represent the head of Medusa, one of the Gorgons, celebrated for her beauty and flowing locks, which were afterwards changed to serpents by Minerva. The locks with the rest of the design have been executed on the tile when soft, and been entirely done with the finger, the course of which may be at once detected on the original. The indentation for the mouth is a perfect impression of one of the fingers of the designer. Though of far rougher character, it forcibly reminds one of the sculptured head on the tympanum of the temple dedicated to Minerva at Bath, on which serpents are entwined with the curling hair in an inge-

* *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 32.

nious and artistic manner. It was doubtless sketched off in a moment of fun by some youthful fabricator of Roman tiles to whose mind representations of Minerva were familiar, either in the spirit of caricature, or as a rude effort to delineate the characteristics of the Gorgon's head. The peculiar expression of the countenance has been well caught by our Member, Mr. J. Emslie, who kindly contributed the drawing from which the engraving has been made. Some of the tiles had impressions from the feet of dogs, sheep, &c., indicating where they had walked across them while exposed to the sun to dry: such are often met with. An impression of the hoof of an ox was observed in one discovered some time since at Wroxeter. Pieces of flue and hypocaust tile abounded, and were ornamented in a variety of ways. Many of the designs, as well as those which have been noticed before, are tasteful and artistic, and it is certainly singular that the Romans should have wasted so much time in decorating objects which were to be concealed from view.

It is indicative of their love of art, and their desire to carry it into practice in matters even of every-day life. These devices are said to have been scored upon the tiles with a toothed instrument when soft, and to have been merely for the purpose of making the mortar adhere more closely to them. Possibly, sometimes, the flues may have been so constructed as to be visible, in which case the labour spent in their decoration would not be thrown away. Sometimes they are ornamented with patterns from wooden blocks, which appears to have been the case with the example selected for illustration. That shown in plate VIII. is in the valuable collection of Mr. J. W. Baily, and was found a few years since in Fenchurch Street.

The fragments of pottery found represented almost every known variety, both as regards material, size, and form. There were also large numbers of styli: spoons of various forms in iron and bronze; knives of steel, with bone ornamental handles; portions of whetstones, spindles of wood, bone whorls, and other objects employed in weaving; a portable balance in bronze; fragments of a lava handmill; and, among a series of keys, one so small and delicate that it had evidently been intended for wearing on the finger as a ring. Among personal ornaments several bronze fibulæ were noticed, one bearing the figure of a satyr, another harp-shaped, enamelled with a deep blue, and having a chain for suspension; fragments of bronze armlets, hair and dress pins, in ivory, bone, bronze, wood, and jet; also a variety of coloured and ribbed glass beads. Coins were represented by examples of Agrippa, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and Trajan, but all of well known types. Among the hundreds of potter's names found on fragments of the red pottery are the following, which are here appended, as being in most cases new since the publication of Mr. Roach Smith's "*Roman London*," and in others as variations of names already recorded in his list:

FLUE TILE DISCOVERED IN FENCHURCH STREET.

IN THE POSSESSION OF J. W. BAILY, ESQ.

AVCANI	* COSRV . F	DONATI	IVIENI M
AMICO ·	CARVS . F	DECIMI	O . MOMA
	CELADI	ESECV	OF . MAS
	CACCARI	ESCVSI . M	OF . MONTOR
	† CARATILLI		MASVETI
			OF . PARE
			OF PATCIO
			PRVSO
			RIPPINI
			SACIOS . FE
			* SACIRO
			TRIV F
			TASCILIV
			VLTOR
			VIOCENSIS
			VEVS.

At an Evening Meeting in February 1867 some interesting fragments of Roman Pavement were contributed for exhibition by Messrs. Cubitt at the suggestion of P. C. Hardwick, Esq., architect of the new buildings for the Union Bank of London recently erected at the corner of St. Mildred's Court, Poultry. In excavating at this spot some 18 feet from the surface level the workmen came upon a pavement in its original position. The pieces exhibited were but a few selected from a vast number, many of large size, which had been packed in cases and sent to the workshops of Messrs. Cubitt. From the quantity exhumed it would seem to have been perfect and of some extent, resembling those discovered in Leadenhall Street beneath the East India House, that beneath the Excise Office, and those under the French Protestant Church, Threadneedle Street. Since these discoveries there does not appear to have been found in London

* The two thus marked occur in Mr. Smith's List from the collection in the museum at Douai.

† This does not appear to have been hitherto recorded in the London List, but it is a very usual name on the Pateræ from the Pan Rock, Whitstable.

any such perfect example of the finer kinds of pavement. Through the kindness of G. Plucknett, Esq. F.S.A. I am enabled to give some notion of its character, but without all the pieces being arranged together it is impossible accurately to describe the dimensions or design. In the centre was a vase, not unlike that which was observed in the pavement at the Excise Office, and similar to many other examples in this country. It was formed in lines of tesseræ of various colours, of small size, and of the finer kind, the effect being occasionally heightened by the introduction of coloured glass. Encircling this was a scroll of foliage beautifully arranged, and various intricate designs made up the corners, the familiar guilloche pattern bordering the whole. The tesseræ were laid on the usual Roman concrete. There appeared to be few traces of any border of the coarser kind formed of large red squares, such as has been often noticed where the finer work occupied the centre of a tessellated floor. The excavations being so near to the bed of the ancient Wallbrook it is possible that these remains were but isolated fragments buried in river debris; but the quantity found at one spot, and its flat position, rather point to the conclusion that they belonged to a building of importance which may have once existed on the eastern bank of this stream. In this and the adjoining neighhourhood the depth of the bed of the Wallbrook is placed by Mr. Tite and other antiquaries as low as 30 feet. Its course is thus described by Stowe: "From the wall of the city the course whereof (to prosecute it more particularly) was and is from the said city wall to St. Margaret's Church in Lothbury; from thence beneath the lower part of Grocers' Hall, about the east part of their kitchen, under St. Mildred's Church; thence by Bucklersbury," &c. Adjoining the pavements numerous antiquities were observed, all of superior character: a good mortarium, having on the rim the name ALBINVS, several specimens of pottery, and, among other things, some fine bronze fibulæ. Some of them are now in Mr. Baily's collection; and in the museum at Guildhall is one from this site beautifully ornamented with blue enamel. The level of the pavement appears to have

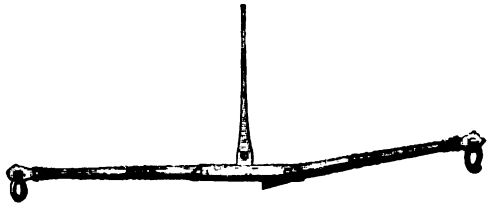
been at much the same depth as other remains of this character in Cheapside. That example found a few years since opposite Bow Church was 17 feet from the roadway; and from this point to Paternoster Row, where one was disclosed as near to the surface as 11 feet, the Roman pavements along the whole line appear to have been on a very uniform level.

Near Tokenhouse Yard and Lothbury many objects of interest have been found. This is a locality always rich in Roman remains. It was opposite Founders' Court, at a depth of 11 feet and some 20 feet westward of the gate of the Bank of England opening into Lothbury, that the celebrated pavement now in the British Museum was discovered in the spring of 1805 and taken up entire by the direction of John Soane, Esq. the Bank Architect. It is described in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1807 by Mr. Fisher, and is figured in Mr. Roach Smith's *Roman London*. Other examples are known to have been found in this locality. The annexed woodcut illustrates an interesting little object from the

recent excavations. It is in the possession of Mr. J. W. Baily, and is an instrument for trimming Roman lamps. It is of bronze, and has a small chain attached for fastening to the lamp. It is difficult accurately to describe the mode in which it was used, but the pointed end was probably for raising the wick, and the projections for removing any hardened crust. Among all the illustrations we have of the various articles in domestic use with our Roman ancestors, I am unable to trace any engraving or description of a lamp trimmer as being found in London. Among lamp appendages, stands of clay have been identified by Mr. Roach Smith, and are referred to in his *Roman London*. He has

also described others of iron with chains attached for hanging the lamp from a projection driven into the wall, but the specimen before us has been fastened to the lamp itself. It is such as has been frequently met with among Roman remains abroad. A good example is illustrated in La Chausse's *Grand Cabinet Romain*, p. 94, Lampe v.: and in Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliqué** there is a figure of a bronze lamp suspended by a chain; from the lamp there hangs a trimmer of this character. In the same work are other examples varying slightly in form. Mr. Baily informs me that among the small bronzes at the Museo Borbonico at Naples there is an object of this kind attached to a figure holding a lamp. The engraving is the actual size of the original.

Among a variety of things from this locality in the museum of Mr. Gunston is an example of a scale beam of rather unusual



form. The engraving is about two-thirds the size of the original, which is of iron, and constructed for folding into a small compass. The illustration has been so drawn as to show the position of the folding joints. At each end is seen the ring from which the scales would be suspended. Balances of this kind are presumed to have been for the purpose of weighing jewellery or precious metals. They were carried on the person, the folding hinge adapting them for portability.

In Mr. Gunston's series there is also an interesting example of a Roman wedding-ring. It is of iron, with the exception of a small plate of brass that has been inserted, and on which are inscribed the words VITA VOLO. Rings of

* Montfaucon, vol. v. p. 212, pl. 153; also plates 139 and 150.

this description are not often met with in London discoveries. Mr. Roach Smith in his Catalogue records instances of rings of gold, one from the Thames weighing nearly five drachms, and others are mentioned as being found of bronze. Did space permit much might be said about ancient finger-rings generally, for there are few things in modern use whose origin can be traced to so remote a period as the practice of wearing rings. It may be said almost to be lost in obscurity. We read of them in Scripture, when "Pharoah took off his ring from his finger and put it on Joseph's hand,"* and in many other passages. They were profusely worn by the Egyptians; gold being the metal generally in use among the higher classes; with the lower, porcelain was the material employed.

With the Greeks and Romans the practice was almost universal. It is stated by Pliny that in his time they used iron rings without any jewels.† To certain individuals rings were given by the State as a distinguishing mark, which they wore on state occasions, reverting to their usual ones of iron on returning from the ceremony. Among the wealthy the immense sums expended on rings may be seen from two recorded instances: the ring of Faustina is said to have cost a sum equal to 40,000*l.* and that of Domitia no less than 60,000*l.*

In the period of the second Punic war, at the battle of Cannæ, when some 40,000 Romans were slain or taken, Hannibal is said to have sent to Carthage three modii of rings taken from the fingers of the dead.

It is recorded that from the desire of Cæpio and Drusus each to possess a single ring arose the social war of the Marsians and ruin of the state. Among the Roman authors reference to finger rings abound. In the play of Hecyra,* by Terence, mention is made of the betrothal ring; and it bears a significant part in the working out the plot of the play. With the Anglo-Saxons the ring also formed part of the marriage contract. It was generally placed on all the fingers in turn, ultimately leaving it on the fourth.

* Genesis, xli v. 42. † Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. iii. chap. 1.
‡ Hecyra, Act v. scene 3.

The subject of medæval rings is too extensive to be more than referred to here. The numerous posies found upon them, as well as on others of still later date, are but a perpetuation of the old Roman practice, as evidenced by the ring above described. Other Latin mottoes are recorded, such as BONAM VITAM—AMO TE—AMA ME—VIVAS BENE—PIGNIS AMORIS HABES (You have a love pledge).

GRUB STREET.

BY HENRY CAMPKIN, ESQ. F.S.A.

[Read at an Evening Meeting of the Society, May 13, 1867.]

The street which for ages bore, and earned its notoriety under, the name of Grub Street is a dingy thoroughfare running from Fore Street, Cripplegate, on the south, to Chiswell Street, Finsbury, on the north, and it is situate, for the greater part of its length, in the Ward of Cripplegate Without; its northern extremity lying beyond the city boundary. The joint Wards of Cripplegate Within and Without cover a space replete with interesting associations and ancient land-marks, among which not the least important, one can hardly say the most conspicuous, seeing that it happens to be quite hidden from the eye of the casual wayfarer, is the remarkably perfect fragment of the old Wall of Roman London, abutting upon the churchyard of the venerable church of Saint Giles, Cripplegate. And that churchyard itself, with its tombstones now all laid level with the ground, its soil never to be again disturbed for purposes of sepulture, what a charmingly secluded city oasis it is! and notably so "in the spring time of the year." Then are its bright green grass, its freshly robed trees, indeed, a welcome retreat to the citizen, who can spare a few minutes to step aside from the busy throng and muse among, and be almost surrounded by, relics of the past, the very noise and hum of the streets barely audible, while the twitter of the birds upon the branches above his head haply transports him in imagination to some distant hamlet wherein, it may be, his own boyish days were spent. And he will think, too, of the far off times of internecine war, and dread of assaults from ever-watchful foes, as he gazes upon the massive, smoke-blackened, time-spared bastion, one of many such which jutted out from the grey old guardian walls that girded round the ancient city of our forefathers.

Turning for a moment to the church, with its not unpicturesque, though, architecturally considered, somewhat nondescript and piebald tower, whose lower half is still composed of stones that

have borne the brunt of time and weather for centuries, while its upper portion has been replaced by brick, we know that its registers bear upon their pages entries of the births, marriages, and burials, not only of rich London traders of bygone fame, but also of the progenitors of some of the greatest living nobles of our land. Enough is it to mention here the well remembered name of Egerton, the connection of which family, and the titles borne by it, with the locality, has been long preserved in Pridgewater Gardens, Bridgewater Square, and Brackley Street. Nor, digressing yet further for a brief moment, would it be an unworthy question to ask, whether that masque of masques, *The Masque of Comus*, written by Milton at the early age of twenty-five, may not have partially owed the selection of its author to some Cripplegate acquaintanceship between the city-born, city-educated, and city-dwelling poet, and the lordly owner of so goodly a portion of Cripplegate Ward? We know that, twice or thrice at different periods of his life, Milton kept house in, or in immediate vicinity to, this ward, and so what more likely than that he was an actual resident or sojourner on the Egerton property at the very period of his composition of this exquisite Poem? For it will be recollected that this Masque was performed before the Earl of Bridgewater at Ludlow Castle; that the chief performers in it were members of the Earl's family; and that Henry Lawes, the composer of the musical accompaniments to it, that "Harry" whom Milton has commemorated in one of the most beautiful of his sonnets, as he

> —— "whose tuneful and well-measured song
> First taught our English musick how to span
> Words with just note and accent,"

when he published *Comus* to the world as a work "not openly acknowledged by the author," dedicated it to the young Lord Brackley, one of the performers in it, and the heir to and next holder of the Earldom of Bridgewater. It may fairly be assumed therefore that Milton, while preferring the anonymous with regard to his "Masque," as a species of composition hardly suited to the earnestness of his nature,—indeed, in later life, he spoke

and wrote, as Todd has pointed out, in somewhat contemptuous terms, of

> ——— "Court amours,
> Mix'd dance, and wanton *mask*,"

yet stood in a more intimate light towards the Egerton family than that of a mere literary worker ready to supply the commodity required at a stipulated price, as has been the custom in all ages of writers of the "Grub Street" order; and this intimacy was, no doubt, as suggested above, due to the fact that the Peer and the Poet were actual neighbours. And this being so, and living, as he must have lived, under the very shadow of Grub Street, what more logical than that John Milton should have been regarded as a Grub Street author, by the city dispensers of street nomenclature? What though his poetry be of a far different stamp from that of those unhappy writers whose lucubrations and whose lives have identified the epithet of "Grub Street" with every thing that is mean or degrading in English literature? Given the determination to re-christen a street utterly divorced from all poetic associations; a street, too, which, as no duplicate of it existed, save one somewhere about Horseferry Road, Westminter, and lo! it is robbed of its identity, and not at all improved in its character, by the imposition upon it of a transformation of name as senseless and mischievous as it was needless. But if a new name was deemed so indispensable by the authorities, whose fiat in such matters no one could dispute, why not have taken that of the only known dweller in the street, whose literary labours have won for him imperishable fame? The name of John Foxe, the martyrologist, a plain-spoken man, who called a spade a spade, and who never dressed his statements in holiday phraseology, might far more fitly have been affixed to the corners of a street that knew him living, and that, like him, was too literal to have ever had any romantic aspirations after the lofty or the sublime. Or there was another plain-spoken Englishman, who was born and who both lived and died in the vicinity, one to whom, doubtless, every alley and *cul de sac*, and every grade of dwellers there-

abouts, were familiar as the sun at noonday, *Daniel Defoe*, "restless Daniel," "unabashed Defoe," as Pope maliciously styles him in the *Dunciad*. No accusing spirit would have arisen from his grave had Grub Street blushed into new life under the shield of his popular patronymic. Anyhow, the name of Milton should have been held too sacred for an alliance with so ill-favoured a thoroughfare. But John Foxe's name would have served best, especially as, in 1735, the Notes and Queries of its day, *The Weekly Oracle*, in reply to the question, "Why is a bad author commonly called a Grub Street author?" suggests that "One very remarkable writer lived there;"—to wit, the aforesaid John Foxe—"and it is very probable the saying might take rise from him, the Papists often calling him by way of contempt the Grub Street author, and his work the Grub Street writings."

Grub Street, topographically speaking, in its best days, could not have been an unpleasant quarter of the town to dwell in. Its upper end opened upon Finsbury fields, and, until the time when archery ceased to be of importance, it was, as Stowe informs us, "inhabited by bowyers, fletchers, bowstring-makers, and such like occupations," which occupations being gone, archery gave "place to a number of bowling-alleys and dicing-houses, which," the honest old chronicler says, "in all places are increased and too much frequented." Dr. Johnson's dictionary-definition is familiar to all but the veriest few: "*Grub Street*, the name of a street in London much inhabited by writers of small histories, *dictionaries*, and temporary poems; whence any mean production is called Grub Street."

The doctor's pompous biographer, Sir John Hawkins, supplies a more ample and a much more jaundiced definition; he tells us that "during the Usurpation a prodigious number of seditious and libellous pamphlets and papers, tending to exasperate the people and increase the confusion in which the nation was involved, were from time to time published. The authors of these were for the most part men whose indigent circumstances compelled them to live in the suburbs and most obscure parts of the town; Grub Street then abounded with mean old houses, which were let out in lodgings, at low rents, to persons of this descrip-

tions, whose occupation was in publishing anonymous treason and slander."

Mr. Peter Cunningham, from whose *Handbook of London* the last quotation has been taken at second-hand, states that "the first use of the term Grub Street, in its present offensive sense, was made by Andrew Marvell," from whose *Rehearsal Transprosed* he gives the following extracts:

"He, honest man, was deep gone in Grub Street and polemical divinity."

"Oh, these are your non-conformist tricks; you have learnt this of the puritans in Grub Street."

"I am told that preparatory to that they had frequent meetings in the city; I know not whether in Grub Street with the divines of the other party."

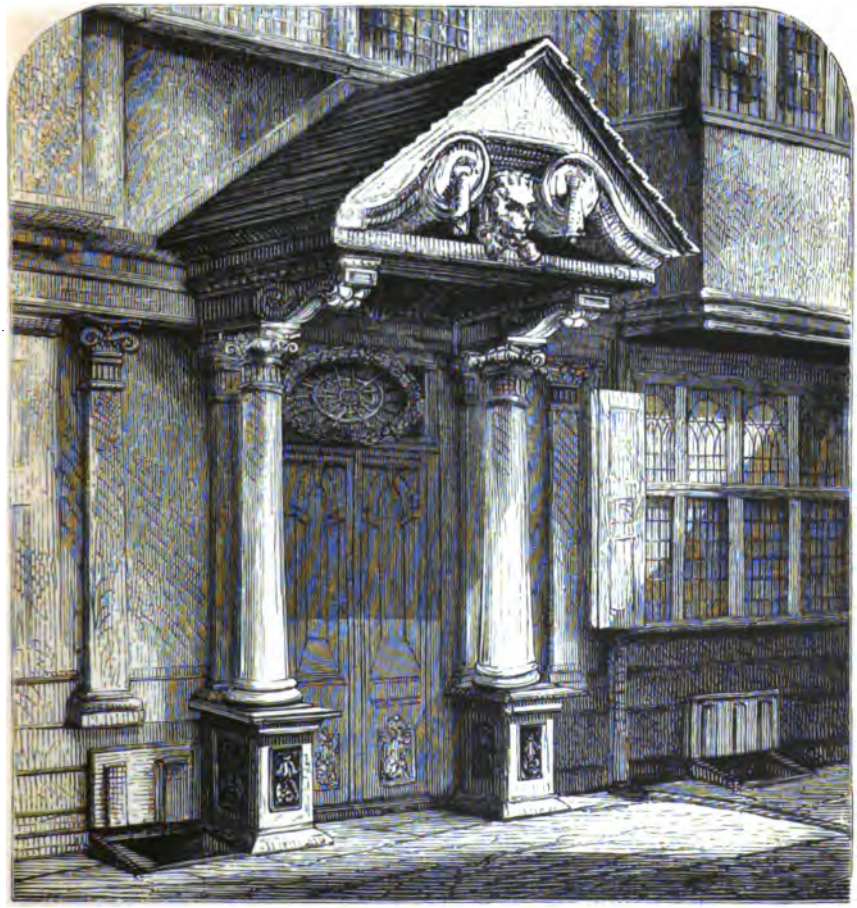
"Mr. Hoole," according to Boswell, "told Johnson he was born in Moorfields, and had received part of his early instruction in Grub Street. 'Sir,' said Johnson, smiling, 'you have been regularly educated.' In pleasant reference to himself and Mr. Hoole, as brother authors, he often said, 'Let you and I, Sir, go together and eat a beefsteak in Grub Street.'"

The character given to this street by Sir John Hawkins, as a street abounding in "mean old houses," applies to it as fully now as at the time when he wrote. The requirements of the Metropolitan Railway have led to the levelling of several of these houses on both sides of the way; but the street still is, if one may use the phrase, "riddled" as of old with courts, blind alleys, and small quadrangles to a surprising extent, some of them intersecting each other in such a way as almost to lead to the question whether they have not been so constructed in order to afford to pickpockets, and other offenders, means of escape from pursuit and capture by the police. Hanover Court, and its interlacing tributaries, will furnish an apt illustration of what is here meant. Yet how must this site have degenerated from its original grandeur if one can accept as truth an inscription on one of its houses, transcribed no longer ago than Saturday, May 11th, 1867: *Gresham House, once the residence of Sir Richard Whittington, Lord Mayor* 1314. *Rebuilt* 1805.

In Mr. Mark Lemon's "Up and down the Streets of London"

will be found a view, from a drawing, made in 1809, of a handsome porch and part of a house then standing in Hanover Court, all traces whereof have for some time since disappeared, but the view furnishes one with a notion of the kind of house in which the wealthy of London were wont to dwell "in the brave days of old," and the author, by the courtesy of the publishers of Mr. Lemon's interesting volume, is happy to be enabled to accompany his paper with an engraving of it.

Another somewhat interesting site, as marking the difference between what it was and what it is, is Haberdashers' Square, on the west side of the street. Maitland, writing well-nigh a hundred years ago, describes this place as "genteel, with new well-built houses; the court," he says, "is square, and inclosed in with palisade pales, except a handsome passage to the houses round about, and in the middle a dial. This court was made out of two old ones, viz. Paviors' Court and Robin Hood Court." Some of the smaller modern suburban squares will furnish us with a tolerable idea of what this "genteel" square originally was. It had its inclosed space, turfed most probably, and in its centre, a then not unusual piece of out-door furniture, a sun-dial; an agreeable outlook, this, for the tenants of its houses, which, no doubt, afforded quiet and economical homes to men who lived by the labour of their brains. Now, in this year of grace 1867, you find the place a squalid quadrangle, no vestige remaining of the inclosure with its "palisade pales." The dial, also, has of course long vanished. Two of its sides still show the "genteel" houses which were "new well-built houses" when Maitland penned his description. They have sloping tiled roofs, with dormer windows in them; a third side would seem, for some reason or other, to have been pulled down and rebuilt some sixty years ago or thereabouts; and these latter houses have an inferior aspect as compared with their older opposite neighbours. The fourth side is formed by the backs of the houses in Grub Street. The quadrangle now is generally ornamented, for the greater part of the week, with parallel lines of washed wearing apparel, hung out to dry, while troops of children make the pent-up area unusually vocal with their "sweet voices;" nor is the organ-grinder long absent from so inviting a playground, the entrance being



PORCH AND PART OF A HOUSE,

FORMERLY STANDING IN HANOVER COURT, GRUB STREET.

too narrow to admit any wheeled carriage drawn by horses. Every room in every house is in all probability the home of a distinct family, and as this is no doubt equally the case with all the houses in all the courts and alleys in this densely populated locality, one can hardly conceive that any author, however humble his attainments, how scanty soever his means, would prefer to follow his vocation in the midst of the sights and sounds of the Grub Street of our day, masked though it be under the more mellifluous appellation of Milton Street.

The only chapter in the "romance of real life" connected with Grub Street, has relation to a certain Henry Welby, who, in the troublous times of the first Charles, to wit, in the year 1636, departed this life at his house in Grub Street, at the age of fourscore years and four, having lived there, "unseene of any," for four and forty years. He was called the hermit of Grub Street; was the possessor of a good estate in Lincolnshire; and the tradition ran that he was thus led to immure himself in his Cripplegate hermitage in consequence of a younger brother having attempted to murder him. His portrait, how taken and whether faithful or not this deponent knoweth not, represents him as a bearded old gentleman, meditating over his book, and is well-known to the collectors of engraved English heads.

Admitting that Grub Street furnished homes to the great bulk of the poorer class of writers, compilers, index-makers, translators, and the like, no reason would seem to exist for jumping to the conclusion that the majority of its author-inhabitants were one whit more immoral or dishonest than their more gifted and more prosperous contemporaries; there was as much need then, comparatively speaking, for steady, plodding, industrious labourers in the field of literature, as there is now; and there being in those benighted times no penny steamboats, twopenny omnibuses, or threepenny railway trains, to whisk a man hither or thither, as necessity or whim may dictate, it was specially needful that literary workers, call them jobbers if you will, should reside almost within ear-shot of their employers. Little Britain, from two centuries to a century and a half ago, was the great emporium for booksellers and publishers; the printers and type-founders

carried on their businesses, as many of the latter do now, hard by—there is still a Type Court in Grub Street. What, consequently, more to the purpose, more business-like, than that the supplyers of the material which printers put into *small pica* and *long primer*, *brevier* and *bourgeois*, and booksellers lived by the sale of, should have their little colony as near to these latter as local convenience would allow? Indeed, all other considerations apart, this way of living was once the universal way: guilds, and fraternities, and congregations of traders in the same line of business, nearly all had their special spots; why not, then, the working bookmakers? And Grub Street being, it may be presumed, an eligible neighbourhood, Grub Street became their abiding place. But, as time wore on, and London continued to stretch forth its ever-lengthening arms over the green fields around it, and facilities of locomotion increased, the more respectable of the Grub Street authors vacated their old residences, until few of their fraternity remained, save the improvident, the self-indulgent, the dependent, and the unprincipled; and thus ultimately Grub Street became synonymous with all that was mean, scandalous, filthy, and libellous, in a word, with the dregs and scum of our literature; till it would seem, in the time of Queen Anne and the first George, no man, no woman, no institution of any mark, able to buy off their slanderers, was safe until he, she, or it had rendered up the black mail demanded, and not always then.

Yet, even then, it may safely be averred, a much larger proportion of the writers obnoxious to the nickname of Grub Street authors were unfortunate rather than criminal, poor in pocket rather than impure in principle, and such an one was he who, further on, will be selected as a type of the Grub Street author of Doctor Johnson's days; and the latter, it will have been observed, with his usual justness of view, in the definition already cited, while he classes "writers of small histories, dictionaries, and temporary poems" under the epithet "Grub Street," bestows not a thought upon the wretches who live by systematic slander, deeming them, and rightly, a miserable minority, entitled to the honour of a connection with literature on no terms whatever. He

knew, in fact, by his own early and bitter experience, the extreme difficulty with which a struggling man of letters, depending upon his pen alone, is enabled to keep to the path of rectitude; in short, he knew that in his own first years in London, when his garments were too shabby to permit of his showing himself in daylight, and when, not always sure of his next day's dinner, he devoured voraciously behind a screen in Cave's office the viands compassionately sent to him from his bookseller-patron's own table, the term Grub Street author was, in its best sense, applicable to no one more truly than to himself; and, hence, he allowed no sneer against Grub Street authors to escape from his pen while compiling that famous dictionary of his.

In the Pope-and-Swift era, literature almost lived upon the smiles of the great, and the patronage of political leaders. A witty pamphlet, or a stinging satire, wherein, rather by ridicule than argument, a statesman was covered with contempt, or dust thrown into the eyes of the nation touching some nefarious project in which it was deemed needful "to make the worse appear the better reason," was sure, if it achieved its object, of a reward out of all proportion to its intrinsic merits.

What writers were more unscrupulous than Pope and Swift, when it suited their purposes to be so? And who more unforgiving? Yet this duumvirate bandied about the term "Grub Street" more freely than any scribblers of their day, while no scribbler of their day was more amenable to the accusation of Grub Street, in its worst sense, than themselves, although Pope did write that severe couplet:—

> Let Budgell charge low Grub Street to my quill,
> And write whate'er he please—except my will.

But, then, they not only moved in high circles, and were courted by men in power; they were also writers of such transcendent ability, that they could royally hold their own against a whole republic of assailants. For all that, however, they roused against themselves such a nest of hornets, and were so unable to shake them off that a continual war was going on between them and their antagonists, and so much dust and so much smoke did the

combat engender, that, as the old epigram has it, "none could tell which party had the day."

Then was it, however, that "Grub Street," as a power in the state of literature, engrossed universal attention; Dunciads and anti-Dunciads smothered all contemporary effusions upon the counters of the booksellers, and anarchy for a while convulsed the literary world.

Still, as Swift took up the cudgels more on behalf of his friend Pope than as a personal matter, he could look with a more unbiassed eye at what was going on, and accordingly in his pages we get glimpses which his wasp-like little associate never affords to us.

The sardonic Dean sometimes pretended to take the Grub Street pen-wrights under his protection. In the introduction to the "Tale of a Tub" he tells his readers, that "the productions of the Grub Street brotherhood have of late fallen under many prejudices: it has been the perpetual employment of two junior start-up societies to ridicule them and their authors as unworthy their established post in the commonwealth of wit and learning. Their own consciences will easily inform them whom I mean; nor has the world been so negligent a looker-on, as not to observe the continual efforts made by the societies of Gresham and of Will's to edify a name and reputation upon the ruin of OURS," constituting himself a Grub Street author for the nonce, for the sake of a side blow at the Royal Society, which then held its meetings at Gresham College, and at which he seems to have been as fond of poking his fun as was Hudibras-Butler before him; while his allusion to the Society of Will's applies, of course, to the gatherings of the more prosperous brothers of the pen who in his day made that celebrated coffee-house their usual rendezvous.

We have a reference in another place (in one of his letters to Stella) to the probable results upon the small fry of literature of the halfpenny tax at that time, *id est* the early part of the year 1712, about to be imposed upon the daily, weekly, and other fugitive pamphlets and broadsheets wherewith the town was then inundated, and wherein writers of high character, low character,

and no character were wont, either from party or patriotic motives, or hopes of place or pay, to give utterance to their views on the great political questions, or social or moral topics, of the day; and under the weight of which halfpenny tax, in common with others of lesser note, the most eminent and kindliest censor of the times the world ever saw, the *Spectator*, sunk in less than a year; an attempt made to resuscitate it, some eighteen months later, resulting in a half-year's brief existence only. "Grub Street," he says, "has but ten days to live; then an Act of Parliament takes place that ruins it, by taxing every half-sheet a halfpenny."

In 1726 Grub Street is still a fertile theme for the Dean's exercitations. This time a curiously parsimonious habit of his friend Pope falls under his satiric lash. In some verses, which he styles *Advice to the Grub Street Verse Writers*, he thus addresses them:—

I know a trick to make you thrive;
  O, 'tis a quaint device:
Your stillborn poems shall survive,
  And scorn to wrap up spice.

Get all your verses printed fair,
  Then let them well be dried;
And Curll must have a special care
  To leave the margin wide.

Lend these to paper-sparing Pope,
  And when he sits to write,
No letter with an envelope
  Could give him more delight.

When Pope has filled the margin round,
  Why then recall your loan;
Sell them to Curll for 50 pound,
  And swear they are your own!

Whoever has seen those parts of Pope's manuscript translation of Homer, preserved in the British Museum, written as they are upon the backs of old letters and other odd scraps of writing paper, will at once see the point of Swift's good-humoured fling at the poet's singular habit.

It would seem that the great purveyor of what may more properly be styled Grub Street literary ware, in the Pope-and-Swift days, was the notorious Edmund Curll, and although there is some reason for believing that Pope, when he was inclined to mystify the world occasionally, and, for reasons known to himself, to draw attention, obliquely, to his own name, actually made use of Curll, yet both he and Swift were never tired of pouring upon Curll's devoted head the vials of their wrathful wit. But they raked the dunghills for epithets to bestow upon their butt; and so rank and gross is the filth with which they enveloped him, that no one even now can touch the subject without soiling his fingers. There yet remain some two or three of these flings at Curll and his way of business which may still be perused without a blush; as for instance in these

"Instructions to a Porter how to find Mr. Curll's Authors:—

"At a Tallow Chandler's in Petty France, half-way under the blind arch, ask for the Historian.

"At the Bedstead and Bolster, a musick-house in Moor fields, two Translators in a bed together.

"At the Hercules and Still in Vinegar Yard, a Schoolmaster with carbuncles on his nose.

"At a Blacksmith's shop in the Friers, a Pindaric writer in red stockings.

"In the Calendar room at Exeter Change, a Composer of Meditations.

"At the Three Tobacco Pipes in Dog and Bitch Yard, one that has been a Parson; he wears a blue camblet cloak trimmed with black; my best writer against revealed religion.

"At Mr. Summers, a thief catcher's in Lewkner's Lane, the man that wrote against Mr. Rowe's Plays.

"At the Farthing Pye House in Tooting [Tothill] fields, the young man who is writing my new Pastorals.

"At the laundress's at the Hole in the Wall in Cursitor's Alley, up three pair of stairs, the author of my Church History; you may also speak to the gentleman who lies by him in the flock bed, my Index Maker.

"The Cook's wife in Buckingham Court; bid her bring along with her the similes, that were lent her for her next new play.

"Call at Budge Row for the gentleman you used to go to in the Cock loft; I have taken away the ladder, but his landlady has it in her keeping.

"I dont care if your ask at the Mint [in Southwark,] for the old beetle-browed Critic, and the purblind Poet at the Alley over against St. Andrew's Holborn. But this as you have time."

Of course, many of these allusions, or they would have had no point, had reference to then living writers. For instance, "the Cook's wife in Buckingham Court" was Mrs. Centlivre, the writer of several sparkling Comedies, some of which still keep possession of the stage, and whose husband was Yeoman of the Mouth to George I. She is said to have written "a ballad against Pope's Homer before he began it."

This Curll must have been an arrant knave, a disgrace to the honorable calling of a publisher, and few but the outcasts of the author-craft can have had dealings with him. It was his fate to be exposed in the pillory for his scandalous publications. And for printing, in false Latin, a pirated edition of an Oration on Dr. South, the Westminster schoolboys inveigled him to their school-ground, and there tossed him, to more than his heart's content, in a blanket.

There was a *Grub Street Society* and a *Grub Street Journal*. Of the Grub Street Society little, if anything positive, is known. That it was not composed of Grub Street authors may fairly be assumed. *The Grub Street Journal* was certainly not conducted by Grub Street authors properly so called. Pope is asserted to have had a hand in it; and Mr. Crossley (of Manchester) the envied possessor of a copy of it, gives it a very high character. He tells us (*Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. vol. vii. p. 383) that, "whether Pope wrote in it or not, it seems to have been used as a vehicle by his friends for their attacks upon his foes, and the war against the Dunces is carried on with great wit and spirit in its pages. It is by far the most entertaining of the old newspapers, and throws no small light upon the literary history of the time." Whoever has the earliest volumes of *The Gentleman's Magazine* at hand, will find

in that valuable miscellany a regular series of extracts from *The Grub Street Journal*, wherein Mr. Crossley's eulogium upon it will be seen to be pretty well borne out.

Let no one fancy that, because he finds a name gibbeted in the *Dunciad*, its owner deserves to be "damned to everlasting fame." No! In that wonderful satire, perhaps at once the most brilliant and the most malicious composition of its kind ever written, the lash is laid alike upon the writer who has suffered for conscience' sake and upon him who has no conscience at all; upon the author whose worst crime it was to be a feeble wielder of his only weapon the pen, and upon the more masculine one, whose hand was as ready at the rapier as at the writing-desk. One of the latter sort, Ambrose Philips, knowing how sickly a pigmy his angry assailant was, contented himself with hanging up at Button's Coffee-house a rod, with a threat inscribed beneath it, to the effect that the first time he met Mr. Pope there he would chastise him with that instrument of schoolboy torture.

Of the readable productions, "temporary poems," as the good old doctor styles them, "of the Grub Street class," a very fair opinion may be formed by consulting the first fifty or sixty volumes of *The Gentleman's Magazine;* the taste of the days when Sylvanus Urban was a thought or two less precise than in these prim times. There were also two or three other monthly periodicals, which the success of our old friend Sylvanus called into being. One was *The London Magazine*, which was ably conducted, and ran side by side for a good many years with Cave's popular miscellany. Another, called *The Town and Country Magazine*, was the depository of all the scandal of the passing hour, and in that serial, if any where, may be found samples of as "loud" Grub Street as, with the aid of asterisks, dashes, initials, and inuendoes, any printer with the terrors of the law before his eyes would dare to print.

As to the Grub Street writer himself, his habitat and his domestic surroundings, it may be questioned if any written description could ever hope to approach the masterly *tableau vivant* left to us by Hogarth in his well-known engraving of "The Distressed Poet." Indeed the more one studies any of the

works of that great pictorial teacher, the more one is struck with his inimitable excellences in the delineation of his stories. Not only do his men and women intelligibly tell their tale, but every cat, dog, bird, or insect that he introduces is a more or less important contributor to the story; nay, the furniture and accessories are frequently among the most essential of its interpreters, and not, as is the case with the ruck of so-called artists, merely flung in to fill up what would otherwise be vacant spaces on the canvas.

Take the picture to which attention here is called. Look at the poor versifier himself, sitting on the lower end of his truckle-bed, fruitlessly racking his brain for a simile or a rhyme, for that he is at best but a mere versifier is evidenced by that rhymester's *vade-mecum* lying by his elbow, Bysshe's "Art of Poetry." The subject of his poem is *Riches*, and this idea is further played upon by the painter in the tattered map of the gold mines of Peru, wafered on the wall behind his poverty-stricken hero. Then, as a contrast to the golden dreams of the rapt scribe, look at the stern realities surrounding him. Here we behold an irate milk-woman pointing to her long score, and almost audibly screaming into the ear of that pretty woman, his patient wife, that that long account must be liquidated ere any more dairy produce passes into their garret; for that the poet's abode is a garret its sloping roof alone sufficiently testifies. The poor fellow's wardrobe, ah! what scantiness of possessions in that direction is revealed by the fact that, while he covers his nether limbs with his long skirted gown, his wife is busied darning and patching his one pair of breeches; and that there are no victuals in their cupboard is shown by the open door of that receptacle, and the vain researches of the one mouse engaged in a resultless exploration of its corners and crevices. Nor must we omit to notice a painful addition to his miseries, in the person of a crying baby, lying on the pillow in his rear. Still, thanks chiefly to the never-ceasing care of his wife, who, as we see, keeps his garments, as far as she can, in presentable order, our author, when he walks abroad, goes as a gentleman; for that he wears a sword, we are reminded by one of those then indispensable appendages to a gentleman's costume

lying on the floor, whereon also lies his laced coat, of which pussy and her two not over-plump kittens hold for the moment undisputed possession. Add to this, that, partly absorbed by her sartorial difficulties, and yet more bewildered by the scolding milk-woman's threats, the poor wife fails to perceive that a gaunt dog is helping himself to a bone on a plate, conveniently enough for his purposes placed on a chair, but which, it may be depended on, was destined to still another picking before its consignment to his "vile uses," and our description of this admirable picture need be continued no further. Yet, protesting against the enormity, and in the same breath thanking him for that he has, in this portraiture of "The Distressed Poet," handed down to us the only known likeness of that much-abused man of letters, Lewis Theobald, the Shakespearian commentator, the original monarch assigned by Pope, in his *Dunciad*, to the vacant throne of Dulness; his only offence, a great one it is true, being that he had produced a better edition of Shakespeare than that of Pope, who shall say that, painted fable though it be, Hogarth could not easily have found its living literal parallel?

In the year of grace 1740, the very year in which Hogarth published his print, transcribed upon the copper by his own hand, of the picture just described, Samuel Boyse, then recently settled in London, having fled thither from the too pressing claims of his Edinburgh creditors, published a poem entitled "The Deity," a poem on which two critics, as opposite in their writings and their lives as could well be, namely, James Hervey, author of "Meditations among the Tombs," and Henry Fielding, author of "Tom Jones," set the seal of their warmest approbation; while Pope, it is said, a marvellous admission for him, declared that there were lines in it which he should not be ashamed to have written. It might have been augured that a writer so gifted as this young man must have been would have experienced very little difficulty in making good his stand upon the literary platform; yet what was his career from first to last but a comment, as apt as it was terribly true, upon the painter's pictured satire? According to his biographers Samuel Boyse, the son of the Rev. Joseph Boyse, a dissenting minister, settled

in Ireland, eminent for talent, benevolence, and piety, was born in 1708, sent to school in Dublin, and from thence, at 18 years of age, transferred to the University of Glasgow. His father possibly intended him for his own vocation. But, whatever the paternal plans, they were frustrated by the improvidence of the young collegian, who, ere he had reached his twentieth year, fell incontinently in love with and married a young Scotswoman, the daughter of a Glasgow shopkeeper. This marriage of course took place without the cognisance of the parents of either bride-groom or bride, and the father of the latter evinced his sense of the step she had taken without his advice by refusing—perhaps he was unable to afford—to her any assistance; and as the youthful husband, who had already become extravagant in his habits, now, from the natural increase of his expenses, stood absolutely in need of help, his longer stay at the Scottish University became impracticable; and he therefore returned to Dublin, accompanied not only by his wife, but also by a sister of hers, between herself and whom so strong an attachment subsisted that they refused to be parted.

So the young couple and the wife's sister were quartered upon a poor dissenting minister, who, scanty as was his income, gave a home to them; hoping, of course, that his son would do his utmost to get into some line of life whereby he might at least contribute to lighten the heavy burden he had thus laid upon a too-indulgent father. But, instead of so endeavouring, he wofully wasted his time in idleness and dissipation, and it has been asserted that his wife drifted into an infamous course also; and, although some warrant may exist for charging each of them with misconduct of no light character, yet it is but bare justice, both to the memory of a man against whom so many charges of bad behaviour can be sustained, and of a woman whose conduct later in life was such as to afford no ground, even under the severest privations, and neglected as she was by her husband, that she had in those early married days of hers not forfeited the confidences which her husband's most exemplary father reposed in her during the year or two that he survived their marriage. "She was for years the willing partaker of all her husband's poverty and wretchedness, although he is represented to have

been so devoid of humanity as often to spend his last half-guinea on a tavern dinner, which he devoured in solitary gluttony, while his wife and children were starving at home."

Boyse lost his good father in 1728. He inherited nothing. Indeed, his father died in very involved circumstances, whereof his thriftless heir was no doubt the cause.

In 1730 he removed to Edinburgh, where his poetic talents procured for him the friendship of Lords Stair, Tweeddale, and Stormont (the last the elder brother of the subsequently so famous Lord Mansfield), and also of Lady Eglinton; and there can be little doubt that he not only profited temporarily by their patronage, but that, had he exhibited anything like regularity of conduct and steadiness of purpose, a permanent source of income would have been the result of the interest taken in him by these several noble and influential personages. As a sample of the hide-and-seek sort of life which, at this very time, he was leading, it may be mentioned that an elegy which he wrote on the occasion of Lady Stormont's death, entitled "The Tears of the Muses," was so gratifying to Lord Stormont, in his then freshly-bereaved state, that he ordered his solicitor at Edinburgh to make a handsome present to the author. But it would seem that the elegy was to be found more easily than its author or his residence, and the only way in which the solicitor was enabled to discover Boyse, and bestow upon him the wifeless peer's bounty, was by inviting him to his office through the medium of an advertisement in an Edinburgh newspaper. Boyse, it was evident, was ill at ease, save in the society of the tap-room and the slums; and he, who could write with elegance and scholarly precision, too readily fell into a degraded way of living, "from which," as has been truly said, "genius ought to be protected by a proud consciousness of its own inherent worth." Now was the golden opportunity, for which so many aspirants have sighed, within his grasp, had he chosen to seize upon it. The Duchess of Gordon, on the representations of some of his noble patrons already named, was induced to exert her interest in his favour; her tastes were literary, she was pleased with his talents, and she determined to provide for him. She procured the promise of a

place for him, and he was accordingly provided by her with a letter to a Scottish Commissioner of Customs, which he was charged to deliver on the following day. But our wayward child of genius lived some distance from Edinburgh, the day was a rainy one, so he postponed the delivery of a letter so fraught with good fortune to himself; and, having allowed one day thus to pass over, he allowed another, and another, and yet another to pass over in like manner: in fine, the commissioner having waited as long as he decently could, and possibly having some other aristocratic friend whom he was as willing to serve as her Grace of Gordon, and whose protegé, doubtless, was made of more energetic stuff than dilatory Samuel Boyse, the post was filled up, and the poet slunk back into those obscure shades wherein it would seem he preferred to dwell.

Throwing thus his chances away, and finding, as before hinted, Edinburgh too hot to hold him, his Scottish well-wishers, still more kind to him than he himself was, furnished him with letters of introduction to Lord Chancellor King, Solicitor-General Murray, and to their great poetical arbiter Alexander Pope.

He is stated to have once called on Pope, but, the Twickenham recluse being absent from home, he never repeated his visit: no advantage therefore did he derive from his letter of introduction to him. And to no greater account could he turn his interview with the future Lord Chief Justice of England, to whom he did obtain admission; but Solicitor-General Murray was a sufficiently keen reader of men's faces to feel assured, by a glance at Boyse's physiognomy, that any patronage bestowed upon such a scapegrace of the Muses would reflect no great credit upon the sagacity of the patron.

In the great living sepulchre of London, then, behold him settled as a hack-writer, relying on his pen as his sole means of subsistence. His poem of "The Deity," in all probability, became the absolute property of its publisher as soon as it was ready for the press; and, no doubt, at no higher a price than an author in immediate need of a few pounds, or a few shillings, would be likely to obtain; and so, although two editions were sold in his lifetime, it can hardly have yielded much solid gain to him

after it was once published. But it is a poem containing many harmonious lines, and some beautiful imagery; and it was addressed to a class of readers, who, more than any others perhaps, are disposed to take cordially by the hand any successful cultivator of that kind of poetry in which they chiefly or solely take delight. Whether any pecuniary help ever reached him from the leaders of any of the various religious sects, to whom this poem would have been peculiarly acceptable, is not known. Certain, however, may we feel that, had any such help been accorded to him, Boyse's conduct would soon have alienated from him the devout and decorous people who might have been willing to befriend him.

Of one fact at least may we feel satisfied, namely, that from this period to the end of his days, his condition was one of the most abject that a sensitive mind can picture to itself. Curious evidence exists of this. "It seems," says one of his biographers, "that before the poem of 'The Deity' was regularly published, he sent copies of it to persons of note, in the hope of obtaining donations. Sir Hans Sloane was one of those to whom he applied; and in the British Museum there is a letter extant in which he returns a shilling to Sir Hans, it not being a good one, a melancholy proof how he was reduced." Melancholy indeed! Ten years before he died his habit of living was such as to be hardly creditable, did we not know to what straights humanity can bring itself, and yet be content to live. "He had not," says another of his biographers, "a shirt, a coat, or any kind of apparel to put on. The sheets in which he lay were carried to the pawnbroker's, and he was obliged to be confined to bed, with no other covering than a blanket. He had little support but what he got by writing letters to his friends in the most abject style. In this way he passed six weeks, writing, in addition to the begging-letters above alluded to, occasional verses for the magazines, and whoever had seen him in his study, must have thought the object singular enough. He sat up in bed with the blanket wrapt about him, through which he had cut a hole large enough to admit his arm, and placing the paper upon his knee, scribbled in the best manner he could the verses he was obliged to make;

whatever he got by those, or any of his begging letters, was but just sufficient for the preservation of life." From this six weeks' self-imposed imprisonment, he was it seems relieved by a "compassionate gentleman," who, hearing of his destitute condition, redeemed his clothes from pawn, and enabled him to appear abroad again. This "compassionate gentleman" is said to have been none other than Dr. Johnson, who assuredly did him that kindness on one occasion. "The sum," said he to Boswell, "was collected in sixpences, at a time when sixpence to me was a serious object."

But these experiences, bitter though they were, did not serve to induce more provident habits in Boyse. Want and its concomitants were so familiar to him, that, whatever his privations, he had recourse to shifts, which enabled him in some sort to put up with them. It was no uncommon thing for his one shirt to be as frequently at the pawn-shop as on his back. In his shirtless intervals, by the help of a pair of scissors and a slip or two of white paper, he would improvise a pair of wristbands and a collar; and the absence of nether garments was so little felt, that he was as often to be seen in the streets without them as with them. And once, having occasion to pay a hurried visit to a printer, he was seen rushing through the streets with no other covering than his coat, to the manifest dismay of some women who saw him in that ludicrous plight.

His stratagems for raising money seem to have kept pace with his necessities. He had long tired out and driven away the friends he once had among the Dissenters, whose regard for his father's memory, both as a good man and an eminent preacher among them, had time after time induced them to contribute towards the relief of his prodigal son; he would direct his wife to write to benevolent people, informing them that he was just expiring, and by this artifice he worked upon their compassion, and then surprised them by appearing the next day in public in his usual health. The trick of obtaining subscriptions to intended publications was of course resorted to, at the expense of those patrons of literature who were generous enough or credulous enough to put faith in his proposals.

In 1745 he lost his wife, who thus for well-nigh twenty years had borne with his neglect and waywardness of conduct, sharing and alleviating his distresses as only a devoted partner can. This event happened at Reading. He was of course in no condition to afford mourning habiliments, but he decked his pet lap-dog, which he always carried about with him in his arms, with a black ribbon upon the occasion. Nor let it be inferred from this that he was careless about the memory of his wife; that he was attached to her as much as any husband, so weakly given to self-indulgence as he was, could be is beyond doubt.

His employment during his residence at Reading was the compilation, in two volumes, of an "Historical Review of the Transactions of Europe from 1739 to 1745," for which work, and it has been described as a very creditable performance, he was paid at the munificent rate of half-a-guinea per week.

On his return to London his conduct became more regular, and hopes were entertained that a reformation would be wrought upon him. In 1748 he married a second wife, a native of Dublin, and a cutler's widow, of whom one of his biographers speaks somewhat sneeringly as "a woman in low circumstances, but well enough adapted to his taste;" "but who," as another of them more judiciously notes, "proved to be a tender-hearted and faithful companion."

Then he began to abstain from the drinking of fermented liquors, and became more decent in his appearance. The booksellers knew his capabilities, and he no doubt would have obtained constant employment, but his last hour was not far off. He was barbarously assaulted and robbed by some soldiers; and an attack of consumption, aggravated, if not caused, by this brutal treatment, under which he lingered for several months, at length ended in his death, in May 1749. He is believed to have died, with his pen in his hand, in obscure lodgings near Shoe Lane, and to have been buried at the expense of the parish.

Visitation Mandate from Archbishop Boniface to the Dean & Chapter of S. Paul's 1253

Vincent Brooks Day & Son Lith

NOTICE OF A VISITATION MANDATE FROM ARCHBISHOP BONIFACE TO THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF S. PAUL'S.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.R.S.L., F.S.A., ETC.
VICE-PRESIDENT.

ALTHOUGH the life of Archbishop Boniface has already been written with a degree of minuteness sufficient to make even an outline of it unnecessary, a particular account of one of its most curious episodes will be desirable to introduce to the reader the very interesting document, a fac-simile of which is now before him.

Boniface, son of Thomas, Count of Savoy, and uncle of four queens, among whom was Eleanor, wife of our Henry III. occupied the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury from 1245 to 1270. He obtained the primacy through the influence of his family connections, and at a time when England was prejudiced against foreigners in general, and his countrymen in particular. There was nothing, unhappily, in either the antecedents or the temper of the new archbishop to make him popular with those over whom he was to rule. With a fondness for military pomp, and a haughtiness of manner described as insufferable, he appeared to consider the English as fit subjects for outrageous demands, and as a flock which might be fleeced with impunity whenever the needs or wishes of the spoiler made such a course expedient or agreeable. Not but that he had on his part most righteous cause of complaint. The onerous taxations which had been made, during the vacancy before his consecration, on the manors of the archbishopric had impoverished the estates and involved the see in a debt of upwards of twenty-two thousand marcs. The primate's difficulties were great, the demands on him enormous, and he had nothing to satisfy their imperious claims. As his needs were extraordinary, it appeared to him that extraordinary also might be his mode of removing them. He contended,

accordingly, that he had a right as metropolitan to levy contributions from the whole of his province, and claimed the first fruits of all benefices for the seven years next ensuing. And even this, much as it was, was not all. He endeavoured to compel his clergy to pay heavy procurations and fees for visitation. And what appeared to add to the injustice of the claim was the patent fact that he had held no visitations for which such dues were demanded—an anticipation of certain modern examples of a dignitary's requiring payment for work *not* done with which we ourselves are not entirely unfamiliar. It was clearly an attempt to extort by diverting a constitutional right to his own private purposes. Such at least was its aspect in the eyes of his suffragans, who immediately took measures to resist the aggression.

The archbishop was abroad, occupied with military pageants and the tactics of continental politics, while these schemes were in process of maturing. He was not, however, so wholly engrossed by his pleasures or his family interests as to fail either to realise his position in England, or to decide on the course by which he might bring to acquiescence his rebellious subordinates. Feeling that his presence was urgently required at home, he left the gay scenes which had so many and delightful charms for him, and soon found himself in the thick of another conflict, forced upon him, as he maintained, against his will, and to which he was reduced by the injustice, prodigality, and avarice of others.

Matters were at this pass, when, in order to remove the main force of the alleged objections, the primate announced, on his enthronement at Canterbury on All Saints' Day, 1249, his intention of holding a general visitation in person. Boniface was not a man to go thus far and no farther. He immediately proceeded to put his declaration in practice by visiting his own cathedral. The monks soon found that they were powerless against their diocesan, and prudently made peace in the way of all else that their visitor desired. They thus at one and the same time acted in agreement with the solemn dictate of their own consciences, and pleased the superior who was so kind as to relieve them from severer measures by graciously accepting a fine. From thence he proceeded to Feversham, where his requirements

were acceded to forthwith. Rochester followed with a similar result.

The London visitation then commenced. Notice was first given to the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's that the primate was about to honour them with his presence as their visitor. But here in London he was not to have his way quite so easily as he had had in his own diocese. The clergy of the metropolitan cathedral were determined to oppose him to the last. And indeed it must be admitted that their treatment of him was more than enough to provoke a temper far more placable than that wherewith the Savoyard primate was gifted. He was met by the dean, Henry of Cornhill, together with his chapter, at the great west door of the church. But it was only to be informed that they resisted his visitation, and appealed to the Pope against his demands. He then ordered his people to force their way into the cathedral. But on their entrance they found it empty. Every observance that could signify a reception of him in his asserted character of their visitor was studiously omitted. No organ sounded, no priests advanced to meet him, no bells welcomed his arrival. The choir and chapter-house towards which he next proceeded were closed against his entrance. He retired in high displeasure, and avenged his outraged dignity by issuing against the dean and canons a sentence of excommunication.

The night that followed this mortifying repulse brought neither peace nor placability to the mind of Boniface. But he was not to be daunted. With a view of protecting himself from the casualties to which his known unpopularity might expose him, he took the unseemly precaution of wearing armour under his sacred vestments, and in this array proceeded to visit the Canons of the Priory of S. Bartholomew. At first all seemed to promise success. The prior of the house was from home, but the sub-prior was ready to receive him, clad in a magnificent cope, and accompanied by his convent, also splendidly attired in similar though less splendid vestments, in solemn procession, and with a multitude of lighted tapers, while the sweet and sonorous bells of the priory pealed forth their welcome to the primate of all England. These compliments, however, were all but lost upon Boniface.

He had come, he said, to visit the canons. Those ecclesiastics were now assembled in the choir—the place, be it remembered, not of visitation, but of divine service, which was now, spite of tumult and pressure, about to commence. The archbishop understood in a moment the line of tactics arranged by his new opponents, which only differed from that of the previous day in being more aggravating and calculated to inflame. If, however, a doubt remained of their intentions, it was removed by one of the canons themselves, who formally returned answer that they had a bishop at once skilful and diligent, whose office it was to visit them when necessary, and that they neither would nor ought, in apparent contempt of that officer, to be visited by any other. Boniface could endure no more. He rushed on the sub-prior, as that worthy man was standing in the middle of the church, and dealt him a blow with his fist, first on his aged breast—the chronicler exhausts his epithets in his horror at the offence—then on his venerable face, then on his hoary head, repeating the process again and again, shouting out that English traitors deserved no other and better treatment, and demanding in his madness, with the addition of sundry expletives which the historian professes his inability to place before the polite eyes of his readers, that his sword should be brought to him immediately. The tumult still increased. The canons endeavoured to rescue their sub-prior from the violent hands of his persecutor, while, to complete the sum of his offending, the archbishop rent the magnificent cope already mentioned, which was evidently so valued an ornament of the conventual vestry, and tore off the morse, rich with gold, silver, and jewels, with which it was fastened. The splendid clasp was trodden under foot and lost in the melée, while the "most noble" cope itself was trampled on, torn, and irreparably injured. Neither yet was the Savoyard appeased. Pushing the sub-prior backwards against a projecting bar which divided two of the stalls, and was made for the base of a pulpit, he so crushed that aged ecclesiastic that the internal injuries inflicted were a source of misery to him for the remainder of his life. The bystanders at length interfered, and rescued, although with considerable difficulty and from the jaws of death, the un-

happy sub-prior. As they thrust away the oppressor from his victim he staggered backwards, and, with his robes disarranged and turned aside, exhibited the shameful spectacle of an archbishop in armour. The multitude was struck with horror at the sight. It was quite clear, they said, that he had come thither not to visit or to correct irregularities, but rather to excite a battle. While this was proceeding his followers and fellow-countrymen attacked the rest of the canons, who, as men of peace, unarmed and unprepared, were unable to resist. In this work of outrage, striking, wounding, throwing down, and trampling on many of them, they did but obey their master's orders, and followed his example.*

These proceedings were followed by an immediate appeal to the bishop, who referred the petitioners to the King at Westminster. Four of the canons proceeded to the Court, but the King declined to receive them or listen to their complaint, and they returned in great trouble and perplexity to their church. The Londoners, however, were disposed to treat the affair in a very different manner. They proposed to ring the alarm-bell, and threatened the primate, whatever might betide, with instant death. They rushed in crowds in hot pursuit of him, determined to revenge the wrongs of their clergy by tearing their persecutor limb from limb, as he was retreating by water to his palace at Lambeth, where he could repose in safety, and devise other and more successful schemes.†

The archbishop, however, soon discovered that these and similar proceedings could have but one and that a disadvantageous result. He calculated wisely that oppression would elicit opposition, and that the wide-spread disaffection which he perceived to exist on every side, and of which he heard some alarming rumours borne to him by "a bird in the air" from various quarters, would soon be too powerful for successful resistance. His suffragans had met at Dunstable, urged as it would appear by the remonstrance of the Bishop of London in reference to the proceedings just narrated, and four thousand marcs had been sub-

* Matt. Paris, Hist. Maj. ed. Wats, fol. Par. M DC.XLIV. pp. 522, 523.

† Matt. Paris, p. 523.

scribed as a sort of defence fund against the primate and his aggressions. The clergy at large were moving in the same direction, and taxing themselves to supply the necessary cost of an appeal. The archbishop was a man of far greater ability and knowledge of mankind than it has been the fashion to suppose. He was perfectly aware of the importance of the situation, and the momentous nature of the issue before him. He forthwith made up his mind and chose his line, a line which secured to him all that was possible, while it resigned, if resignation it could be called, what was untenable and impracticable. He bent to the storm, suspended his visitation, admitted that he had been inconsiderate if not in error, and entered into various stipulations for the prevention of similar excesses for the time to come.

Nor was it left to the good feeling or the prudence of Boniface alone. In a while the Curia Romana interfered to put the practice of visitation on a better and more equitable foundation. Both parties had rights in the matter, and those rights were carefully considered and wisely adjusted. It was ordered on the one hand that an archbishop or prelate to whom the right of visitation belonged should hold such visitation in a due and proper manner; and on the other that the clergy visited should not be aggrieved by excessive procurations, but that the cost of each visitation should be limited and taxed according to a regular and exactly defined scale.*

In the year 1253 the primate made his second visitation, and this introduces us to the immediate subject of my present communication. He appears to have taken the same order as before, visiting in succession the houses of Feversham and Rochester, and then the Canons of S. Paul's and others in London. The scene, however, was widely different from that presented on the former occasion. "Propter moderationem," says Matthew Paris, "admissus est benignè. Et hæc cautè fecit, ut scilicet sic visitandi haberet ingressum et possessionem."† His former troubles had at least added to his quality of prudence, even if they had not entirely removed the spirit of earlier and less gracious days.

* Matt. Paris, p. 577.

† Matt. Par. p. 581.

The fac-simile here given is that of the archbishop's original mandate of visitation to the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's. It reads thus:—

"Bonefacius miſacione diuina Cantuarieñ Archeps tocius Anglie ꝑmas. Decano ⁊ Capło ecclie Sc̃i Pauli Londiniar' salm̃ ⁊ scinc̃am in dño caritatem. Cum die iouis ꝑxima ante festum ꝺe marie magdalene: ad eccl̃iam urām dante dño accedere ꝓponamus: ut uisitacōnis officiū ex⁹ceamus ibidem: disc̃cioni vr̃e tenore ꝑsenciū mandamus, quatinus noꝺ dc̃a die in ꝓcuracōne ratione uisitac̃ōis debita ꝓuidere curetis. Valt̃ in dño. Dat̃ apud Lamhee die tⁿslōis ꝺi bn̄dc̃i Abbatis. anno. dñi. M°.C°C°.L° t⁹cio."

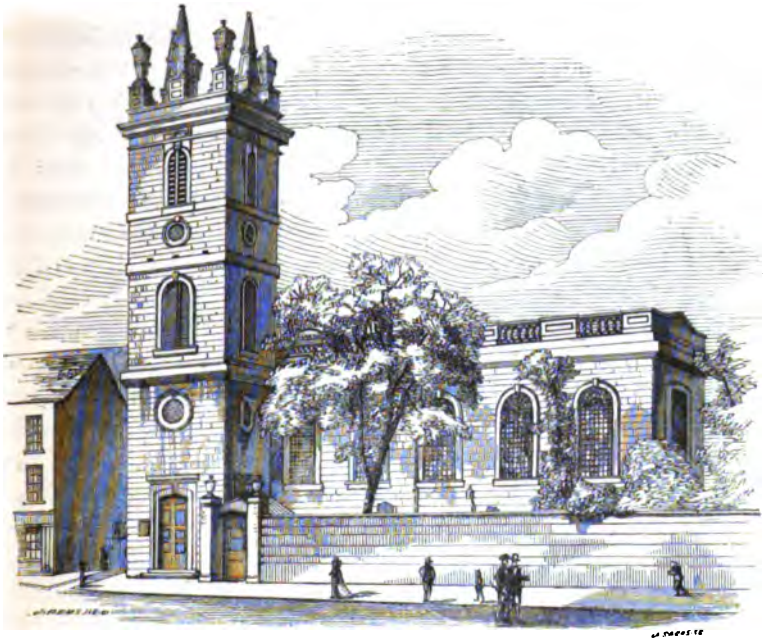
Or thus, literally, in English:—

"Boniface, by divine compassion Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, to the Dean and Chapter of the Church of S. Paul of London, greeting, and sincere charity in the Lord. Whereas on the Thursday next before the feast of the Blessed Mary Magdalene [17th July] to your church, the Lord granting, we propose to come, that we may exercise the office of visitation there, we by the tenor of the presents do commit to your discretion, that for us, on the said day, in procuration due by reason of visitation ye take care to provide. Farewell in the Lord. Given at Lambeth, on the day of the Translation of the Blessed Benedict, Abbat [11th July], in the year of the Lord one thousand two hundred and fifty-third."

A fragment of the seal of green wax is annexed, containing a part of the figure of the archbishop *in pontificalibus*. The legend has, and apparently long since, perished.

The document must of course have had a place among the archives of the dean and chapter, and was probably taken from the records belonging to that body in one of those troublous eras during which the muniments of S. Paul's have repeatedly been endangered. I know nothing, however, of the perils through which it may have passed, and can only state that it was purchased by me of a well-known London dealer in the autumn of last year. Notwithstanding the obscurity of its antecedents, of its genuineness and authenticity there cannot be the shadow of a doubt.

I have only to add that the Messrs. Brooks and Day have done their work in a most creditable manner, and that I feel much pleasure in presenting my readers with as accurate a copy as art can make of a document, which, as well from its connection with the vexed question of visitation as for other and very suggestive reasons, may be considered of nothing less than historical importance in the annals of the Church of England.



THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY SOMERSET, UPPER THAMES STREET.

BY THOMAS MILBOURN, ARCHITECT.

[Read at an Evening Meeting of the Society, 10th February, 1868.]

In consequence of the approaching demolition of the church of St. Mary Somerset, Upper Thames Street, in the ward of Queenhithe, it becomes especially desirable to place upon record a few memorials of its past history, a description of the building now shortly to disappear, and a brief account of the several charitable bequests connected with the church and parish.

This church is situate on the north side of Upper Thames Street, at the corner of Old Fish Street Hill, and opposite Broken Wharf. It is dedicated to the blessed Virgin, with the additional title of Somerset, from its near proximity to a small port or haven, in olden time called Summer's Het or Hithe, resembling that of Queenhithe.

The parish is a rectory, and a peculiar of the archdeacon. The church must be of very early foundation, but the earliest record of it I am able to recover is in 1335, in which year and also in 1336 the patronage of the living was vested in Sir John de Peyton, who presented to it at that date,—which may be taken as indicative of the existence of a church. It afterwards came into the family of Bradeston, during whose possession it was several years in the presentation of the Crown, by virtue of its wardship of Thomas de Bradeston; after whose death, in 48 Edw. III., the patronage was successively exercised by the families of De la Pole, Ingaldesthorp, and Norris, after which the presentation appears to have again fallen to the Crown. In 1560 G. Coomb gentleman presented, but by what right or how he came possessed of it I have been unable to discover. After this it was again vested in the Crown as guardian "Antonii Comy vel Combr," a lunatic.

In 1596 George Coton presented, but by what right or title is not shown; and twenty years later I find it in the hands of William Hicks, clerk. In 1631 William Stephens and others presented;* and in 1676 Michael Pike, clerk, possessed the right of presentation. Latterly the patronage appears to have vested in the See of London; for in 1857, on the admission of the Rev. Henry Stebbing, D.D., the present rector, the presentation was made by the Bishop of London.

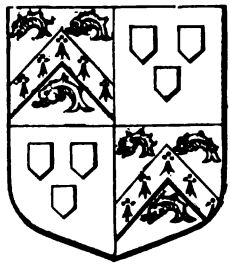
In consequence of the large destruction of churches by the great fire in 1666, many of the city benefices were united, when that of the parish of St. Mary Mounthaw was united to the parish of St. Mary Somerset. The patronage of the former being in the gift of the Bishops of Hereford, the presentations to this church were from thenceforth made alternately by the patrons of both rectories.†

* Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. i. pp. 454—456.

† Mention is made of this church in 44 Edw. III. 1370. A petition having been presented on Saturday, the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle (21st September), to the mayor, recorder, and aldermen of London by the Flemings, who, carried on the trade of weavers, in consequence of the disputes and riots arising between them and the weavers of Brabant;

Of the ancient building prior to the Great Fire unfortunately but faint record remains.

The earliest mention of it I find in the will of Thomas Wylforde, citizen and fishmonger of London, dated 8th November, 1405, and proved 9th February, 1407-8,* by which it appears that some addition to the church was in contemplation or in course of execution, for he desires to be buried within the new chapel of the church of St. Mary de Somerset if it should be built at the time of his decease, or otherwise in the churchyard of St. Paul called "Pardon chirche hawe," and after the chapel be built the remains of himself, his wife, &c. to be exhumed and removed to the said chapel. His wishes as to burial within the church or chapel appear to have been faithfully executed, as it is recorded that the following inscription to his memory existed in the church in 1597,† with the accompanying shields of arms.



"here Vnder lyeth buryed Thomas Wilford
Piscenar wᶜʰ dyed the 8ᵗʰ of January, 1407."

But I fear that this had disappeared within the next fourteen years, as I find no mention made of it by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, when he visited the church in 1611.‡

when it was ordered, for the good governance of the trade, that the Flemish weavers should meet in the churchyard of St. Laurence Pountney, and the weavers of Brabant in the churchyard of St. Mary Somerset, for the hiring of serving men in the said trade. *Memorials of London and London Life*, p. 346.

* Prerog. Reg. 13 March.

† Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 6072, fol. 54 b. It appears not improbable that the second shield belonged to another memorial.

‡ Lansd. MS. Brit. Mus. 874, fol. 6 b.

By the before mentioned will which directs his interment in the church we are made acquainted with the existence of a chapel annexed to the church; and by the List of Church Goods temp. Edward VI. (to be hereafter recited) we are informed that the church possessed,—as the record describes it,—"5 bellꝑ of a ringe in ou^r churche steple ⁊ a sanct^9 bell." From the record of a law suit respecting the benefaction of one Wilford of a yearly sum for the repair of the south aisle, we may justly infer that the church possessed both north and south aisles; and further Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, in his MS. of heraldic notes taken when he visited the church in July 1611,* mentions two coats of arms being cut in stone in the porch. All of which I think will go far to prove that the ancient building was of no mean character. Aggas's Map of London made in the year 1560 (3rd Elizabeth) professes to give some idea of the position and appearance of the church, and the character of houses round it, at that early date; but, as the churches of Aggas are so much like each other, I fear it must not be accepted as a very accurate representation.

In the 27 Hen. VIII. pursuant to an Act made in the previous year for a return of the yearly value of all possessions as well

* Lansd. MS. Brit. Mus. 874, fol. 6 b.

temporal as spiritual, the clear annual value per annum of this rectory was returned at 10*l.* 10*s.* and the tenths on same at 21*s.**

This church did not escape the notice of the commissioners appointed in the 6 Edward VI. to seize church goods, as will be seen by the following interesting return made to the said commissioners by Thomas Goodye and Nicolas Welche, the then churchwardens. During the three years preceding the date of the return, property of a very large value had been disposed of.

Return made 6 *Edw. VI. pursuant to an order of the Commission for seizing of Church goods.*†

QUENHITH WARDE.—The true & playne certificate of Thomas goodye & Nycolas Welche, now churchward^ens of the pisshe of saint Marye Somsett^e.

The first Article we certifie that Thomas Kerye & Roger Thetcher were churchwardens in the first yer of the King^e ma^tie^s Reigne that now is.

To the seconde Article we aunswer & certifie thes good^e, that is to saie, plate, Juell^e, Vestyment^e, bell^e, & other ornamēt^e, ar belonginge & appteyinge now to ou^r churche & Remayne in the vestrye w^tin the saied churche as here pticulerly folowe.

It. one chalice all gilte wayenge xvj vnc^e dī.

It. one chalice clene white sylu wayenge xij vnc^e iij q̄t^r.

It. a suete of clothe of golde, that is to saye,

A vestymēt, ij deacons, & ij coopes.

It. a cannapie of golde & grene velvett that was borne vpon iiij staves, wch remayne now in the custodye of Davy garrett, one of ou^r pisshe.

It. iij herseclothes, one red velvett & golde, & thother twayne blacke velvett.

It. a coope of red velvett.

* *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. i. p. 372.

† Public Record Office, Church Goods, Roll marked W. N. 8942.

It. a coope of white satten.
It. a coope of bawdkyn.
It. a vestymēt of grene bawdkyn w^t colyn golde.
It. ij white vestymēt℘, the one bawdkyn & thother bustyan.
It. a coope, A vestymēt, & a tunycle, all of blacke worsted.
It. ij alter clothes of bridg℘ satten.
It. ij curteyns of ꝺcenett.
It. an alter clothe of grene bawdkyn.
It. ij peyr of pewt^r candlestick℘.
It. v bell℘ of a ringe in ou^r churche steple & a sanct^e bell.
It. a payr of organs.
It. a bible & a paraphrasis vpō the gospell℘.
It. one tenement belonging to ou^r churche of rent by yer xxvj^s viij^d.

To the thirde Article we aunswer & certifie that we haue non nor knowe of any man^e counterpayne of Inventorye of ou^r churche good℘ at any tyme certified either to the late Bisshopp of london or to any others, nor haue we neither book℘ nor Regis℘℘ cōteyīnge the ꝑticulers of the same churche good℘ but even as they were allwaies kepte & remayned in the vestrye w^tin o^r saied Churche.

Cōcernyng the iiij^th & last article we certifie. Jn the thirde yer of the Reigne of the King℘ Matie Davye garrett and Joħn holstocke wer churchwardens; and they for dyus and necessarye Repacions to be done vppon ou^r Churche & churchhouse w^t ther apptenaunc℘ by & w^t the cōsent of an holl vestrye of all the ꝑisshe, solde these ꝑcell℘ of the churche good℘ as folowe:

Itm. solde the first daye of Auguste to Joħn Waberley, goldesmythe, A monstre ꝑcell gilte wayenge xxxj vnc℘ & iij q̃t^r at v^s the oz . . . vij^li xviij^s vj^d

It. solde to the saied waberley A Senf^r wayeng xxxv vnc℘ . . . . . viij^li xv^s

It. solde a shipp w^t a sp.ne waieng viij oz. & dī, all thes ꝑcell℘ at v^s the vnc̄ . . . . . ij^li ij^s

It. solde a pax waieng vij vnc℘ & dī a q̃t^r at v^s iiij^d the oz. . . . . xxxviij^s

The holl sm̃^a for all the saied ꝑcell℘ of plate amounte xx^li xiiij^s

It. more solde to Thomas Kerye 1 C. ⁊ a q̃t^r ⁊ xx poundꝭ of latten stuff at xviij^s the C. amount . . xxv^s

It. solde to Joħn Northe, blackesmythe, c̃teyn oolde Jron at oƀ farthing the pounde . . . x^s vj^d

It. the iiij^th yer of the Reigne of the Kingꝭ Ma^tic Joħn holstocke and John Notmā wer churchewardens, who by ⁊ w^t the cōsent of an holl vestrye of all the ꝑisshioñs solde thes ꝑcellꝭ, as folowe:

It. solde the xvij daye of Marche to Joħn Danyell, goldesmythe, A Crosse of wood plated oũ w^t silũ ⁊ a Crismatorye, wayeng the holl xliij oz. ⁊ dĩ at v^s iiij^d the vnc̄; Amounte . . . . . xj^li xij^s

It. solde to the saied Joħn Danyell one Chalice all gilte wayenge xxj vncꝭ dĩ ⁊ a q̃t^r at vj^s ij^d the oz. amounte . . . . . vj^li xiij^s iiij^d

It. more solde vestementꝭ ⁊ coops after a vew made ⁊ p^ice sett by Joħn Rooke, Embroydere of lōdō, the ꝑcellꝭ folowinge:

It. solde to Raffe Davye a vestymẽt a deacon of red velvett w^t grene ⁊ white flow^rs, amounte . . x^s

It. solde to the same R. Davye one alt^r clothe of red satten . . . . . vj^s

Itm. solde to Joħn Notmā the coatꝭ for the Jmagꝭ of ou^r ladye ⁊ her sonne of grene silke ⁊ red damaske . . . . . x^s

It. solde to Joħn holstocke A suete of grene Velvett w^t red ⁊ white flow^rs, that is to saie a vestimēt, ij deacons, ⁊ iij coops . . . . . xl^s

It. solde to Myles twisdaye ⁊ Henry Rawlyns A coope of red bawdkyn ⁊ a vestimēt, ⁊ a deacon of tawney satten w^t birdꝭ of golde . . . . . xxvj^s viij^d

It. solde to the same Myles ⁊ henrye A herse clothe w^t saint Myghell ⁊ lyons of golde, A vestimēt w^t a coope whit bawdkin . . . . . xliij^s iiij^d

Item. solde to henrye ffletman a Stranger all ou^r latten bokꝭ of tholde s̃uyce . . . . . xl^s

Jn the vth yer of the Reigne of the Kingꝭ Ma^tic, Joħn Notman

ꝛ Thomas goodye were churchwardens, who by ꝛ w^{t} the consent of the ꝑisshe solde the ꝑcelle as folowe:

It. solde to Stevyn lathberye ou^{r} banñs, clothes, and ij crosse clothes . . . . . viij^{s}

It. solde to Thomas Tayler a vestyment, ij Deacons, ꝛ a cope of blew bawdkyn w^{t} small lyons of golde . liij^{s} iiij^{d}

It. solde to Thomas barloo wexchaundler xij torches at ij^{d} ob̄ the pounde ꝛ all ou^{r} other wax at iiij^{d} the pounde . . . . . iij^{li}

Sm̄^{a} tot. of the Receipte of all ou^{r} churche goode wch we haue solde ꝛ put a waye synce the first yer of the Reigne of the Kinge Matie that now is Amounte lv^{li} xij^{s} ij^{d}

The expenses ꝛ how the money Receyued for the sale of all ou^{r} Churche goode solde from the firste yer of the Kinge Maties Reigne is ꝛ hathe ben bestowed as here followeth:

Itm. bestowed ꝛ p^{d} for Repacions of ou^{r} churche house in the thirde yer of the Kinge Maties Reigne, as the ꝑticulers therof appere in the accompte of Davye garret ꝛ Joh̄n holstocke then Churchwardens by ꝛ wth consent of the ꝑisshe, amounte . . . . x^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

Itm. bestowed ꝛ p^{d} for Repacions of ou^{r} Churche in the iiijth yer of the Kinge Maties Reigne, as the ꝑticulers therof appere in the Accompte of Joh̄n holstocke and Joh̄n Notmā then Churchwardens by ꝛ withe cōsent of the ꝑisshe Amounte . . . . . xviij^{li} vj^{d}

Itm. bestowed ꝛ p^{d} in the vth ꝛ vjth yers of the Kinge Maties Reigne for making certeyn new pewes ꝛ other necessaries w^{t}in ou^{r} Churche ꝛ mending the churche walle w^{t}out furthe ꝛ pavinge the strette, the ꝑticul^{r}s therof appere in the Accompte of Thomas gooddye ꝛ Nicolas welche Churchwardens by ꝛ withe the consent of the ꝑisshe Amounte . . . . vj^{li} xiij^{s} xj^{d}

Itm. p^{d} to ou^{r} Conducte for his wage for one yer ꝛ dī to maynteyne godde ꝟuyce in o^{r} churche . . iij^{li}

Itm. p^{d} for the Jngrosinge ꝛ and making thes booke . . . . . x^{s}

The total sm̃ᵃ bestowed ⁊ pᵈ for Reꝑacions vpon ouʳ churche ⁊ churche house, wᵗ their appꝰtenācę, from the thirde yer of the Kingę Maᵗⁱᵉˢ Reigne vnto this daye, for wᶜʰ we haue solde ouʳ plate ⁊ ornamētę, Amounte . . . . . xxxviijˡⁱ xjˢ jᵈ

So remayneth clerlye of all the Receiptę of these ꝑcellę of ouʳ church goodę solde ⁊ put awaye in thandę of Thomas gooddye one of ouʳ churchwardens xvijˡⁱ xiijᵈ by me thomas gooddye.

The continuator of Stowe* reports the church as having been repaired and beautified in 1624; he also gives the following inscription as hanging on a table close by the pulpit:—

"Dictum Thomæ Burtoni Rectoris Ecclesiæ tempore reparationis & exornationis hujus Ædificii. Dominus Petra mea & Arx mea, & Liberator meus, Adjutor meus. Sperabo in eum."—Psal. xviii. 2.

Which is translated—

"The saying of Thomas Burton, rector of the church in the time of the reparation and beautifying of this building: The Lord is my Rock and my Fortress, my Deliverer, my Helper. I will hope in him."—Psal. xviii. 2.

By the same disastrous conflagration in 1666, which created such a great destruction of churches in the City, and which is so commonly and justly termed in history "the Great Fire," this church was totally destroyed, as also the parsonage-house, the site of which house was afterwards let for a term of 40 years, at 5*l.* per annum ground rent, and the house rebuilt.† The church was rebuilt and finished in February 1695,‡ from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren, at a cost of 6,579*l.* 18*s.* 1¼*d.*§

The abstract returns of parish registers, published with the population returns of 1831, describe the registers of this church as only dating from 1711; but upon examination, by the kind

* Strype's Stowe, 1720, vol. i. B. 3, p. 213.

† Ibid. p. 214.

‡ Ibid. p. 213.

§ Allen's *History of London*, vol. iii. p. 717.

permission of the rector, I found this to be a grave error, the registers dating back as early as 1558.

The first register book contains baptisms, marriages, and burials, from 1558 to 1653, and commences as follows: "The Register-booke of Christnings Mariags & Burialls had in the parish of S^{ti} Mary Somerset from the tenth of Marche in the yere of o^{r} lorde god 1558. Trulie & newlie written and Engrossed vnto the yere 1605. By Henry Cooke and George Swindall Churchwardens of the said Parishe;" and on a fly-leaf, in another hand, of later date: "This Register was new bound & more Parchment added ano Dñi 1627.

"Owin Dobins
"Edward Pike } Church-wardens."

The following are copies of the first entries of christenings, marriages, and burials, with some few extracts from the register of burials:—

CHRISTENINGS.

1558. "Imprimus. Agnes kelke, Christned the xth of Marche."

MARRIAGES.

1558. "Impriñs. Rycharde Graye and A —— were maried the xxxth daie of January."

BURIALS.

1558. "Impriñs. John Wilson Buryed the xiijth daye of January."

1589. "Richard Harryes, the Queenes fruterer, was buryed xjth daie of June."

(*In margin.*) buryed in ye street; he hanged himselfe. 1611. "Robert Allen was Buryed 19th day of Septembe^{r}."

The first mention I find of the plague is in the year 1606, of which the following is the entry:—

"Plague. John Bellowes buried the second of Aprill."

In this year 37 persons appear to have fallen victims to this dreadful scourge. It may also be interesting to mention that in 1607 seven entries occur of death from plague; in 1608, six; 1609, six; and 1610, six; a curious coincidence that the deaths from plague in the three last-mentioned years should be alike.

(*In margin.*) A Cõmon Counsaile Man. 1616. "Lewis Randall* Bruer was Buried the Eighteenth of June."

In 1625 only nine deaths are attributed to the plague; but from the number buried in June, July, August, and September, the rate of mortality must have been exceedingly great, and it is probable that the plague was then raging, although no mention is made in the register of the cause of death.

(*In margin.*) Kill'd wth a Cart. 1627. "William ffarrar was buried ye v of February."

In 1636 thirty-one entries occur of death from plague. In 1639, two; and in 1642, only one.

The second register-book† contains the register of christenings, marriages, and burials from 1653 to 1711.

(*In margin.*) Kild by a fall out of a garret. 1654. "William Burges, a bargeman of Windsor, was buried ye 15 of Aprill."

In 1665 two hundred and seventy-one deaths from plague are entered, and in the year following, viz. 1666 only two, after which no further mention of deaths from this cause occur in the registers.

The registers of christenings, marriages, and burials continue from last date to the present time without break, and are in a very fair condition.

In the later register of burials is that of Bishop Ironside, which is as follows:

1701. "Guilbert Ironside, Lord Bishop of Hereford, Sept. 1st."

Soon after the Great Fire an Act of Parliament‡ was passed for the union of parishes, the churches of which had been destroyed. By this Act it was ordained that "The parishes of St. Mary Somerset and St. Mary Munthaw shall be united into one parish, and the church heretofore belonging to the said parish of St. Mary Somerset shall be the parish church of the said parishes so united."

* He is called Richard in the copy of the monumental inscription to his memory said to have existed in the church prior to the Fire of London.

† This and the first register-book were rebound in 1856; Samuel Ward and James Terry being churchwardens.

‡ 22 Car. II. cap. 11, 1670.

And by another Act of Parliament* passed the same year, but after the before-mentioned Act, the certain tithes or annual sum of money for the maintenance of the rector of these united parishes was fixed at 110*l.* per annum, which by glebe casualties and two parsonage houses was increased to 169*l.* 10*s.* In 1693 the churchwardens presented that the parsonage house was burnt down in the late fire, but had since been rebuilt, the site being let for a term of forty years at a ground-rent of 5*l.* per annum.† This house adjoins the church on the north side, having a frontage in Old Fish Street Hill, and is now divided into two tenements.

The earliest book ‡ of vestry minutes containing reference to the parish of St. Mary Somerset is that of St. Mary Mounthaw. This book commences 1662, and after the union of the two parishes contains some interesting entries respecting the church, the first of which, No. 34 in book, but without date or signature, appears to be merely a copy of some document, setting forth that—

"Wheras a bell was Purchased beareing date ——— of Mr John Eldridge of Chersey, in ye County of Surry, and Paid for by Way of Subscribtion by ye Inhabitants of St Mary Sommersett and St Mary Mounthaw Parishes, and hath bin made use of for ye Benefitt and Profitt of both ye aforesaid Parishes tell this time, ye Parish of St Mary Sommersett haveing paid two Thirds of ye Charge, and ye Parish of St Mary Mounthaw one-third part of ye Charge thereof; and Whereas ye Parish of St Mary Mounthaw is laid and joyn'd to the Parish Church of St Mary Sommersett by Act of Parliament, the Church and Steple now built at the Publicke;§ and Whereas the aforesaid bell is now hung up in the Steeple belonging to both the said Parisses, it is hereby agreed and Declared by us whose names are here unto written, being Inhabitants of both, the said bell be for ever Continued for ye vse and benefitt of both the aforesaid Parishe Distinctly, two Thirds of the Charge being allwaies paid by the Church

* 22 and 23 Car. II. cap. 15, 1670.

† Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 455.

‡ A paper book without a cover.

§ *Sic* in orig.

Wardens of St Mary Sommersett, and one-third part by the Church Wardens of St Mary Munthaw for the time being."

From the position of this entry, and the dates of the entries preceding and following, it must have been written in 1693.

From the vestry minutes it appears that in all matters connected with the church or churchyard both of St. Mary Somerset and St. Mary Mounthaw, the parishioners were accustomed to assemble in the vestry-room of St. Mary Somerset, but in all matters relating to parochial government &c. they acted independently. There does not appear to be any record or clue as to when the division of church rates into two-thirds to St. Mary Somerset and one-third to St. Mary Mounthaw was first adopted, and on what grounds, the foregoing document being the earliest mention of it; and, although so arranged, there were continual disagreements between the parishes as to church rates and repairs to the church.

The church seems to have been a constant source of expense for repairs, &c. Sundry repairs were executed in 1756.

At a joint vestry of both parishes, held 11 Feb. 1768, a proposal was made to grant leave to erect a monument in the church to the memory of Mr. Thomas Funge, deceased, but the parish of St. Mary Mounthaw refused to permit it unless Mrs. Funge would give something towards repairing the church. As this monument was erected, we must infer that she complied with the request.

And on the 26th August, 1768, the roof of the church was ordered to be opened that it might be inspected by surveyors.

The earliest vestry minute book of the parish of St. Mary Somerset commences 1721. (There is a book containing an account of the several benefactions of date apparently anterior to 1667.) The following extracts from the vestry minutes are interesting:—

At a vestry held 16th March, 1721, It was "Agreed, that ye large Communion gilt Cup and Cover (ye Gift of Mr. Gabriel Tomlinson) be melted down and made into a fashionable Cup and Cover and gilt, with ye Donor's Name, as at first;"

And "also, that Cases for a Set of Plate and an Iron Chest be provided for ye safe keeping of the same; And that ye Church-Wardens do sell ye old pewter Flagons towards defraying ye Charges of the aforesaid Cases and Iron Chest."

At a vestry held 14th May, 1724, it was agreed that all the church ground should be paved the ensuing summer.

At a vestry held 30th May, 1728, it was "Ordered, that ye pall belonging to ye parish be lent gratis to ye funeral of any poor person whose friends or Relations will accept of it."

And at a vestry held the 26th April, 1753, it was agreed to purchase an engine.

At a committee for repairing the church, held April 25th, 1769, it was ordered, (after Trinity Sunday) "That Mr. Thomas Stedman take down the Pulpit and the Irons and Carv'd Ornaments that are Over the Pews," &c., &c. It was also ordered, that the glass windows be taken out and preserved, and that a scaffold be erected to examine the defects in the roof.

And at a committee meeting held Sept. 9th, 1769, the roof was ordered to be covered with lead with all expedition; the plumber agreeing to give 16*s.* per cwt. for the old lead, and to put on new 8lb. lead to the foot super at 19*s.* 6*d.* per cwt., labour and nails included, but to charge extra for solder after the rate of 9*d.* per lb. and extra for holdfasts.

At a joint vestry held Dec. 5th, 1769, it was "Ordered, that a Table of Benefactions be made, and fixed on Some Convenient part of the Church."

These reparations cost about 800*l.*, to meet which money was raised by granting annuities.

In 1811 it appears that about 450*l.* was required for repairs, when it was resolved by the vestry to raise the same by life annuities.

And at a joint vestry held 31st May, 1842, it was resolved that the old window over the altar should be taken out, and the cavity filled up with brickwork, as being absolutely necessary to strengthen the east end of the church, provided the sanction of the archdeacon could be obtained for so doing. This proposal

arose probably from the great settlement which had taken place in the wall; but was not carried out, as the east window still remains.

Whilst removing the bodies from the interior of the church a foundation wall was exposed to view, running through the centre of the church, east and west. This was probably part of the foundation of the original building.

From an entry on the fly-leaf of a small book among the vestry books, it appears that six elm trees were planted in the churchyard in 1680.

The following description of the main body of the building now doomed to destruction—the tower being retained, an Act of Parliament having been recently passed specially to save what is considered one of the finest of Sir Christopher Wren's works—will be better understood by reference to the exterior view of the church at the commencement of this paper. The church is a parallelogram, with a square tower of stone at the south-west corner, abutting on Thames Street and Old Fish Street Hill. The west elevation is of stone, having a segment-headed entrance in the centre, with carved cherubim keystones, over which is a circular window, and on each side of the doorway two large semi-circular-headed windows, with carved faces on the keystones, and mouldings round, the whole surmounted by a cornice and parapet wall. The elevation of the tower and south front of the church, being shown in the engraving of the exterior view, needs no description other than to mention that the four sides of the tower are alike. The east end is of brick, and has a single segmental-headed window. The north elevation is also of brick; the portion not built against, which stands between the house known as the Parsonage-house and the east end of the church, is pierced with three semicircular-headed windows, corresponding with the windows in the south elevation. The interior of the church is lofty and spacious. The ceiling is formed with a flat or panel in centre, having a bold and handsome dentil cornice, the sides coved. The coving is pierced with semicircular arches over the window-heads, of which there are five on the south side

and one blank where the tower adjoins the church, making in all six bays. The coving is also pierced on the north side and over the windows of the east and west walls to correspond; the semi-circular arches formed in the coving over windows, spring from impost mouldings supported by cherubs. Beneath the east window of chancel was the altar-screen—recently removed prior to the destruction of the building;—this screen was in oak, of a plain style of decoration, and panelled, with two Corinthian pilasters on each side. Over the screen and still remaining is a painted and gilt representation of four Corinthian pilasters supporting an entablature, the mouldings of which form a continuation of the mouldings of imposts under the springing of the arches in the coving of the cornice, and on the sides are poorly-executed full-lengths of Moses and Aaron.

In the centre over the window was a canvas blind, painted to represent the Ascension.

At the west end was a gallery of wainscot—now removed—supported by Tuscan columns, with a panelled front, and in the centre of the same the arms of Queen Anne, framed on canvas; and in the gallery was a small organ. The pews, which were of panelled wainscot, occupied the centre of the church, with an aisle on each side. The walls of the church being wainscoted all round to about 10 feet high.

At the west end stood a handsome font of white marble, decorated with cherub's heads and shields of arms alternately at the corners. The arms being, ... on a chevron engrailed ... three escallops ..., in chief a lion passant guardant ...; with the following inscription running round the four sides:

Ex Dono JOHANNIS TOOLYE hujus Tribus
Vicarii Dignissimi 1699 Nec non Vigilantissimi.

The oak pulpit,—which I am informed is to be retained for a new church proposed to be erected in the suburbs,—and the reading desk, stood against the south wall. Malcolm in speaking of this pulpit says, "When I mention that the late well known methodist Mr. Gunn* was a preacher in it on certain days, the

* Elected Lecturer 9 July, 1793. Vestry Minutes.

trampled and dirty state of the church will not be wondered at." In the circular window over the western entrance are the royal arms of William and Mary in stained glass, but in a bad state of preservation. The length of the church inside is about 83 feet, by a breadth of 36 feet, and a height of 30 feet; the height of the tower to top of pinnacles is 120 feet.*

At the east end of the church is a vestry room built of brick with stone quoins and dressings to windows, the walls on the inside being covered with panelled wainscoting painted. This wainscoting and the font cost about 100*l.*, and was executed at the expense of Mr. John Toolye before mentioned. The door from the church into the vestry is on the north side of the communion. Over the fireplace on a raised panel are set forth the several benefactions to the parish, and over and on each side of the panel is an excellent piece of wood carving, consisting of corn, fruit, flowers, &c., (said to be the work of Grinling Gibbon,) but the beauty of the carving is much impaired by the coating of paint which now covers it. In raised letters on the woodwork under the mantel-shelf is the following:

W M 16 S P 90

On a panel of the wainscoting on the east wall is a painting of the Toolye arms, with a demi-tiger collared for crest.†

There is only one bell in the tower, which is in the key of E natural, and weighs about 6¼ cwt., and from the inscription on the same appears to have been made by William Eldridge in 1679.

The churchyard next Thames Street is inclosed with a wall. The doorway in the wall from the street opens into a dead house.

Of the early communion plate unfortunately only a small silver gilt wine-spoon remains, the plate having been stolen prior to the 28th Oct. 1805, on which day a vestry was held to inquire into the robbery, but without success; and at a vestry held Nov.

* Allen's *History of London*, vol. iii. pp. 716, 717.

† Fairbairn in his Book of Crests gives Tolley or Tollye a demi-tiger vert (collared or and pellettée, the body bezantée). In the New View of London, 1708, vol. ii. p. 405, these arms are given as follows: Arg. on a chev. engrailed sa. 3 escallops of the first, adorned of the second, in cheif a leopard passant vert spotted of the first.

4th, 1805, it was resolved that two plated flagons, holding two quarts each, two plated cups (or chalices) holding five gills each, one plated salver (or paten) and two plates (or offertories) of the diameter of 8 inches, should be purchased; also two pair of plain brass candlesticks of the height of 9 inches, for the use of the vestry,—at a cost of about 30*l.* All these, except the brass candlesticks, are now existing, and in addition there are 4 pewter collection plates with the monogram $\frac{\text{St.}}{\text{M. S.}}$

Among other property belonging to the parish is a large deal iron-bound chest with date 1605, which is said to have belonged to the church of St. Mary Mounthaw.

On the 26th November, 19 Edw. III.,* Johannes de Gildesburgh, citizen and fishmonger of London, on payment of a fine of 10*l.*, obtained a licence from the King to found a chantry in this church, and gave the annual sum of seven marcs issuing out of a certain tenement held by him in free burgage, situate between the messuage of William de Monte Acuto and "Oldefisshestretlone," in the city of London, for the maintenance of a chaplain and his successors to celebrate divine service daily and every day for ever for the good estate of the said John and Peter de Gildesburgh, and their parents whilst living, and for the souls *cum ab hac luce migraverint* of their ancestors and all faithful departed.

On the 18th May, 4 Hen. IV.,† Thomas Wilford, citizen of London, William Bridbrook, clerk, and John Trygg, on payment of a fine of six marcs, obtained a licence from the King to assign unto Richard, son of William de Segrave, chaplain of the chantry lately founded at the altar of the church of the blessed Mary by John de Gildeburgh, one messuage with appurtenances in the parish of the blessed Mary of Somerset, London, to have and to hold to the said Richard Segrave and his successors chaplains of the said chantry for ever, in augmentation of his and their maintenance.

Malcolm ‡ speaks of this as a separate foundation by Thomas

* Patent Roll 19 Edw. III. part 3, m. 10.

† Patent Roll 4 Hen. IV. part 2, m. 26.

‡ Malcolm, *Lond. Rediv.* vol. iv. p. 428.

"Wilforth;" but the licence above-mentioned proves this clearly an error. He further mentions that he gave 6*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* per annum for the maintenance of the same, but I know not on what authority. In 26 Henry VIII.* the clear annual value of this charity was returned at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the tenths of same at 13*s.* 4*d.*

The ravages of time, abuse, and the Great Fire entirely destroyed the ancient monuments and inscriptions; but, fortunately, we are able to recover a portion of the same from MSS. extant. They were partly taken in 1597; and partly in 1611 by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald; and are as follows:—

"Hic Jacet Joñes Ashton quondam Ciuis et Piscinarius Londoñ et Frise- [On a shield... three garbs within a bordure argent.]
[Blank shield.] wida vxor eius et pueri eorundem, qui quidem Joñes obijt 10 die mensis Marcii, A° Dñi 1433."†

This John Ashton by his will, dated 1st March, 1433, and proved in London 8th October, 1436, desires to be buried in the church of St. Mary de Somerset, London ‡

"Hic Jacet Joñes Epš Dromorencis et Rector istius ecclíæ, qui obijt 12 Junij 1433."§

"Hic Jacet Thomas Caue notari^{9} et Rector istius ecclíæ, qui obijt 18 Sept. 1444."‖

"Hic Jacet Joñes Young quondam Ciuis et Black-
[On a shield.... on a pile argent a crescent...] smyth Londoñ, qui obijt 11° die Octobris, Anno Dñi 1464, et Agnes vxor eius, quoꝝ animabus propicietur, &c."¶

"Here lyeth John Blundell, sometyme cytisen and ffruterer of London, and Margaret and Alice** his wiues, wch John died the $\frac{23}{24}$ daye of Maye, A° Dñi 1474, on whose soules," &c.

* Valor Eccl. Hen. VIII. vol. i. p. 381.

† Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 6072, fol. 54 b.

‡ Prerog. Reg. 22 Luffnam.

§ Lansd. MS. Brit. Mus. 874, fol. 6 b.

‖ Ibid.

¶ Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 6072, fol. 54 b.

** Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 6072, fol. 55. Lansdowne MS. 874, fol. 6 b. (MS. 6072 gives this as Anne.)

This John Blundell, citizen and fruiterer of London, by his will dated 20th April, 1474, and proved in London the 31st May following,* bequeaths as follows:—

"I leve to the Awter of seint Mary Somersett Church for tithes forgoten vj s viij d. Itm. I woll myn executours shall prouide vj Torches and iiij Tapers of Waxe for my fun^{9}all exequies, and I wolle that x poue^{9} men shall bere them. Itm. I wolle e$\bar{u}$y of the poue^{9} men for their labour shalhaue of money iij s. iiij d. Itm. I leve iiij of the same Torches with ij of the Tapers to Wirship god with them in the Chirch of seint Mary Som^{9}sett while they may endure."

"Orate pro animabus Joh̄is Ravening, quondam Civis et Salter Londoñ, et Johanna et Elizabetha vxores eius, qui quidam Joh̄es obijt 17° die februarij A° Dñi. 1481, quor animabus," &c.†

This "John Ravenyng," citizen and salter of London, by his will dated 5 Feb. 1481, 21 Edw. IV. and proved in London 20 February, 1481,‡ directs his "body to be buried in the Church of saint Marie Some^{9}sede in theamystreate of london, afore the Image of saint Margarett, att the queer door their, whereas the body of Johanne late my wif restith buried. Itm. I biqueth to the church werk^{e} of the saide Church for my buriell their as it is aforesaide to be had vj s. viij d. Itm. I biqueth to the high Aulter of the same church for myn offring^{e} forgoten or w^{t}holden in discharge of my soule v s. Itm. I biqueth to the sustentacion of the Bretherhode of thassumpsion of o^{r} ladie in the same Churche xx^{d}. Itm. I biqueth to the sustentacion of the bretherhede of saint John and saint Mighell in the saide Church xx^{d}." He also directs his executors to provide six torches and four wax tapers to burn at his exequies and month's mind; and after that directs two of the said torches to the church of St. Mary

* Prerog. Reg. 17 Wattis.

† Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 6072, fol. 55. Also Lansdowne MS. Brit. Mus. 874, fol. 6 b.

‡ Prerog. Reg. 4 Logge.

Somerset, to burn at the high altar "the tyme of the leuacion, as-long as they therto will endure." Also "to eu^{9}ych of x poue^{9} menne to holde the saide torches and Tapers for their labour iiij^{d}."

And he ordains "sir John Denh^{a}m ꝑsone of saint Mary Some^{9}sett" overseer of the executors of his will.

"Hic Jacet Arthurus^{Infans} filius et hæres Dñi de Dacre, qui obijt 26 die mensis Aprilis Añ Dñi 1489, cuius animæ propicietur deus."*

"Orate pro anima Johannis Denham, quondam rectoris istius ecclesiæ, qui obiit 1511."†

"Benet Brocas, seruant to Thõ Earl of Surrey, and Treasorer of England, desireth you to pray," &c., with the arms of Howard Earl of Surrey quartering Brotherton, Mowbray, and Warren on a shield, within a garter bearing the motto, "Honi soit qui mal y pense," and also the arms of *Brocas*,—Sable, within a bordure engrailed argent a lion rampant guardant or; impaling, Argent, two lions couchant vert, in nombril point a fleur de lis sable.

"Orate pro bono statu Benedicti Brocas, generosi, &c. pro . . . . . eorundem, verum etiam ac Margarete nuper vxoris, &c. filiorum filiarumq; mortuorum, An. Dñi. 1511."

Again, "Pray for the Soule of Benett Brocas, gentleman, which died the 11th of Feuvrier, A°. Dñi. 1511, Cujus anima propicietur Deus. Amen."‡

"Of your Charity pray for the Soule of Peter Baliell fesyscon and Surgeon of London; and for the good State of Annes his Wife. The which Peter departed to God the Second day of October, 1516."§

"Pray for the Soules of Thomas Hottby, Citizen and Grocer of London; Alice, Joan, and Margery his Wifes; which Thomas died the 22d of March, A°. Dni. 1528."‖

* Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 6072, fol. 55, and Lansdowne MS. Brit. Mus. 874, fol. 6 b.

† Lansdowne MS. Brit. Mus. 874, fol. 6 b.

‡ Ibid. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

"Pray for the Soules of Thomas Vngill and Elizabeth his Wife, wch Thomas dyed the 6th of Novemb. 1537."*

[On a shield ...five annulets and a canton ermine.‡]

"Of your Charitye pray for the soules of Willm Caytwell, citizen and fruterer of London, Ellyn, Joan, and Anne, his wifes, wch Willm deceased the 3^d^ daye of Maij 1540, on whose soule," &c.†

"Here lieth Frances Barantine of Haseley, in the county of Oxford, esq. who died the 23 day of August in the yeare of our Lord God 1557, on whose soule God haue," &c. §

Henry Machyn, in his usual quaint style, mentions the funeral of Barantine, as follows:

1557. "The xxvj day of August was bered master . . . . . Barenteyn sqwre, with cott armur, and penon of armes, and ij dosen of skochyons, ij whyt branchys, and xij stayffes torchys, iiij grett tapurs; bered in sant Mare Somersett at Broken-warff; and he had a godly masse of owre Lade in pryke songe; and after a masse of requiem songe, and so ys cote offerred; and after a grett dener. ‖"

Here was also a monument in one of the windows of a kneeling figure to the memory of Robert Hill, grocer,¶ with the arms of the Grocers' Company, Argent, a chevron gules between six cloves in chief and three in base sable.

On the wall, but it is not said at what part of the church, was the annexed arms,** and a coat and penon of arms,†† Quarterly: 1st, Sable, three eagles displayed argent, for *Barentyne;* 2nd, Azure, a bend between six cross-crosslets fitchée or, *Drayton;* 3rd, Argent, on a chief gules two stag's heads caboshed or, *Popham;* 4th, Ermine, on a fess gules three

* Lansd. MS. Brit. Mus. 874, fol. 6 b.

† Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 6072, fol. 54 b.

‡ Burke gives Cantwell (Ireland) Gu. five annulets and a canton ermine.

§ Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 6072, fol. 55, and Lansdowne MS. Brit. Mus. 874, fol. 6 b.

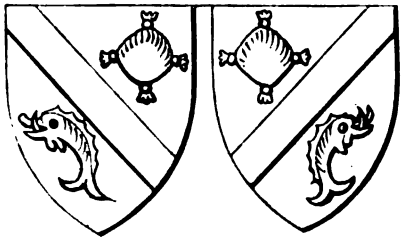
‖ Diary of Henry Machyn, p. 149.

¶ Lansd. MS. Brit. Mus. 874, fol. 6 b.

** Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 6072, fol. 55. †† Ibid.

billets or, *Upsall.** In the windows were two shields of arms. On the first, Quarterly: 1st, Argent, two bars azure, each charged with three mullets of the field; 2nd, Argent, a chevron azure, a label of three points ermine; 3rd, Argent, on a bend gules three mascles —; 4th, Gules, a griffin segreant — ; a crescent of cadency; and a griffin passant argent for crest.

On the second shield,† Gules, on a bend or between two crescents argent three escallops of the field.‡ Cut in stone in the porch were two shields of arms, both of which are alike, excepting that one is in a position the reverse of the other,§ as will be seen by the following woodcut:



In the church was also Queen Elizabeth's monumental memorial, with these verses from the Scriptures:

Psalm 112. The Righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.
Prov. 6. The memorial of the Just shall be blessed.
2 Tim. 4, 7, 8. I have fought a good Fight, I have finished my Course, &c.‖

In the chancel end of the church by the communion table on a fair plated stone was an inscription to the memory of Master Richard Randall,¶ of the parish of St. Mary Somerset, by freedom

* By reference to the pedigree and arms of Barentyne in Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 1562, fol. 48, I have been able to identify the several colours of arms, and the families to which the arms belong.

† Nicholas Charles, Lansd. MS. 874, fol. 6 b, gives this, Gules, three crescents argent, over all on a bend or three escallops sable.

‡ Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. 6072, fol. 55.

§ Lansd. MS. Brit. Mus. 874, fol. 6 b.

‖ Strype's Stowe, 1720, vol. i. B. 3, p. 213.

¶ He is called Lewis Randall in the register of his burial.

a pewterer, by trade a brewer, and one of the Governors of Christ's Hospital, who died the 7th June, 1616, aged 75 years.*

Among the later inscriptions on flat stones in the pavement of the church was one in front of the communion-table to the memory of Mary the wife of Deputy John Toolye, citizen and lime merchant, of London, who died 12th December, 1695, aged 49. In her vault were found the remains of her seven sons and three daughters.

On the pavement within the rails of the communion were the arms of the see of Hereford: Gu. three leopard's heads reversed jessant as many fleurs-de-lis or; impaling, Per pale azure and gules, a cross flory counterflory or, for *Ironside;* with the following inscription:

H. S. E.
Reverendus admodum in Christo Pater
GILBERTUS IRONSIDE, S. T. P.
COLL. WADHAMENSIS in Acad' OXON'
Guardianus, Ejusdem Acad' Vicecanc,'
primo consecratus Bristoll Episcop.
postea translatus ad Episcopat' Hereford.
obiit 27 August 1701
Ætat. Suæ 69.

I may here mention that Bishop Ironside was son of Dr. Gilbert Ironside, and became a scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, in 1649, and afterwards a Fellow of the same college. In December 1665 he was elected Warden of his college, and executed the office of Vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1687 and 1688. He was consecrated Bishop of Bristol on the 13th October, 1689, and afterwards—being then about sixty years of age—married a Bristol lady of the name of Robinson. In 1691 he was translated to the see of Hereford.† During the time he held the vice-chancellorship King James II. seized the venerable foundation of Magdalen College, and sent his commissioners to Oxford to expel the Fellows. At this trying time the vice-chancellor was extremely courteous and respectful to his King as became a loyal

* Strype's Stowe, 1720, vol. i. B. 3, p. 213.
† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. iv. pp. 896, 897.

subject, but at the same time evinced a firm and determined spirit in defence of the privileges of the university.

With the commissioners he stood on less ceremony; for, on receiving their invitation to dine with them on the day of the expulsion of the Fellows, he replied, "I am not of Colonel Kirke's mind—I cannot eat my meals with appetite under a gallows."

Dying in 1701 at the London residence of the Bishops of Hereford situate in the parish of St. Mary Somerset, he was interred in this church.

His remains, consequent on the proposed demolition of the church, have recently been removed to Hereford and interred in the Lady Chapel of the cathedral. At one time some doubt appears to have arisen as to their final resting place, as the Fellows of Wadham College were desirous of having the body interred in the chapel of that college.*

Affixed to the south wall was a white convex shield or panel set in a frame of black marble, carved to represent a mantle and branches, and at the top the monogram of Funge. This monument was erected by Mrs. Mary Funge to the memory of her husband, Mr. Thomas Funge, late citizen and carpenter of London, who was an inhabitant of the parish for above fifty years, and died November 13, 1767, aged 78.

At the bottom is an inscription to the memory of the said Mrs. Mary Funge, his widow, who died Dec. 11, 1774, aged 85.

Also on the south wall was a small neat monument in white marble with an inscription on the same to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth, late wife of Mr. Alexander Adam of Bermondsey, in co. Surrey, tanner, who died Nov. 30th, 1789, aged 54. Beneath, on a marble shield, the arms: Vert, a cross or, for *Adam*;† impaling .... a saltier .... with a talbot passant .... collared .... for crest.‡

And on the north wall was a small white marble oval monumental tablet with inscription—erected by the Rev. Wm. Alphon-

* *Times*, January 2nd, 1868, p. 10.

† Papworth gives arms, Adam, Vert, a cross or.

‡ Fairbairn gives for crest, Adam, (Walden, Ess.) a talbot passant argent, semée of bezants, collared argent.

sus Gunn, lecturer of this parish—to the memory of his friend John Comley, late of the parish of St. Mary Mounthaw, who died March 30, 1804, aged 29.

These were the only monuments affixed to the walls of the church, and they have been carefully cleaned and refixed in the church of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey.

The parishes of St. Mary Somerset and St. Mary Mounthaw having now become united to that of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, by virtue of an Act of Parliament, commonly called the Bishop of London's* Union of City Benefices Act, the church, from the interior of which the bodies have been carefully removed, will soon cease to exist, and the portion of site not thrown open to the street will in all probability before long be built over. The tower of church, which is deemed one of the finest specimens of Sir Christopher Wren's genius, will be retained, an Act of Parliament having just been passed for that purpose.

The names of the several rectors, from the earliest on record in the 14th century. viz. Will. Swansey, will be found preserved in vol. i. of Newcourt's *Repertorium*, to which some MS. additions are made in the margin of the copy in the City Library, and also in Malcolm's *Londin. Redivivum*, vol. iv. pp. 427, 428. Ambros Atfield, S. T. P., presented to the living 21 Oct. 1676, appears to be the first rector admitted after the union of the parish with St. Mary Mounthaw. The united living of this church and St. Mary Mounthaw previous to their union with St. Nicholas Cole Abbey was stated to be worth 238*l.* per annum.†

CHARITIES.

In connection with this church and parish are several charities, of which the following is a brief account:—

The parish possesses a small estate situate at the corner of Gardner's Lane and High Timber Street, but how or when the parish became first possessed of this property is not known. An entry in an old churchwardens' book shews that it was held by

* 23 and 24 Vict. cap. 142. † Clergy List 1867.

them in 1613, and then produced a rental of 5*l.* per annum.* In going through the churchwardens' accounts, I have been unable to find any reference to property at this date, but there exists a counterpart of a lease from the churchwardens to Peter Goodman, dated 7th March, 1652, of all that corner messuage or tenement, &c., in or near a lane called Timberhith Lane, which said messuage is set forth as lying east on a lane called Pudding Lane with Dunghill Lane on the west, and the said lane called Timberhith Lane on the north and on the south a house sometime pertaining to the said parish. This lease was for 21 years from Lady Day, at 7*l.* per annum, 12*l.* being paid on signing the lease, probably by way of premium. I take it that this is the house referred to as existing at the corner of Gardner's Lane and High Timber Street. This house is described on the Table of Benefactions in the vestry as being let at 4*l.* 4*s.* per annum; but this was the rent it was let at under lease for 61 years in 1799. The house had previously been let at 8*l.* per annum, but through its decayed state the lease was granted on condition that the whole should be pulled down, and 120*l.* be expended in the erection of new buildings.

Blundell Charity.

In 1474 John Blundell (before mentioned as having been buried in the church), by his will dated 10th April, 1474,† and proved in London the 31st May in same year, made a bequest to the poor of the parish as follows:—

"Itm. my howse late byleded in london sett in the prish of seint Mary Somsett on the Este side of the same Chirch hawe called A Beere hous which is taken by a lesse of thabbott and Conuent of seint Peter's of Westmynstr^{9}. Itm. I woll myn executours shall take indifferente psones to value the rent yercly of the same howse consciensly. And who soeuir dwell in the same house during the terme thenne to com̃ euery yere of the terme thenne to com̃ shall in Wey of Almes att the feste of Ester yerly during the terme the indweller of the same house shall

* Charity Commissioners' Report, 1822, vol. iv. p. 120.

† Prerog. Reg. 17 Wattis.

yeve in Almes to the poorest people of the same prish in the feste abouesaid xs. of lauffull money for my soule and my parentes and all other I am indetted to and all cristen soules."

Wilford Charity.

By an entry in an old book containing an account of the several benefactions to the parish, and apparently of a date anterior to 1667, is a memorandum that the gift out of certain houses in Tower Street, being 22*s.* 6*d.* per annum, was thus divided, viz. 7*s.* 6*d.* yearly was paid by one "Mistres Awdrey Newce," and the other 15*s.* yearly by one "Mr Withers," probably the tenants of premises.

The Commissioners on Charities in their report* mention that from an entry in an old account book of the churchwardens, commencing as early as 1613, the yearly amount of 22*s.* 6*d.* appears to have been received from 1613 and previous to 1620 in two sums of 13*s.* 4*d.* and 9*s.* 2*d.*, the first amount being therein stated to be the gift of Mr. Wilford for the maintenance of the south aisle of the church, and the second Mr. Wilford's, sometimes Mr. Jennings', gift for the poor. The old book of churchwardens' accounts, here referred to, I have not been able to find among the parish books.

By an indenture dated 5th February, 1696, it appears that Mary Cox was seised for life with remainder in fee to one James Jacobs of two messuages, situate at the west side of Tower Street; and that owing to the prosecution of suits concerning the payment of a yearly amount of 15*s.* per annum, and arrears of same, which was claimed to be issuing out of the said two houses towards the poor of St. Mary Somerset, and the reparations of the south aisle of the church, which had been shewn to have been paid for upwards of 100 years prior and until 1678, for the purpose of putting an end to these suits, it was agreed by this indenture that the said 15*s.* per annum should be secured upon the said two houses, and Mary Cox and James Jacobs granted the said 15*s.* per annum to certain of the inhabitants of the parish, to apply the same as the gift directed.

* Charity Commissioners' Report, 1822, vol. iv. pp. 119, 120.

It would seem that the 15*s.* secured by this deed, or at least part of it, was the bequest of Wilford for repairs of the south aisle of the church, and from the entries above mentioned that there was a further annual sum of 7*s.* 6*d.*, but which seems to have been lost by the parish at the time of the law suits referred to.

Jennyns' Charity.

Thomas Jennyns, citizen and fishmonger of London, by his last will and devise, dated 20th August, 1572,* 14 Elizabeth, gave all that his shop in Bridge Street, at New Fish Street, unto the Warden and Commonalty of the Mystery of Fishmongers of the City of London, that they should distribute yearly for ever of the issues and profits of the said house 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* or the value thereof in coals, called "charcoals," between the Feast of All Saints and Christmas, to and amongst the poor of several parishes, that of St. Mary Somerset being included, as follows: "And amongest the pore people of the parrishe of St Marye Somsett in London twenty sackes of like Coales or viij^{d} of like monney for euerie sacke," the portion of the parish thus being 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum. This charity appears, from the parish books, to be duly received by them from the Fishmongers' Company, in accordance with the bequest.†

Randolph's Charity.

From an entry in the register-book of the Ironmongers' Company of London it appears that in the year commencing July 1585 and ending July 1586, a sum of 480*l.* was received by the company from the executors of Barnard Randolphe, to which they added a sum of 20*l.* to make up the sum of 500*l.*; and in consideration of this sum they granted two annuities or rent-charges, together amounting to 25*l.* for ever, to David Smythe, who, by his will, dated 22nd April, 1586, bequeathed one of these rent-charges, amounting to 12*l.* 10*s.*, in trust for the parson and churchwardens of St. Benet Paul's Wharf. It seems pro-

* Enrolled in the Court of Hustings, Guildhall, 22 Elizabeth.

† On the Table of Benefactions in the vestry the amount set forth is 13*s.* per annum.

bable that he also made a similar bequest of the other moiety of the rent-charge to the parson and churchwardens of St. Michael Queenhithe; but of this we have no information. On reference to the registers in the Prerogative Registry, Doctors' Commons,* I find a codicil of Barnard Randolphe, dated 17th January, 1585, and proved on the 23rd February following, but a vacant space has evidently been left in the register for the copy of will, which is not entered, and consequently the contents of the will are lost. The codicil describes testator as common sergeant of London, but affords no clue as to the special purposes of the bequest. The Table of Benefactions in the vestry sets forth the yearly sum received of the churchwardens of St. Michael Queenhithe as 3*l.* 10*s.* per annum, being the portion due to them. But in a book of disbursements of the parish, under date Feb. 21, 1798, as received for one year due 5th Jan. 1798, the amount of the same is 2*l.* 16*s.*

Barnard Hyde's Charity.

By indenture dated 12 Dec. 1630, made between Barnard Hyde of London, esq., and the Master, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Salters' Company, the latter, in consideration of certain sums of money received from the former, together with his share of the lands in the Irish plantations, covenanted to purchase lands of the yearly value of 62*l.*, and distribute the same annually in divers charities, whereof 13*l.* 10*s.* was to be distributed yearly to 54 poor widows or maids, after the rate of 5*s.* each, to buy them clothes and other necessaries. This bequest was so made that the before-mentioned sum should be divided annually between three parishes named, by which arrangement every tenth year it falls to 54 poor women or maids of the parishes of St. Mary Somerset, St. Michael's Queenhithe, and Allhallows the Great Thames Street.†

Thomas Hutchinson's Bequest.

The Report of the Charity Commissioners mentions that in an old

* Prerog Reg. 11 Windsor.

† Charity Commissioners' Reports, vol. iv. pp. 104-5; and Table of Benefactions in vestry.

Account Book, under date 1633, is an entry of 16*l.* having been received by the churchwardens, being the bequest of one Thomas Hutchinson, for bread for the poor. This book has evidently disappeared, as it does not exist amongst the parish records; and, as no mention is made of this in any of the books remaining, or on the Table of Benefactions, it is probable that it was merely a bequest for immediate distribution, and not for the purpose of founding a permanent charity.*

Samuel North's Charity.

Samuel North, citizen and plumber, of London, by his will dated 28th February, 1644, and proved May 6th, 1645,† bequeathed unto the Master, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Plumbers of the City of London his house in Bishopsgate Street, in trust for certain charities (some of which it appears had been bequeathed by his late wife), and of the yearly rent he leaves "fower pounde more thereof p annum for ever towards the releife of the poore of the parrish of St. Mary Somsett, London," —in which parish he states he was born,—to be distributed by the churchwardens and collectors for the poor, viz., twelve pence thereof weekly for bread and three shillinge and foure pence p anñ thereof to the Clarke of the same parrish for the tyme being to see the same bread delivered vpon every lorde day. And the residue of the said iiij^{l} for Coles to be delivered yearly at the feast of the birth of our lord god in every yeare." The house from rent of which this charity is paid is now known as No. 41, Bishopsgate Street.‡

By an entry in the old account book of disbursements, under date March 29th, 1798, the amount received from the Plumbers' Company for the year ending the 25th of the same month was only 3*l.* 4*s.*

Thomas Funge's Charity.

Thomas Funge, churchwarden of this church in 1728, by his will dated 26th August, 1766, bequeathed to the churchwardens

* Charity Commissioners' Report, 1822, vol. iv. p. 120.

† Prerog. Reg. 72 Rivers.

‡ Charity Commissioners' Report, vol. xxxii. part 2, p. 478.

and overseers of the poor of the parish 200*l.* Old South Sea Annuities upon trust to expend the dividends arising therefrom in three-penny loaves, to be distributed every Sunday morning immediately after divine service among poor housekeepers belonging to but not receiving alms of the parish.

Mary Funge's Charity.

Mrs. Mary Funge, widow, by her will dated 27th March, 1773, bequeathed a further sum of 200*l.* Old South Sea Annuities, to be applied to a like purpose. The Charity Report of 1822 states that at that period the dividends of these charities, which amounted to 12*l.* per annum, was given away in three-penny loaves to eighteen poor persons every Sunday and on Christmas Day, and some other holidays, so that more than the amount of the charity was expended annually.

In addition to the before-mentioned charities I find mention in an old account book of benefactions, that Mr. Edward Pike, (described as late of the parish of St. Mary Somerset, deceased,) by his last will and testament, proved in the Prerogative Court 17th May, 1646, bequeathed to the poor of the parish of St. Mary Somerset 4*l.* per annum for one and twenty years, payable at Christmas and Easter; the same to issue out of his lease at Westminster.

The Table of Benefactions also mentions a yearly amount of 2*l.* receivable by the parish for "Mill's window-lights in the churchyard," and also mentions "Marsh's window-lights into churchyard;" but not the amount received yearly for the same.

In conclusion I have to record my best thanks to the Rev. Henry Stebbing, D.D. Rector, for the material assistance he has rendered me in drawing up this brief history of the church, by permitting me to have access to the registers and other records of the parish; and also to Mr. J. P. Emslie, for the kind loan of his admirable drawing of the church from which the engraving at the head of this paper is taken.

Some Particulars of Alderman PHILIP MALPAS and Alderman SIR THOMAS COOKE, K.B.

Ancestors of Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Bacon) and Robert Cecil (First Earl of Salisbury).

BY B. BROGDEN ORRIDGE, ESQ. F.G.S.,
Chairman of the Library Committee of the Corporation of London.

[Read at an Evening Meeting of the Society, 20th April, 1868.]

The archives of the little town of Stratford-on-Avon have been closely scrutinized with the view of eliciting any circumstance that is linked with the name, or has a bearing on the family connections, of Shakespeare. But it is doubtful whether the records of the Corporation of London have ever been examined with the same energetic interest in reference to either of Shakespeare's great contemporaries, the illustrious author of *Inductive Science*, or his cousin, the renowned statesman, Robert Cecil.

The name of Bacon is one of great antiquity in the city of London, and frequently occurs in many of the most ancient of the records belonging to the Corporation. Among others, in 1284, we find that Nicholas Bacon, painter, acknowledged that he was bound to Hugh Motun, City Chamberlain, in the sum of twenty shillings for ciniple, vermilion, canvas, varnish, and verdigris;* and in 1347 Richard Bacon served as one of the Common Council for Bridge Ward. I have also found among them the election of William Bacon as Alderman of Coleman Street Ward in 1479,† and of James Bacon (the brother of the Lord Keeper) on the 22nd April, 9th Elizabeth, when the inhabitants of Aldersgate Ward, having (in the place of Lionel Duckett) nominated James Bacon, fishmonger,‡ William Dane, ironmonger,

* Mr. Riley, in *Memorials of London and London Life*, remarks that there is probably no earlier passage in existence having reference to varnish painting on canvas.

† Corporation Records, Journal 8, fol. 232 b.

‡ Alderman Bacon was sheriff in 1568. His third wife was a daughter of Humphrey Packington, and widow of Alderman Jackman, Sheriff 1564.

Francis Barnham,* draper, and Thomas Keighley, leatherseller, "the said James Bacon was elected and duly sworn in for the execution of his said office."

Mr. Foss remarks of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, that "he could claim respectable, but by no means opulent, parentage."

"There can be little doubt that the two judges, John and Thomas Bacon, noticed under the reigns of Edward II. and III. came from the same stock.†"

My principal desire, however, is to invite the attention of the reader to some particulars relating to the two eminent citizens and aldermen of London who were the progenitors not only of Francis Bacon and of Robert Cecil, but also of many other distinguished persons.

Philip Malpas and Thomas Cooke lived in times of great political strife, and it would seem entertained widely different political opinions: both witnessed the commencement of the fatal contentions between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, and one certainly lived through the severest part of the national commotion, but both were made the victims of gross wrong and oppression.

PHILIP MALPAS, draper, was Sheriff of London in 1439-40, and represented the City in the Parliament of 1441. A search made by me in the civic archives has disclosed some curious facts relative to his election as an alderman. On the 26th February, 1448 (26th Henry VI.), the commonalty of the Ward of Lime Street presented four persons to the Court of Aldermen, viz.: Philip Malpas, Thomas Beaumond, William Dere, and Christopher Warter, for one of them, according to the custom of the time, to be chosen alderman of that ward; but the nomination was rejected, because the Court of Aldermen affirmed that they were all unfit for the office![‡] It may be inferred from this

* A marginal note to the Preface of the third edition of Stowe speaks of the Barnhams as father and son. Francis Barnham was therefore grandfather of Lady Bacon.

† *Lives of the Judges*, vol. v. p. 447.

‡ Corporation Records, Journal 4, fol. 208b.

decision that the majority of the Court of Aldermen were, even at that early period, opposed to the Lancastrian interests, and desired to exclude Malpas from their body. If it were so, their opposition to him was for the time rendered nugatory by the personal intervention of the King; for on the 1st of April following, it is recorded, that, "on contemplation of divers Royal Letters upon the fitness and special recommendation of the person of the said Philip Malpas to the Mayor and Aldermen directed, the same Philip Malpas was elected by them as Alderman of the said ward, and sworn, as is meet,"* &c.; but the following salvo is added to the entry, viz.: "So that this admission of the aforesaid alderman be in no wise held as an example to expel the Mayor and Aldermen for the time being in future from the liberty to elect any Alderman whomsoever," &c.

I find also the following curious fact noted in the Corporation Records:—"At a Common Council, held the 26th June, 1450, a petition was presented from the commonalty that Philip Malpas should be exonerated from his office of alderman, and the request of the petitioners was conceded to them."† The solution of this riddle may be found in the fact of the rising of the Commons of Kent under Jack Cade, his approach to London, and the absence of Henry VI. at Kenilworth. Of course the Court of Common Council had no right to dismiss an alderman; and the expulsion of Malpas was one of those violent party assumptions that always attend civil war. It is in connection with this outbreak that we meet with the name of Thomas Cooke, draper, *as the London agent of Cade.*

It may be assumed that Cooke had previously attained a position of some influence and note in the City, and carried on the business of a draper; for he was one of the four wardens of the Drapers' Company in 1439, when they obtained a Charter of Incorporation from Henry VI., and a Grant of Arms from Garter King of Arms.

In Dr. Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*,‡ Cade is described as an unknown Irishman, who, in order to give a

* Corporation Records, Journal 4, fol. 213 b.

† Journal, v. fol. 38 b. ‡ Vol. v. p. 162.

political significance to the insurrection, assumed to be Sir John Mortimer, brother to the Earl of March.* His bearing, it is said, was princely, and to a commanding figure he added "a pregnant wit." He had served in the French wars, and was well qualified to act the part of a demagogue. The main object of the insurrection (Dr. Hook says) was not a change of dynasty, but to effect such a change of ministry as would place the court under the control of the Yorkists.† "Jack Cade encamped on Blackheath, between Eltham and Greenwich, on the 1st of June, 1450. Here, while he maintained his people by pillaging the country, he opened a communication with the City, styling himself the Captain of the Commons. All business was transacted in an orderly manner. Passports were duly signed, and Thomas Cooke, of London, draper, was constituted the captain's agent. He was required to tax the foreigners—the Genoese, Venetian, and Florentine merchants. They were to be duly convened, and were required to supply 'us, the Captain,' with 12 harnesses of the best fashion, 24 brigandines, 12 battle-axes, 12 glades, 6 horses, with saddle and bridle completely harnessed, and a thousand marks in ready money. That the demand was met is inferred by Stowe from the fact that when the rebels entered the city no foreigner was molested." The documentary proofs of these facts are to be found in Holinshed's Chronicles.‡

We are told by the chronicler that Cade and his followers were admitted into the City with the concurrence of the Court of Common Council, who were too much divided to withstand him. According to Fabyan—"Vpon the seconde day of the sayd moneth,§ the mayer called a comon counsayll at ye Guyldhall, for to puruey ye withstandynge of thyse rebellys, and other

* The name of Cade was common in the subsidies of Mayfield, Sussex, near Lord Dacre's residence, from the 13th to the 16th century.

† *Hook's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, pp. 163—165. The learned Dean of Chichester, however, was not aware of the attempt to exclude from the office of Alderman a man who, as Member for London, had probably in the House of Commons adhered to the King's interests, or of other significant facts that look as if a mere change of ministry was not alone intended.

‡ Vol. iii pp. 220, 221.

§ July 1450.

matyers, in which assemble were dyuers opynyons, so that some thought good that the sayd rebellys should be receyued into ye cytie, & some otherwyse; amonge ye which, Robert Horne, stokfysshmonger, than beyng an aldermā, spake sore agayne theym that wold haue hym entre. For the whiche sayinges, the comons were so amouyd agayne hym, that they ceasyd nat tyll they hadde hym cōmytted to warde."*

We have seen that Malpas was expelled from the Court of Aldermen by the Common Council on the 26th June. We are told by Fabyan that Alderman Horne was committed by another court on the 2nd of July, and we find these two eminent members of the Lancastrian party were selected by Cade for attack on the second day after his entrance into the city. That he or his followers committed several murderous acts, and made free with the property of the citizens, cannot be doubted.†

Fabyan's account is, that he "went into the house of Philip Malpas, draper and alderman, and robbed and spoiled his house, and took thence a great substance; but he was forewarned, and thereby conveyed much of his money and plate, or else he had been undone. At which spoylyng were present many poore" "redy to do harme."

Whether Malpas owed this friendly warning to Thomas Cooke does not appear, but one thing is certain, that very shortly afterwards the daughter of Malpas is known to have been the wife of Cooke, and that her son, who was named after her father, Philip, was born in 1454, the year after Cooke's shrievalty.

The next trace we have of Alderman Malpas is in the year 1461, when, notwithstanding that the battle fought at St. Alban's left the Lancastrian party victorious, the young Duke of York, being favourably received by the Londoners, assumed the regal authority as Edward IV. During this state of insecurity (according to Fabyan, p. 638) "dyuerse cytezyns auoydyd the cytie and lande, among the whiche Phylyp Malpas, whiche, as before is

* *Chronicle*, p. 623.

† Whether Cade was unable to control his followers, or unable to control himself, may be doubtful. It seems clear that his friends in the Corporation were soon opposed to him.

shewyd," "was robbyd of Jacke Cade, whiche Malpas and others was mette vpon the see with a Frensheman namyd Columpne, and of hym taken prysoner, and after payed iiij thousand marke for his ransom." The important researches of Mr. W. Durrant Cooper, F.S.A. clearly exhibit the fact that the insurgent body of which Cade was the leader partook very much of the character of a duly authorised army. The musters were levied by the constables in many of the hundreds, and the insurgents included a great number of the gentry and yeomen of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; the Abbot of Battle, the Prior of Lewes, and a few other ecclesiastics. Mr. Cooper points out that the House of Commons (in 1439) had previously called the attention of the Government to the murders, rapes, robberies, and burnings that were causing discontent among the people in certain districts.

The fact of the house of Philip Malpas being ransacked by Cade seems unquestionable; and indeed from a record preserved in the Treasury of the Exchequer Mr. Cooper proves that Malpas actually obtained again *by purchase* from the Treasury some of the goods seized in his house by Cade.

The evidence adduced by Mr. Cooper clearly demonstrates the inaccuracy of Holinshed. It is not true that the men deserted their leaders as soon as shown their pardon. On the morning after the indecisive engagement on London Bridge (6th July) negociations were opened with Cade in the church of St. Margaret Southwark* for "a charter of pardon from the King *for them all*;" Cade as a preliminary insisting on and obtaining the acceptance by the Chancellor and Bishop Waynfleet of the Bill of Petitions which had been refused by the Privy Council. In his own pardon, which is dated the same day (Monday) as the negociations, Cade is designated John Mortimer. Mr. Cooper remarks: "If Cade had been the low-born person he has been represented, no act of attainder would have been of any operation against his lands and tenements, nor would it have been of importance to declare his blood corrupt."

It is abundantly clear that when "Thomas Cook of London,

* For a detailed account of these negociations see the *Chronicles of William of Wyrcester*, p. 76 *et seq.*

draper," was appointed the London agent of John Cade and his associates * he really assumed a most difficult and important task, which could hardly have been offered to any man unless he had great influence, ability, and judgment.

We may infer, from the date of his will and the time when probate was granted, that Malpas died either the latter end of April or the beginning of May 1469.

By his will,† dated 26th April in that year, he describes himself as Philip Malpas, merchant, citizen, and draper of the city of London, &c. After the usual bequest of soul to Almighty God, the blessed Virgin, &c., he desires his body to be buried in the parish church of the Holy Apostle St. Andrew, upon Cornhill,‡ of which parish he describes himself a parishioner. To the high altar of the same church he leaves for offerings forgotten, &c. 20*s.*; and to the body of the same church for his burial there, &c. 10 marks. He also wills that a priest be provided to read and sing divine service daily in the said church for two years next ensuing after his decease, for his soul, the soul of Julian his late wife, and the souls of their fathers and mothers, and Philippa his daughter, late the wife of Sir Ralph Jocelyn, Knt., &c. He also bequeaths to each of the poor householders in the parish of St. Andrew 6*s.* 8*d.* to pray for his soul, and to the most needful poor people of the said parish, every week for five years next after his decease, 6*d.*; and every year for five years after his decease, he directs wood and coal to the value of 100*s.* to be purchased and distributed among the poor of the said parish; and to every poor householder of the said parish of St. Andrew, once every year for five years, 2*s.* to pray for his soul. To the Prioress of St. Helen's he bequeaths 20*s.*; and to "Dame Alice Woodhows," nun there, 20*s.*, and also to every other nun professed in the same house 6*s.* 8*d.* to pray for his soul. To relieving the poor people in the Hospital of "Bedelem" without Bishopsgate he bequeaths 100*s.* &c.; also 5 marks for making a window of glass in the

* Edward Poynings, the uncle of the Countess of Northumberland, was Cade's carver and sewer. † Prerog. Reg. 27 Godyn.

‡ Now known as St. Andrew Undershaft, Leadenhall Street.

church of the priory of St. Mary Spittal, "late brent;"* and 100*s.* to be bestowed in linen and woollen clothes for the poor people in the same spittal. To the repair of the highway without Bishopsgate 5 marks, and the highway without Aldgate 100*s.* To the poor people in the lazar houses of the "loke"† at Kingsland and St. Giles without London, to each house he bequeaths 40*s.*; and to the poor almspeople of his craft or fellowship of drapers, being in their almshouses, yearly, during five years next after his decease, 40*s.* To his brethren the Commonalty and Fellowship of the same craft he bequeaths "a stonding cup coued of silu and gilt." To the reparation of Rochester Bridge 40*s.* And every year for five years, in bread to the poor prisoners in Newgate, Ludgate, the King's Bench, and Marshalsea, he bequeathed 25*l.* He also leaves yearly for five years 400 shirts and smocks, 40 pairs of sheets, and 150 gowns of frise to be distributed among the most needful poor people in and about the city of London. To the marriage of poor damsels in the city of London, of "good name and fame," 20 marks yearly for a term of five years, to be distributed as 40*s.* to each. He also bequeaths 20 marks yearly for five years to making of highways where most needed; and 6*s.* 8*d.* each to 500 poor householders in London, to pray for his soul. He also desires that there be found of his goods a priest, "a good honest man, graduat in Scoles," to go about for a year to preach the Word of God devoutly to the people, exhorting them to pray for his soul, &c., and for his salary to have 20 marks, &c. He also bequeaths 20*s.* yearly to be prayed for at St. Mary Spittal, the three preaching days in Easter week, during twenty years next after his decease; and he further desires his soul to be prayed for every Sunday at Paul's Cross during a term of ten years. To Elizabeth his daughter, the wife of Sir Thomas Cooke, Knt., he bequeaths 500 marks of the 1000 marks, 100*l.*, and 30*l.*, of "ferme," which the said Sir Thomas was indebted to him, &c.; and to each of the four sons of said Sir Thomas and Elizabeth he bequeaths 100 marks more of the said amount owing him, each to have his part when he arrived at the age of 21 years, with provision for remainder in event of their respective de-

* Burnt. † Lock.

cease. Then follows a very curious passage, which I give verbatim :—

" Also where as it hath been demed and surmysed by the said sir Thomas Cooke heretofore þat I the said Philip Malpas was the cause of tarying and taking of the goodes of the said sir Thomas Cooke, which were takin in a Ship which I was in vppon the see, whan I last passed oũer the see, I the said Philip Malpas, for myn acquitall and discharge in that behalf, say and declare verely vpon my conscience þat I was never the cause of suche said tarying or taking of the said Ship and goodes of the said sir Thom^as Cooke therin, and that the same Ship with goodes was never so taried nor takyn in my cause or defaute, as I woll answer vnto god."

This no doubt refers to the matter mentioned by Fabyan, and quoted in p. 290, in which it appears Malpas was taken prisoner by a Frenchman named Columpne.

But, to proceed with the will, he bequeaths to " Maister John Chambr," clerk, 10*l.*; to " Robert Chambr," 20*l.*; and to Thomas Ram, whom he describes as his " Suster's doughter's sonne," he bequeaths 46*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and to each of the three sisters of the said Thomas Ram on their marriage he leaves 60*l.* &c. To Robert Brykkesworth, his servant, 40*l.* and one of his best " bourd " clothes, one of his best towells, and 100 marks of the best debts that are owing to him. He also bequeaths to John Brandon his servant 20 marks; to John Cary, his servant, 10 marks; to " Johanne " his servant 40 marks; and to Elizabeth his other servant 20*l.*; and to each of the same, Johanne and Elizabeth, so much of his best " silũ wessell " as will amount to 10*l.*; and to the same Johanne and Elizabeth, to be evenly divided between them, all his " beddyng and Napery," and other clothes of his household linen and woollen, &c. except such parcels thereof as his executors should like to divide between the said Robert Brikkesworth and Thomas Ram " oute of " his " grete standard chiste, beyng in " his " grete chambr, and except " his " gownes and the ffedder bed of " his " bed in the said grete chambr, and the grete matras thereof with coũlit celour testor and curteyns of the same bed, and the crosters hanging aboute

the same chambr, with the Standard bed and Standard chest for the said Chambr þat nowe ther stonde, willing alle the same stuf shall remayne and belef to the said place;" the said Johanne to have first choice of such goods. To Thomas Michell his child he bequeaths 10 marks, to be delivered to him when of the age of 21 years, &c. To "Thomas Alyn^{9}" his cook 10 marks, and "alle the Vessell and necessaries longing to" his "Kytchyn of peautre and bras, Iren, treen, and stonen remeveable." Of his gownes furred and lined he desires John Brikkesworth to have two-thirds, and the remaining third part to be sold, and the money received for same to be expended for the good of his soul. To "Kaſyn" the daughter of William Denton, to her marriage, he bequeaths 5 marks; and to John "ffoster" and Johanne his wife, to either of them, "a cup of siluer coũed," &c.; and to "maister thomas Eboralle"* he bequeaths 10*l.* and "a cup coũed of silũ and gilt, and a potell potte of siluer." To John Lucy, haberdasher, dwelling in "Powles Chirchawe," he bequeaths 5*l.*; to Thomas Marsburgh, bowyer, 20*s.*; John Bird, chaundler, 20*s.*; and Thomas, servant with "maister Adam," 6*s.* 8*d.* He further desires that .... Compton, of "Brkynsfeld," a poor blind man, have 10*s.* yearly for life. To Sir Ralph Jocelyn, knt. he bequeaths 100 marks; and to Thomas Fermory, 20*l.* The residue of all his goods, debts, &c. after all his debts paid and his will fulfilled, to be disposed in deeds of alms and charity for his soul, &c.; and he makes and ordains Sir Ralph Jocelyn and Thomas Fermory his executors.

To James Smith, fishmonger, and Johanne his wife, the sister of the before-mentioned Thomas Ram, he bequeaths and grants an annual rent of 40*s.* for term of their lives, out of a shop situate in Bridge Street, in the parish of St. Magnus, &c. To Sir Thomas Cooke and Elizabeth his wife he bequeaths all his great place in which he was then dwelling, &c., situate in Cornhill and Lime Street, in the parish of St. Andrew Cornhill, &c., &c. He also bequeaths to the said Thomas and Elizabeth all his lands and

* Thomas Eboralle was a priest, being mentioned as such in early part of the will.

tenements in the parish of St. Andrew, Eastcheap; his shop in Bridge Street, in the parish of St. Magnus; and all his lands and tenements, &c. in the parishes of St. Olave and St. Mary Magdalen, in Southwark; to have and to hold to them, and the heirs of their bodies, &c.; provided always, that in case the heir of John Tychborne will buy and have those lands and tenements in Southwark, &c., and that he will pay for the same, &c. 100*l.*, then the said heir of John Tychborne, on payment of said 100*l.*, to have again the same lands, &c. To John "Foster" and Johanne his wife (the daughter of Sir Thomas and Elizabeth Cooke) he bequeaths all that his tenement called the "Cok," lying in and on the north side of Cornhill, in the parish of St. Peter, and in ward of Lime Street, with remainder in default of heirs, &c. He also wills that the said Sir Ralph Jocelyn, knt., have and hold for his life the manor of "Chaldewell," in the county of Essex, &c., and after the decease of Sir Ralph the said manor to remain to Sir Thomas and Elizabeth Cooke for term of their lives, and after their decease to remain to Philip their son and his heirs, &c., with provisions for remainder in default of heirs, &c. He also bequeaths to Sir Thomas and Elizabeth Cooke, for term of their lives respectively, his place called "belle hous," and the place called "Appultons," "Porters' ffee," and "Boyeles," in the county of Essex, with all his meadows, &c. at Stratford Langthorn, which he had before assigned and delivered to the said Sir Thomas Cooke, the same to remain after the decease of said Sir Thomas Cooke and Elizabeth his wife unto Thomas, William, and John their sons, each taking his third part, &c., &c.

This will was proved at Lambeth, the 8th day of May, 1469.

Returning to THOMAS COOKE, it appears that in 1453 (five years after Malpas became alderman, and three years after Jack Cade's rebellion), he was elected as Sheriff; three years later he was chosen as Alderman of the Ward of Vintry, and in the year 1462-3 he filled the office of Lord Mayor. At the time of the coronation of Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV., in May 1465, Cooke was created a Knight of the Order of the Bath, and the same honour was also conferred upon the then Lord Mayor, Ralph

Jocelyn (brother-in-law to Cooke and ancestor of the Earl of Roden), and some others. Sir Thomas Cooke was evidently a man of considerable wealth, and in high favour at court. In 1467 he began to build a mansion called Gidea Hall, near Romford in Essex, and obtained a licence for fortifying and embattling it; but on account of his subsequent misfortunes he completed only the front, the remainder being built by one of his descendants.*

The tyranny exercised by Edward IV. against those persons whose riches held out a temptation to visit them with the suspicion of a connection with the House of Lancaster is the subject of severe reprehension by the old historians, and Sir Thomas Cooke was a notable victim.

In 1467 he was impeached of high treason, at the instance of one Hawkins, who, having some years previously requested a loan of him of one thousand marks, upon good security, Sir Thomas answered that he would first know for whom it was and for what intent; when, understanding it was for the use of Queen Margaret (wife of Henry VI.), he told Hawkins that he had no goods that he could convert into money without too much loss, and refused to lend even a hundred pounds; but at the request of the Lady Margaret, sister to the King, he was admitted to bail; no sooner, however, had that royal lady left England, to be married to Charles Duke of Burgundy, than Cooke was again arrested, and sent to the Tower, his effects seized by Lord Rivers, the Queen's father, then Treasurer of England, and his wife committed to the custody of the then Mayor. Sir Thomas was shortly after tried at Guildhall and acquitted. But on his acquittal he was sent to the Bread Street Compter, and from thence to the King's Bench, and was there kept until he paid £8,000 to the King and £800 to the Queen.

His wife, on regaining possession of his house after acquittal, "found it in very evil plight, for the servants of Lord Rivers and of Sir John Fagge (then Under Treasurer), had made havoc of what they listed. Also at Gidea Hall, Essex, they had destroyed the deer in his park, his conies and fish, and spared not

* Lysons's *Environs*, vol. iv. p. 186.

brass, pewter, bedding, nor all they could carry away; for which never a penny was gotten back in recompense."*

It appears also that Lord Rivers and his wife the Duchess of Bedford obtained the dismissal of Chief Justice Markham from his office, for having determined that Cooke was not guilty of treason.

The City Records show that, on the 21st November, 1468, Sir Thomas Cooke was discharged from the office of alderman, on the King's mandate, and that he was reinstated in October of the following year.

On the temporary restoration of Henry VI., in a Parliament which met on the 26th of November, 1470, and of which he appears to have been a member, Cooke "put in a byll into the comon house, to be restoryd of the lord Ryuers, and other occacioners of his trouble," lands to the sum of 22,000 marks, of "whiche he had good comfort to haue ben allowyd of king Henry if he had prosperyd."† "And the rather" (adds the chronicler) "for y^t he was of the cōmon house, and therwith a man of great boldnesse of speke and well spoken, and syngulerly wytted and well reasoned."‡ As King Henry's restored rule was but of short duration, it is clear this appeal met with no success.

In the beginning of the following year, 1471, "the mayer" (Sir John Stockton) "ferynge the retourne of kynge Edwarde, fayn hym syke, and so kept his house a great season, all which tyme sir Thomas Cooke, whiche thenne was admytted to his former rome, was sette in his place, and allowyed for his deputie, whiche tourned after to his great trouble and sorowe."§ Edward *did* return and resumed possession of the throne in the month of April, and

* There is a feminine ring about this passage that makes one fancy the language that of Lady Cooke herself.

† Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 660.

‡ This testimony is remarkable. Of one of Sir Thomas Cooke's descendants (Lord Bacon) we have the evidence of Ben Jonson to the same effect. Of another (the present Marquis of Salisbury) we have evidence of a writer in *The Times* of a like character within two or three days of this paper being read to the Society.

§ Fabyan's *Chronicle* p. 660.

Sir Thomas Cooke, attempting flight by leaving this country for France, was taken by a ship of Flanders, and his son and heir with him, and so set there in prison many days, and lastly was delivered up to King Edward. It is also said that the goods of Sir Thomas Cooke were again seized, and his wife put forth, and commanded to be kept at the mayor's.* How long this state of things lasted, and what events happened to Cooke subsequently, I have not been able to trace; but it is clear from the amount of property he died possessed of, that, though he may have been heavily fined, he was not reduced to poverty. When upon the death of Edward IV. Richard Duke of Gloucester made known his ambitious designs upon the throne, we are told that the Duke of Buckingham was sent into the city to deliver an oration to the assembled citizens in their Guildhall, in order to incite them to favour Richard's projects. In this speech Buckingham dwelt on topics which he knew would come home to the feelings of those whom he was addressing, and amongst other subjects he spoke with much force of the injuries which Sir Thomas Cooke had sustained at the hands of the late King. The following extract from the account handed to us of the duke's speech on this subject may not be deemed uninteresting: "What Cooke," he exclaims, "your owne worshipful neighbour, alderman, and maior of this noble citie! who is of you so either negligent that he knoweth not, or so forgetful that he remembreth not, or so hard-hearted that he pittieth not that worshipful man's losse? What speake we of losse? His vtter spoile and vndeserued destruction, *onelie for that it hapned those to fauour him whome the prince fauoured not.*† We need not (I suppose) to rehearse of these anie mo by name,

* Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 662.

† Does this point to any special friendship with the Earl of Warwick (the king-maker)? A modern writer expresses his surprise at the influence the earl exercised in the City. May not this have been through Sir Thomas Cooke? Had Warwick anything to do with Cooke's negociations with Jack Cade? We know that when Warwick quarrelled with Edward IV. and brought back Henry VI. Cooke was made acting Lord Mayor. It is probable that if the Corporation decide upon a careful scrutiny of the City archives many interesting facts relative to the History of England during the Wars of the Roses will be brought to light.

sith there be (I doubt not) manie heere present, that either in themselues or in their nigh friends haue knowne as well their goods as their persons greatlie indangered either by feigned quarels or small matters aggreeued with heinous names. And also there was no crime so great of which there could lack a pretext. For sith the king, preuenting the time of his inheritance, atteined the crown by battell, it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treason to haue beene of kinred, or aliance, neer familiaritie, or legier acquaintance with any of those who were at anie time the king's enimies, which was at one time or other more than halfe the relme. Thus were neither your goods in suretie, and yet they brought your bodies in ieopardie."*

Sir Thomas Cooke died in 1478. By his testament and last will† dated the 15th April, 1478, after the preliminary bequest of soul to God, &c. &c., he desires his body "to be buried w^in the Churche of the ffreres Augustynes, sett w^in Bradstrete Warde of londoñ, on the south side bitwene the two pillers in the thirde vpmost Arche of stone exopposite the grave and monument of William Edward Aldreman, late mayre and grocer of london;" and for his tomb to be made of stone he bequeaths 20 marks. He also desires 16 poor men to attend his burial with 12 torches and 4 great tapers of wax, but without "any manner of curious hers or Candlesticks," and each of the said poor men to have 20*d.* and a "gown clothe of blake frise or lynyng;" he also instructs his executors to desire and pray the mayor and aldermen to be at his burial and month's mind, and describes himself as a parishioner of the parish of St. Peter le Poer, to the altar of which parish church he bequeaths 13*s.* 4*d.* for duties forgotten, &c., and to the repair of the body of same church 10*s.* To each of the four orders of Friars in London, viz., Augustines, Minors, and the Black and White Friars, to say "Placebo and Dirige" within the church of the Augustin Friars on day of his burial, to each order 20*s.* To the Friars of Chelmsford, Maldon, and every order of Friars of Colchester, 20*s.* to each order to sing "Placebo and Dirige by note" the day of his burial and month's mind, and

* Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. iii. p. 391.

† Prerog. Reg. 36 Wattis.

three days next after the same, and also on the morning following, mass of Requiem by note. To the Grey Friars of Ailesbury 40*s.*, on condition that they keep an obit yearly for 20 years in their church for his soul, the soul of John Maldy, William Thurston, and all christian souls; he also bequeaths 10*l.* for prayers to be said every Sunday at St. Paul's Cross in London, yearly for a space of six years; also 3*l.* for prayers to be said at St. Mary Spittal, the three preaching days in Easter week, for a term of 20 years next ensuing his decease; then follows a bequest of 6*s.* every month for a term of five years next after his decease, to be bestowed in bread among the poor prisoners of Newgate, Marshalsea, and King's Bench, to pray for his soul and the soul of Thomas Bassett, &c., and 5 marks to such person or persons as the Prioress and nuns of St. Helen's within Bishopsgate are indebted to, on condition that the said Prioress and convent on the day of his decease and month's mind, within their church sing "Placebo and Dirige," &c. for his soul, &c. To Sympkin Ludbroke of London, draper, he bequeaths 5 marks, and to his chaplain, Sir Robert ..... 4 marks. He also bequeaths to William Taillour his servant 4 marks. To Robert Whitingham his servant 40*s.*, and to John Vale his servant 50*l.* of the best debts owing to him, &c. He also bequeaths to six poor men such as should be blind and lame and not dwelling in his "rentȩ in the blak Ale," for a term of 90 years next ensuing after his decease, every Sunday 1*d.* each, and also that the said poor men and others after them in their stead, each of them to have "bi himsilf an hous bi the grounde nexte the strete of tho" his "rentȩ and tenementȩ sett in blak Alee a foresaide, in the pish of Alhallowes in the Walle in Bradstrete Warde of London a foresaide," to have and to hold the said six tenements during their lives without any rent or charge, and he further desires this bequest to take effect the Sunday eight weeks after his month's mind, &c., and he desires Thomas of Kente and Godfrey, late his servants, to have the preferment or choice of the said six houses, and to the said Thomas he bequeaths 20*s.* His manual book, and all his mass books, bibles, portuses, saulters, vestments, chalices, corporales, sepulturcs, altar cloths, and curtains he desires to remain in the custody of

Philip his son, to the intent that he deliver them to John or William his brothers, or either of them who shall happen to be a priest, without any delay the day next before he shall sing his first mass. After his burial and all his debts paid, he bequeaths the residue of all his goods, &c. &c. whatsoever, to be divided into three equal parts. The first part to Elizabeth his wife, the other part to Philip his son, and the third part to be equally divided between John and William his sons, when they arrive at the age of 24 years, &c. &c., with a provision for remainder in event of John and William being priests or dying without issue. To Thomas Rotherham, Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Lincoln, he bequeaths his best "standing Cupp cou^{9}ed gilt;" and to William Edward, Alderman, to be one of his executors, 10 marks. He also bequeaths 10 marks each to John Vavasour of the Temple, gentleman, and John Hawe* of London, gentleman, and he makes and ordains his son Philip, William Edward, John Vavasour, John Hawe, and Humfrey Howarden his executors, the last mentioned also to have 10 marks; and for their overseer he appoints the said Lord Chancellor. He then directs his executors after his decease to grant to the Prior and convent of the Augustin Friars an annuity of 40*s.* yearly of the issues of the place in which he was then dwelling, and of all his other tenements in the parish of St. Peter le Poer, to have and to hold the same from the day of his decease for a term of 90 years; that the said prior and convent, &c. suffer his grave and tomb to be made within their said church, and so to remain for ever, the said prior and convent keeping and observing an obit for his soul, &c. &c. in their said church every year for 90 years. To Philip his son and his assigns for term of his life he bequeaths all that his "Chaumbr and Stuff of Chamberyng thereto bilongyng, which that nowe I occupie and lye ynne my silf, w^{t} my ij Studies and Countyng houses thereto annexed. Also ij other of my Chambres, whereof oon is w^{t} a Chapell next adioynyng to my saide Chapell,† on the same side stretching Este and Weste, and abuttith vpon the south toward the grete place late myn, and nowe bilongyng to Robert Hardyng, goldesmyth, in the pish" of St. Peter le Poer,

* (?) Sheriff of London, 16 Hen. VII. 1500. † (?) Chambres.

&c., with free access to and from the same. The residue of his said dwelling place from the day of his month's mind to remain to Elizabeth his wife for term of her life, with remainder after her decease to his son Philip, &c. To his wife Elizabeth he also bequeaths for term of her life his "grete place," with tenements and appurtenances, in the parish of St. Margaret Lothbury, and also his place called "grene gate,"* &c. in the parish of St. Andrew Cornhill, on the condition that the said Elizabeth, nor any one on her behalf, do not vex or annoy his executors, &c. with reference to the distribution of his property, and after her decease the same to remain to Philip his son, &c. &c. To Philip his son he leaves the brewhouse of the Swan, in the parish of St. Botolph without "Aldrichgate," and to the said Philip and his heirs, after the death of said Elizabeth, he bequeaths all his places and tenements, &c. in the parish of St. Andrew Cornhill and Lime Street, formerly belonging to Philip Malpas, and to the said Philip he also leaves his brewhouse called the Garland, &c. in the parish of St. Andrew Eastcheap, and also his place called the Wharf in the parish of St. Botolph Billingsgate, also his two shops in the parish of St. Magnus, and his tavern and brewhouse called the Bear and Dolphin in the parish of St. Olave and St. Mary Magdalen in Southwark, and also his lands, &c. in Whitchurch, in the county of Chester, and in the county of Surrey, with provision for remainder in event of failure of heirs to Philip, &c. To John Vale his servant he bequeaths an annual rent of 4*l.* for term of his life, to issue out of his places in the parish of St. Helen's and "St. Albourgh"† within Bishopsgate Ward, and further directs that all the said places and the residue of all his tenements called "blak Alee," to remain wholly to Philip his son during the end and term of an indenture made to him for certain years, &c. under the seal of the Prioress and convent of St. Helen's; then follows provision for remainder, and conditions respecting same if Philip die without heirs. He also bequeaths to John Forster and Johanne his wife (whom he describes as his daughter) all those his tenements which sometime belonged to John Maldy,

* Inherited from Philip Malpas. † St. Ethelburga.

&c. in the parish of St. Olave, against the Bridge House in Southwark, and after the decease of Elizabeth his wife all those his tenements, &c. in the parish of St. Swithin, in London, &c. To Philip his son, and his heirs, he leaves his manor of Gidea or Geddy Hall and Easthouse, &c. with all the ploughs, carts, &c.; and also all his mills, tenements, &c. in the parishes of Hornchurch and Romford, in Essex, also his manor called Bedford's, and his place called "Revles,"* and his place called "Tilehous;" also his manor of Reden Court, and his places and tenements called "Actonys" and "frethes," &c. in the parish of Hornchurch; also his manor of "Haughannes," and his place called "Martynes," in the parishes and towns of "Chigwell, lambourn, hetunboise, Sapilforde Abbat, and a brigge," † in the county of Essex; with provision for remainder in default of issue of said Philip. He also bequeaths unto said Philip his manor called "Maudelen lawser" and his Limekyln, &c. at Stifford Bridge, in the county of Essex. To Aluere Cornebourgh ‡ he bequeaths his tenement called "Willotys" (in which Bernarde Tilemaker, is described as then dwelling) on condition that he pay his executors 5*l.*, and also discharge his heirs for ever of all quit-rents going out of his manor of Gidea Hall, or otherwise the said tenement to remain to Philip his son.

He also wills that his executors make or cause to be made to the vicar and wardens of the church of St. Nicholas of Witham, in the county of Essex, a lawful estate in fee for evermore of all those his tenements called "ffresles" in the parish of Witham, to yearly keep and hold an obit in said church for his soul, &c., and the souls of Thomas Bassett, John Debenham, John Maldy, and William Thurston, &c. &c. To Philip his son he also bequeaths his place called the Bell and the Angel, in Newland, in Witham, and also his places called Pages and the Mote, &c., in the parish and town of Witham, and also in the towns of "Revnale, Cressyng, ffalbo'n, and Brakstede," in the county of Essex, with remainder to William his son, if Philip die without issue; and if

* (?) Nerles.

† Heybridge.

‡ Avery Cornburgh, of Gooshays, in the parish of Romford, died 1486.

William die, then remainder to Thomas Downe (whom he describes as his nephew) and his heirs for evermore. To John his son and his heirs he bequeaths all that his great place called the Swan in Brentwood, in the county of Essex, and all other his tenements, lands, &c., in the town and parish of Brentwood. The said John to have, to him and his heirs, after decease of Elizabeth his wife, all that his manor of Belhouse, and his places called "Morells" and "Boyeles," and his lands called "Tyleherstes," &c., in the county of Essex; and also all his rent of assize and quit rent, called Porter's Fee, in the county of Essex, with provision for remainder in event of John dying without heirs. To William his son and his heirs, when he is of lawful age, he bequeaths all his places and tenements in the town of Colchester, in the county of Essex, and also his fishing wears within the Colne Water, between St. Osyth's and Colchester; also all that his beer-house between the "Forthe" of Stratford Bow and Stratford Langthorn, in the parish of Witham, in the county of Essex; also all his messuages and tenements in the parish of Eastham. And to the said William and his heirs, after the decease of Elizabeth his wife, he bequeaths his place called "Appultones," &c. in the parish of Chigwell: also all his meadows, &c. in Stratford Langthorn, &c. which late belonged to Philip Malpas, &c. He also wills and ordains that all his ffeoffees enfeoffed to his use of his lands, &c., in the towns of "Erehith, lesnes, maidestoñ, Loose fferte, Boughtoñ Monchesey, Redmersh^{a}m, Bac^{a}childe, Milstede," and in the hundred of Middleton, or in other places in the county of Kent, shall make estate thereof to such persons as his executors shall require, and that the said estates be sold, and the proceeds to be applied in payment of his debts, &c. &c.

This will was proved at Lambeth the 1st day of June, 1478.

Although it is not my intention in this paper to enter into the history of the several eminent men of the past and present day who derive their descent from Philip Malpas and Sir Thomas Cooke, still as the matter will, I have no doubt, be of considerable interest to genealogists, I have added hereto a pedigree of the Cooke family, in addition to the following abstract of the

will of Sir Anthony Cooke, the father of the Ladies Burghley, Bacon, and Russell.

Sir Anthony Cooke, great-grandson of Sir Thomas Cooke, as will be seen by the pedigree, died 11th June, and was buried 21st June, 1576, at Romford. By his last will and testament,* dated 22nd May, 1576, he describes himself as "Anthonye Cooke of Guydyhall in Haveringe," knight. He desires his body to be buried at Romford. To his son Richard, his "daughter Burleighe," his "daughter Bacon," his "daughter Russell," his "daughter Killegrewe," and his son William, he leaves to each a legacy of silver plate. He also bequeaths to his son Richard all his household stuff, &c. at Gidea Hall and Bedfords, &c. of his books he bequeaths two Latin books and one Greek book to each of his daughters, and the residue to his son Richard and Anthony his son. Also he bequeaths to Richard and William his sons jointly the lease for the term yet to come of his farm at Minster, in the Isle of Thanet, with all stock and cattle. To his son Richard he bequeaths 200*l.* and to his son William 500*l.* He appoints the Right Hon. Sir Nicholas Bacon, knt. Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, the Right Hon. the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England, and his two sons Richard and William Cooke, his executors; and to the Lords Bacon and Burghley he bequeaths 200*l.* each for their pains. All the residue of his goods he bequeaths to Richard Cooke his son.

Then follows his last will and testament of all his lands, &c.

To his son William Cooke and his wife he bequeaths the manor of "Mawdlyn Laver," "Marskallesburie," "Haughaims," and "Wythers," in the county of Essex, with such remainders as was covenanted between himself and Lady Grey upon the marriage of his said son William. To his daughter-in-law, the wife of his son Richard, he bequeaths for the term of her life the manor of Chadwell, &c. and the manor of Reden Court, in Havering, both in the county of Essex, in full recompense of all jointure and dower, &c. To his son Richard and his heirs male he bequeaths all the residue of his lands, with provision for remainder in default of heirs.

* Prerog. Reg. 10 Daughtry.

This will is signed "Anthoine Cooke, 9th June, 1576," from which I infer that it was not signed till some time after it had been drawn up. The witnesses to the signature being W. Burghley; Gabr. Goodman, Dean of Westminster; W. Cooke; George Harrison, notary; Richard Cooke's wife; Henry Killegrewe's wife; and John Escott.

To the will is appended a schedule of legacies, as follows: To Lady Oxford, 50*l.* To Lord Leicester, the choice of two stallions out of Havering Park. *To Robert Cecil*, 20*l.* *To Elizabeth Cecil*, 20*l.* To his daughter Killegrewe, 60*l.* *To Anthony Bacon*, 20*l.* *To Francis Bacon*, 20*l.* To Edward Hoby, 10*l.* To Thomas Posthumus Hoby, 10*l.* To Marie Cooke, three "Portigues." To Anne Cooke, three "Portigues."* To Anne Killegrewe five "Portigues." To his cousin Skinner 10*l.* and to his cousin Ogle 5*l.* To John Escott his servant, 3*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* To Edward Davie his servant, 3*l.* To Richard Howell his servant, 3*l.* To every of the three servingmen in his household at the time of his death, 40*s.* each. To every other "hinde," woman servant, and boy, being to the number of fifteen in his household at the time of his decease, 20*s.* each, &c.

This will was proved at London, 5th March, 1576.

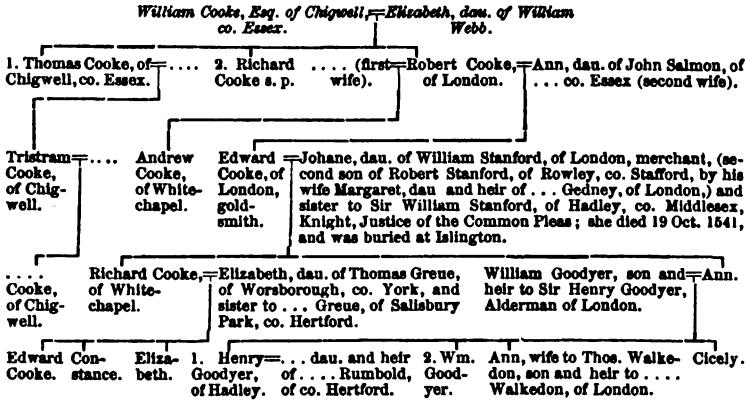
It will be seen that I have adopted throughout the spelling of the surname of Cooke as it occurs in the wills of Sir Thomas and his great-grandson Sir Anthony Cooke, although the name often appears as Coke in the various records and chronicles.

In concluding this paper, I have to express my thanks to E. J. Sage, Esq. for the kind loan of his MS. pedigree and notes of the Cooke family, and also to my friend Thomas Milbourn, Esq. for other information relating to the family.

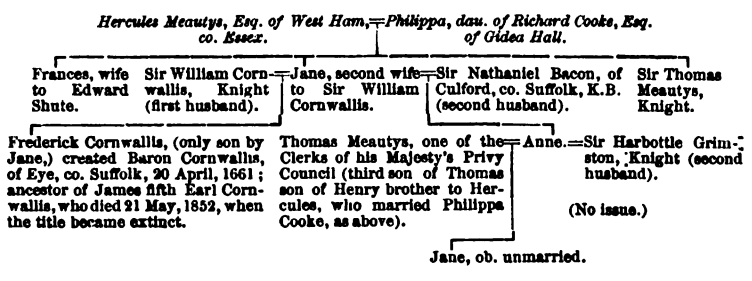
* A gold coin of the value of 3*l.* 10*s.*

COOKE FAMILY, OF GIDEA HALL, ROMFORD, CO. ESSEX.

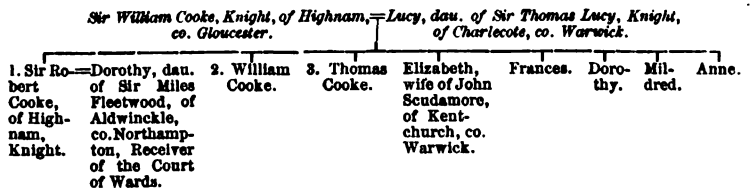
A.*



B.†



C.‡



Authorities for the above Pedigrees.

* Harl. MS Brit. Mus. No. 1541, ff. 42 b-43; No. 1077, f. 53; and No. 1439, f. 84, &c.

† Clutterbuck's *Hist. of Herts*, vol. i. p. 93, and Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Peerages*.

‡ Harl. MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1543, f. 48 b.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX

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Arrangements have been made, under the sanction of the Council, for the purpose of facilitating the exchange amongst Members of the Society of *Rubbings of Monumental Brasses.*

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX

Archæological Society.

Vol. III. OCTOBER 1869. Part X.

THE CARTHUSIAN MONASTERY OF LONDON.

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON HALE.

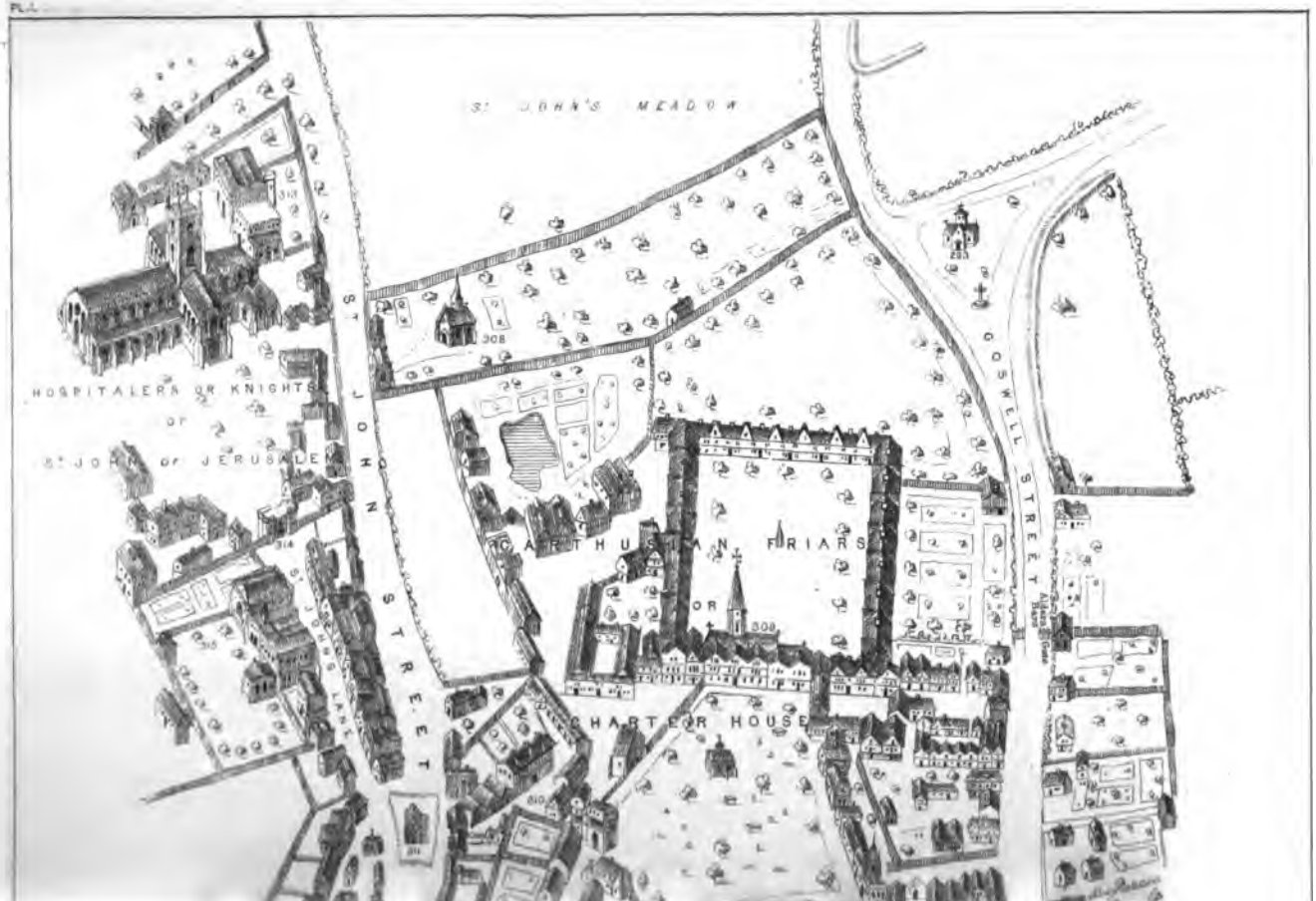
THE compilation of the following notes, illustrative of the Carthusian Monastery of London, owes its origin to the Meeting of the Society at the Charterhouse on the 10th of June 1867, and to the address, which on that occasion the author, at a short notice and with little preparation, delivered to a numerous assembly. The attention of the auditory was at that time limited to the use and occupation of the place by the monks of the Carthusian order until the dissolution of the monastery, and to its subsequent occupation by those wealthy noblemen who converted the monastery into a palatial residence. Accordingly the observations now to be made will be confined to the same subjects; nor will any notice be taken of the hospital and school which were founded by Thomas Sutton, when in 1611 he purchased, from Thomas Earl of Suffolk, Howard House and the lands adjoining, which are now held by the Governors of the Charterhouse under the authority of a royal charter of James I., confirmed by subsequent Acts of Parliament, as "Governors of the Goods, Lands, Possessions, and Goods of the Hospital of King

James founded in Charterhouse, in the county of Middlesex, at the humble petition and only cost and charges of Thomas Sutton, Esquire."

The Charterhouse has been for many centuries an extra-parochial place, but anciently it was in the parish of St. Sepulchre. The church of that parish is outside the wall of the city of London beyond Newgate, and within the ballium at the bottom of which flowed the river Fleet. The parish extended beyond the boundaries of the city into the county of Middlesex. The church, which has been always served by a Vicar, was granted by Roger Bishop of Salisbury to the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew, upon the foundation of that monastery by Rahere in 1123. Whence the Bishop of Salisbury derived his right to that church cannot now be discovered. It is sufficient to state, that by his grant the Prior and Convent became possessed of the great tithes of the parish, and continued to be Rectors until the dissolution of the monastery. It is probable that at that period the whole site of the two parishes of St. Bartholomew the Great and St. Bartholomew the Less was in the parish of St. Sepulchre. That they were not distinct parishes until after the Dissolution appears from the fact that no mention is made of them in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII. (1535) among the parishes of the city of London.

The appropriation of the present site of the Charterhouse to purposes of religion began with the provision made by Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, in the year 1349, for the interment of the dead in a time of general pestilence. That prelate bought three acres of land, called "No Man's Land," inclosed it with a wall, and erected a chapel in which masses were said for the repose of the dead. The chapel was afterwards called Pardon Chapel, and the churchyard Pardon Churchyard. Its situation may be seen in the plan of the Charterhouse and its vicinity, (see Plate I. copied, with permission, from Mr. Newton's map of London in the Olden Time), as abutting upon the north wall of the garden of the monastery, and extending from St. John Street to Goswell Street.

About the same time Sir Walter de Manny purchased from


ST JOHN'S MEADOW
HOSPITALERS OR KNIGHTS
OF
ST JOHN of JERUSALEM
ST JOHN STREET
CARTHUSIAN FRIARS
OR
CHARTER HOUSE
GOSWELL STREET

Reference.

289. *Brotherhood of the Trinity.*
290. *Westmoreland House.*
291. *Peter House.*
292. *Conduit in Aldersgate Street.*
293. *Mount Calvary.*
306 *St. Bartholomew the Less.*
307. *St. Bartholomew the Great.*
308. *Pardon Church Yard.*
309. *Charterhouse Chapel.*
310. *Windmill Inn.*
311. *Hicks's Hall.*
313. *Prior's House.*
314. *St. John's Gate.*
315. *Berkeley House.*
316. *Cow Cross.*

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the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew a field of thirteen acres and one rood, called the Spittle Croft, in which, as is recited in his charter of foundation, more than 50,000 persons were buried in the time of that pestilence.* Sir Walter also erected a chapel in honour of the festival of the Annunciation, from which building the Spittle Croft acquired the name of "New Church Hawe." The Spittle Croft occupied the space between the boundary of Pardon churchyard on the north, and the boundary wall of Charterhouse churchyard (now called Charterhouse Square) on the south. Twenty-two years elapsed (1349–1371) between the first purchase of the Spittle Croft by Sir Walter de Manny and his foundation of the Carthusian monastery. In the interval between 1349 and 1352 Sir Walter had signified to Pope Clement VI. the provision which he had made near London for the burial of the dead, his having built a chapel, his purpose to found a college for twelve chaplains under a warden, and had requested a licence of foundation, and power to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London to unite to it three benefices, not exceeding in value 100*l.* per annum.

Such is the evidence which we have of the early purpose of Sir Walter de Manny to devote the property which he had acquired to religious purposes, and of his endeavour to obtain the sanction of the Papal authority for the endowment of his college by the annexing to it benefices of the value of 100*l.* per annum. This took place under the popedom of Clement VI., which was between the years 1349 and 1352. In 1354 Michael de Northburgh became Bishop of London. An attentive study of his last will and comparison of the dates of the documents will confirm the idea, that in the establishment of the Monastery he took

* Stowe in his Survey of London says, "I have seen and read an inscription fixed on a stone crosse, sometime in the same churchyard, and having these words:—

"An. Dom. M.CCCXLIX.

"Regnante magna pestilentia, consecratum fuit hoc Cœmeterium, in quo et infra septa presentis Monasterii sepulta fuerunt Mortuorum corpora plusquam quinquaginta millia: præter alia multa adhinc usque ad præsens. Quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen."

a very important part, such as fairly entitles him to be accounted one of its founders. He died in 1361. It would appear that the property which Sir Walter de Manny had acquired, and on which he intended to build his college, had in some way or other passed into the hands of the Bishop. The words of his will are as follows:—"Item, lego duo millia librarum ad fundandam construendam et complendam, quam ocius executores mei hoc facere poterunt, quandam domum Ordinis Carthusiani juxta situm et modum ejusdem ordinis in loco Newechurche-hawe vulgariter nuncupato, ubi est ecclesia Annunciationis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, *quem locum et patronatum ejusdem perquisivi de domino Waltero de Manny milite.* Item, eidem domui cum completa et perfecta fuerit duas pelves argenti meliores quas habeo ad ministrandum in magno altari ejusdem domus, et vas meum argenteum aymelatum in quo solet poni corpus Christi, et meliorem stopum argenteam quam habeo pro aqua benedicta cum aspersorio ejusdem et cum campanella argenti. Et ad meliorem completionem dicti operis et dotationem ejusdem ampliorem lego omnes terminos meos quos habeo in quibuscumque locis usque ad quadriennium post tempus mortis meæ. Et nihilominus omnes redditus meos et tenementa quos et quæ Londini habeo, et reversiones tenementorum quæ Johannes Cantebrigg tenet de me ad terminum vitæ suæ in civitate Londonensi, et omnes alias reversiones quos habeo in eadem civitate lego eidem domui in perpetuum possidendas, redditibus infrascriptis duntaxat exceptis. Item, lego eidem domui omnes libros meos divini servitii per me non legatos. Item, duo meliora integra vestimenta quæ post mortem meam reperientur. Quod si domus prædicta juxta voluntatem meam hujusmodi fieri non poterit, tunc præfatos redditus et tenementa cum reversionibus prædictis lego executoribus meis infrascriptis ad vendendum et disponendum de eisdem pro salute animæ meæ prout eis videbitur melius expedire et voluerint die judicii respondere. Item, ejusdem loci patronatum et omne jus quod in dicto loco habeo cum pertinentiis suis, quantum ad me attinet vel poterit attinere, lego successoribus meis Episcopis London. humiliter rogans eos ob honorem Jesu Christi et beatissimæ Mariæ Virginis et Sancti Pauli, quatenus ordinationem dictæ

domus faciendam et fabricationem ac completionem ejusdem operis cum diligentia supervideant et intendant eisdem." From the instructions thus contained in the will of the Bishop, the declaration that the Newchurch Hawe and the patronage of the church in it were in his possession, his bequeathing all his right in it to his successors, and appointing them the supervisors of that part of his will which related to the construction and completion of the monastery, we may reasonably believe that his intentions, if not perfectly, were in some degree fulfilled, and that a portion of the monastery was built by the funds which he provided. There is a phrase in the bull of Pope Urban (in which permission is granted to annex benefices of double the value originally proposed, viz. 200*l.* per annum,) which leads to the conjecture, that when Sir Walter de Manny made over to the Bishop the Newchurch Hawe and the church, they had come to some understanding upon the subject; the Knight having changed his purpose of erecting a college, and agreed with the Bishop that a double convent of Carthusian monks should be founded, a convent for twenty-four monks, instead of a college for twelve canons. In that bull both the Bishop and the Knight are said to have founded the monastery. The words are very remarkable:—"Bonæ memoriæ Michael Episcopus Londinensis et idem Miles, prædicto Collegio nondum instituto, Conventum duplicem Monachorum Ordinis Carthusiani in loco prædicto, mutato proposito dicti Militis, fundaverunt." The Bishop, possibly prevented by death from erecting the building, left the money and the rents bequeathed in his will to accomplish his purpose. Between the death of Bishop Northburgh and Sir Walter de Manny's obtaining the King's licence and executing the charter of foundation of the monastery nine years elapsed. During that time he had probably the satisfaction of witnessing the executors fulfilling the trust in the erection of buildings for the habitation of the monks. The sum to be appropriated to this purpose was more than 2000*l.*, four years' rent of certain property being added to it. Some idea may be formed of the extent of the building which might have been erected for such a sum from the amount (160*l.*) which in 1378 the executors of

Felicia de Thymelby agreed with the Prior and Convent to pay for constructing a cell with a competent portion of the cloister and garden ground, and for the endowment of a monk to dwell in that cell and pray for the souls of Thomas Aubury and Felicia de Thymelby his wife. On the supposition that Bishop Northburgh contributed so largely out of his estate to the erection of the building of the monastery, it might have been expected that in the charter of Sir Walter de Manny much more ample mention should have been made of him than that of special prayer for him as one of the benefactors. Still there is nothing in the terms of the charter which contradicts the idea of so much having been done for the monastery by the Bishop, although it leaves unexplained by what means Sir Walter de Manny, having formerly made over the property to the Bishop, again became so possessed of it as in his own name to obtain a royal licence and to grant a charter of foundation. In the royal licence for the erection of the monastery it was conceded, that Sir Walter de Manny might grant and assign to the prior and monks a certain house, *on his own land* (solo suo proprio), called New Church Hawe, not held of the King in capite, and also twenty acres of his own land. In the charter Sir Walter de Manny mentions the New Church Hawe as containing thirteen acres and one rood, and that he had caused it to be consecrated by Bishop Stratford, and there built a chapel; but in giving the thirteen acres for the habitation of the monks, with the buildings upon it, the buildings are not said to have been erected by himself.

The original charter of foundation by Sir Walter de Manny, now preserved in the evidence room of the Charterhouse, was exhibited at the meeting of the Society. The witnesses to the charter were the Bishops of Ely and Lincoln, the Earls of Pembroke, Hereford, March, and Salisbury, the Mayor and the two Sheriffs of London, of whom William de Walworth was one. Although the King's licence empowered Sir Walter to convey twenty acres, the quantity of land described in the charter was only sixteen acres and one rood, consisting of the Spittle Croft (thirteen acres and one rood), originally bought of the monks of

S. Bartholomew, and other three acres particularly described as "lying to the north outside the walls," by which it would seem that the whole site of the monastery was at that time inclosed by walls. It would be interesting could the site of these three acres be identified. It is probable that they were situated on the east side of Pardon churchyard, the churchyard not extending so far to the east as described in Mr. Newton's map, though some writers have concluded that they were the three acres originally bought by Bishop Stratford, and consecrated as Pardon churchyard. Were this however the case, it is probable that they would have been described as Pardon churchyard, or as No Man's Land, and also that some mention would have been made of the chapel and cottage situated in it. We find that in the year 1514 Pardon Chapel, with its oblations, ornaments, and other things pertaining to it, together with the cottage at the gate, were in the possession of the Hospitallers of St. John, and that the ground was used as a burial-place by them for "the bodyes of all dede people by auctorite of the Pope's p̃valege, after the usance and custome of our frary."* It is also mentioned by Stowe that the churchyard was under the control of the convent of St. John. It does not seem probable, supposing that that land had been made over to the Carthusians by Sir Walter de Manny, that they would ever have parted with it, lying as it did in the midst of the Carthusian property between New Church Hawe and Hervyes Croft.

The three acres in question are described as lying between the lands of the abbot and convent of Westminster and the land of the prior and convent of St. John of Jerusalem.

It is an interesting fact, that, having requested the Dean of Westminster to inform me of any lands belonging to the Abbey being in the proximity of the Charterhouse, a deed was discovered by the diligence of Mr. Burtt of the Record Office, by which the abbot of Westminster granted to the prior and convent of the Charterhouse a piece of land thus described: "Quandam parcellam terræ juxta Nomanneslonde . . . . . versus orientem juxta viam regiam, versus Iseldon et terram dictorum Prioris

* Grant by Sir Thomas Docwra, Prior in 1514, to Edmund Travers.

versus occidentem et austrum et Nomanneslonde." This was probably a small piece by the wayside, the consideration for it being only the rendering of a red rose and the saying a mass annually for the sacred King and Confessor Edward.

We have yet to notice another transaction by which the monks of the Charterhouse eventually became possessed of another parcel of land now included in the property of the Charterhouse. In the same year, and at the same time that Sir Walter de Manny executed the charter of foundation, he himself, together with Roger de Evesham and John de Whitwell, were enfeoffed by the prior of the Hospital of St. John with a parcel of land of more than ten acres and a half in Hervyes Croft lying between the lands of St. John of Jerusalem on the north and the New Church Hawe on the south, at the rent of twenty-five shillings per year, the rent to be continued to be paid until other rents or possessions of the same annual value were made over to the prior and convent of the hospital. The name of Whitwell was perpetuated in Whitwell Beech. The land so called, together with Pardon Chapel, was in the possession of Lord North, and became part of the property purchased by Thomas Sutton from the Howard family.

Such is the history of the acquirement by Sir Walter de Manny of the lands upon part of which the monastery was erected, and which, but little impaired in extent, are now in the possession of the Governors of Sutton's Hospital founded in the Charterhouse in 1611.

From various documents it appears that the Carthusians had other land in the neighbourhood, and that the present site of the Charterhouse was but a small part of their possessions.

In the year 1377 four acres of land adjoining the monastery, for the making of cells and gardens, were granted by the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem (a grant confirmed by King Richard II.), thus described: "Quatuor acras terræ jacentes prope dictam Domum Carthusianam, et pertinentes ad domum de Clerkenwell, quæ ad Hospitalem predictam pertinet."

In the year 1391 Sir William de Beauchamp, knight, granted to the Carthusians three acres of land with their appurtenances,

to hold in free and perpetual frank-almoign, thus described: "In parochia Sanctæ Sepulchri extra Barram de West Smythefeld, London."

In the year 1429 William Rendre, citizen and barber of the city of London, demised, for the term of eighty years, at the rent of a red rose to be paid annually on the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, one acre, thus described: "Unam acram pasturæ jacentem in campo vocato Conduit Shote, prope Trillemylle Brook, in parochia Sancti Andreæ de Holborne, scilicet inter pasturam predictorum Prioris et Conventus ex partibus boreali et occidentali, ac pasturam Prioris et Conventus prioratus Sancti Bartholomæi de West Smythefeld ex parte australi, et viam regiam ducentem de Holborne versus Kentishtown ex parte orientali."

It has been mentioned above that the rectory of the parish of St. Sepulchre was originally granted to the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew, and that the two parishes of St. Bartholomew the Great and St. Bartholomew the Less were formerly part of St. Sepulchre's parish.

In the Register of Bishop Stokesley there is a record of a composition relative to tithes made between the Prior of St. Bartholomew's and the Vicar of the parish in 1531. A clause in this document precluding the Vicar from taking tithes of Clerkenwell Field, as well as the reference made to a composition for tithes made between the Lord of St. John of Jerusalem in England and the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew, afford good evidence of the ancient extent of the parish. From the Valor Ecclesiasticus in 1536 it appears that the rectory of St. Sepulchre, then in the hands of the monastery, was valued at 42*l.* per annum. From the same document we learn that Clerkenwell had its parish church, from which the Prioress of Clerkenwell received oblations and tithes amounting annually to 53*s.* 2½*d.*, and the Priory of St. John's oblations averaging 15*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* annually. The Charterhouse also was within the parish of St. Sepulchre, but was exempt from the payment of any parochial dues, and had all the privileges of a separate parish, as appears from a copy of an indenture now remaining in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of

Westminster, transcribed by Mr. Burtt, of the same date as the composition made between the Monastery of St. Bartholomew (as Rectors of the parish) and the Vicars, in which the Rectors and the Vicars acknowledge and agree that the Prior and Convent of the Charterhouse shall have all tithes, oblations, and other rights and ecclesiastical emoluments within the house or priory, as well within the brick wall which surrounded the cemetery called the Charterhouse churchyard as within the other boundaries of the house, and also shall administer the *sacramenta* and *sacramentalia* to all persons living in the house and within its precincts. It was further agreed that they should receive all the oblations made in the Chapel of the Assumption, lately built by one Hullett in the middle of the churchyard, the Rector and Vicar giving up all emoluments, and right to minister within the Charterhouse to its inhabitants. It was agreed also, that, saving the rights of the parish church of St. Sepulchre in respect of burial, any persons who made choice of the Charterhouse churchyard as the place of their burial might be buried in it. On the other hand the Prior and Convent of the Charterhouse consented not to administer the sacraments within their house or the aforesaid chapel, either at Easter or any other time, to any of the parishioners of St. Sepulcre without the special licence of the Rectors or the Vicar.

Thus far it would seem as if the terms of this document were wholly to the advantage of the Prior and Convent of the Charterhouse; from the later clauses, however, it will appear that concessions were made by the Carthusians to the Vicar and inhabitants of St. Sepulcre which were valuable then, but are particularly interesting at this time as indicating the formation of the present Charterhouse Square by the erection of houses upon the land contiguous to the churchyard. The owners of the tenements in Charterhouse Square have all of them their entrance into the square, which is the property of the Governors of the Charterhouse, as an easement, for which a small sum is paid. Without the permission of the Carthusians there was no access to these tenements, as is evident from the undertaking recorded in this document on the part of the Carthusians to make a decent way by which the vicar or his curate might go to administer the

sacraments to the parishioners who dwelt near the churchyard immediately contiguous to the brick wall of the churchyard. Three houses are mentioned as the dwellings of Mr. Welch, Mr. Walwyn, and Mr. Hyde; a fourth, the house of Chawsey, is particularly described as near the west gate of the churchyard towards the north,—as it would appear, at the present entrance into the square at the top of Charterhouse Lane. It was also agreed that if any other houses should be built near the churchyard outside the wall, within the parish of St. Sepulchre, from Mr. Welch's house to the western gate, the inhabitants of those houses should be esteemed parishioners of the parish of St. Sepulchre, a provision which has been strictly fulfilled by the inhabitants of those houses being parishioners of St. Sepulchre, although they were built upon land belonging to the Charterhouse. The last article in the agreement, which secures to the rectors, vicars, and curates free ingress and egress, night and day, to the lane called Charterhouse Lane, to minister the sacraments to the inhabitants of the parish in the lane, would indicate that the lane passed through land then belonging to the monastery, over which there was not a public right of way—very probably the land granted by Sir William de Beauchamp, knight, in the year 1391. This indenture was, in two parts, sealed in the two Chapter-houses on the 1st of April, 1530, and by Robert Dukin, the Vicar, on the same day, at the manse of the vicarage.

At the meeting of the Society the Registrar of the Charterhouse, Mr. Keightley, very kindly produced from the archives and exhibited for the inspection of the members two very interesting vellum rolls, the one ten feet in length and twenty inches in breadth, of four skins, the other of three skins, nine feet in length, and twenty-three inches in breadth; both of them showing the plan of the course by which the water was brought from Islington across the fields for the supply of the monastery. Originally each roll was composed of four skins; it is a happy circumstance that one of the fourth skins has been preserved, which enables us to exhibit on a very reduced scale the plan of the monastery at the time when the conduit was constructed,

and which, as appears from documents of which notice will be taken, took place soon after the year 1430.

The plan of the monastery is shown in Plate II., and the descriptions given of it upon the roll are as follows:—

1. the Water that .... fro the Wyndmyll ..... is of ..... the Waste Water ..... by the sufferance of the Charter House.

2. The Wyndmyll.

3. Egipte the fleyshe Kychyne.

4. this pipe gothe to the Wyndmyll.

5. this pipe gothe outte of the cesterne by the kychen doore ꝛ fuith (serveth) elmys ꝛ the harts horne.

6. the corner selle.

7. the susperell in the gardē.

8. the launderi Cok.

9. the sexten' is cok in his Wassyng place.

10. this pype lyeth iiij foote from the chapl hous ende in ye garden.

11. ye launderi.

12. ye chapetor howsse.

13. sacrasta.

14. the botery cok.

15. puū clausl. (Parvum Claustrum.)

16. the brew hous.

17. this pipe gothe oute of the bake syde of the cell next the prior's sel wyth ij foote of ye ende of ye frayto' wtowt ye wall ꝛ so throw the litill Cloysl by the buttry to the fleyshe Kychyn vppon....

18. the pio' selle. (The prior's cell.)

19. ffreytor.

20. xvi zerdys ꝛ dī frō ye lavoirs it turnyth in.

21. Md that the doore Goyng into the Aye beneth dothe stand dyrectlye Southe warde And the doore into the aye above openythe east Warde and the goyng vp therevnto ys by a ladder. And above ys a Greate Cestron square of leade, and in the mydde therof dothe Ryse the Mayne pype And at the heyht.

22. Md that thys Aye ys made viijth square And in that square Whych ys north warde dyrectlye from the Suspyrell the Mayne

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pype dothe come ꝛ Rysythe vp into the Aye in the mydde of a foure square Cestron of leade yt Runnythe downe out of the ..... in the top of the Aye into a nother pype on the Weast syde of the same .... Whych dothe ſve the howse.

23. this suspall ſuith (serveth) for thes ij pipes.

It thus appears that the monastery originally consisted of a number of cells, which, with the chapel, chapter-house, sacristan's cell, and little cloister formed a quadrangle, to which some other irregular buildings were attached. The laundry was in the principal court; near to it, but partially separate from it, was the sacristan's washing place, used for washing the sacred utensils and vestments. The cells lettered from A to Z were twenty-three in number. The prior's cell adjoined the little cloister and the freytor or refectory, near to which were the buttery and the brew-house. The whole number of cells was twenty-five.

The waterpipes are seen entering under the cells on the north side of the quadrangle, and the water was received in an octangular building resembling a small pagoda, and which is called the Aye, the use and derivation of which word has not been discovered. There were two doors through which the building was entered, one on the south side going into the Aye below, the other on the east side going into the Aye above, the access being by a ladder. Above there was a great square cistern of lead, in the middle of which was the main pipe, through which the water rose, the pipe through which the water passed for the service of the house being on the west side. The cells on the north, east, and west sides appear to have had water supplied to them by pipes running at the back of the cells, and, although cocks for the supply of water to each cell are not marked on these three sides as they are on the south side, they probably existed. Between the chapter house and the sacristy, which are numbered on the plan 12 and 13, there is a peculiar building, the supply to which of water rising to a certain level is more distinctly seen in the original plan. In the inscription beneath, the spot is termed "lavoirs," probably washing places, the water in which, rising to the level of that in the Aye, passed to the right and to the left. The chapter-house was at the east end

of the chapel, and the sacristy on the north side, on the space now forming the north aisle of the chapel, which was added to it after Sutton's foundation.

The plan does not show all the buildings which had been erected. The brewhouse is only marked as supplied with water, and the buttery cock is shown without any building attached to it, whilst the water is described as passing on in two courses to the flesh kitchen, one through the cloister, another through the gateway from the cistern at the kitchen door, with a branch to a place or house called Elmys and the Hartes Horne. We thus find two kitchens mentioned, the first denoted by the kitchen door (5), the second the building numbered 3, the remains of which are to be found in the wall next the present gateway of the Charterhouse, formed of squares of flint and stone. The gateway on the plan appears disconnected with the rest of the buildings, but it still exists. From the flesh kitchen the water went to the windmill, of which the Windmill Inn in St. John's Street is a remnant and a remembrance.

The Plan, to which the reader's attention is next to be directed (see Plate III.), is a reduction of that described on the three skins of the vellum rolls above mentioned. It shows the course of the conduit from Islington to the Monastery, through Pardon Churchyard, the best comment upon the plans being the descriptions of it upon the roll itself on the spots designated by each number, and which are as follows:—

0. Thys well ys a large well, and when yt shall be openyd for ye clensynge of ye same yt muste be opennyd on the syde towarde london in the howse of stoneworke whyche reacevythe the water of the same well and of the other wellys ꝛ sprynge bytwene the same well and the same howse of stoneworke in a gutter of stone.

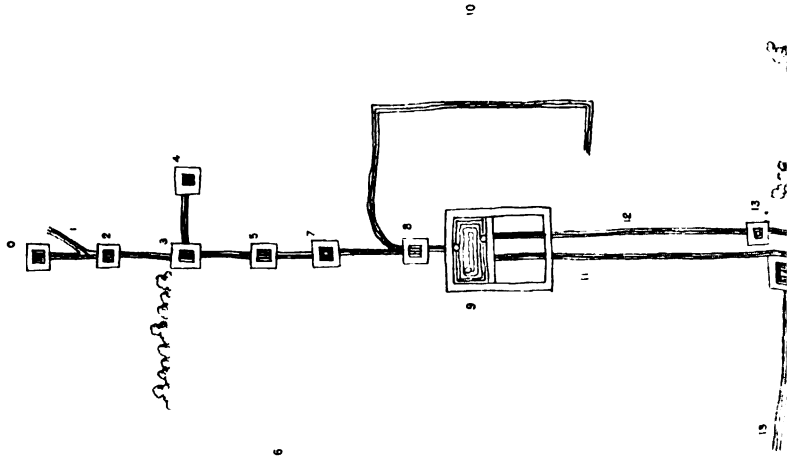
1. This sprynge enterythe in to the gutter of stone that coñythe fro ye fyrste well by the space of ij perches and dī.

2. ffons ij^{9} Thys well ys ix perche fro the furste well.

3. ffons iij^{9} this well is xvij ꝑche fro y^{e} fyrste well.

4. ffons iiij^{9} This wellys oppynnynge is j perche and dī fro the iij^{de} well towarde yslyngeton, and y^{e} vaute off the same

PL. III.



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well gothe towarde ye stone ye whiche apperythe above the grounde.

5. ffons q'nt9 This well ys xxvj perche fro the furste well.

6. [In the] yere of or lorde M vc and xj and in the yere followynge all the wellys and gutters a bove the howse wer serchide, clensyd, and all the pipis of lede fro the howse vnto the new cysterne vnder ye hegge and xxxij ꝑche be yonde homewarde were new made ꝛ leyde.

7. ffons vj9 Thys well ys xxxiiij ꝛ dī perche fro ye furste well.

8. This welle is v fete fro the house, and a pipe of lede fro the same welle in to the cysterne wᵗin the house.

9. This howse stondeth fro ye fyrst sprynge . . . . . lyne ryght xliij ꝑchis ꝛ wᵗin ye howse . . . . . cysterne of lede ꝛ in ye bottm̃ yr of . . . . . hole to a voyde ye waste watir by a . . . . . of lede whan nede ys. Whiche pipe . . . . . he south lyne ryght xij ꝑchis ꝛ vj fete . . . . . to ye fyrste Suspirell that stondith in the diche that deꝑtithe ye groūde of seint Jōhn ꝛ ye groūde of barnerisberi ꝛ in ye same diche bothe ye Suspirell ꝛ ye waste pipe a voyden her watr in a guttr of bryke.

10. Est fro the house xxx fete begynyth ye vth springe, and it runethe in a gutter of stone fro ye southe in to the northe ij ꝑches ꝛ x fete, and fro thens yt retornyth and gothe weste ij perches in to the ꝑncypall gutter that comythe fro the furst sprynge to the house.

11. The waste pipe.

12. The homepipe. This is the pipe yt bringith ye water home and yt goth fro ye house to ye fyrst Suspirell even south.

13. The well in the first fylde.

14. The fyrst suspirell xij ꝑchis vj fete fro ye house.

15. The guttr of bryke for ye waste.

16. The firste wynde went (another name for the suspirell) closide in stone vij fete fro ye suspirell wᵗin seint Johns groūde ycalled Commaunders mantell.

17. Here entrith a sprynge in to ye fyrst well.

18. The first welle xvj ꝑchis fro ye winde went in ye same felde.

19. In ye botome of this well vnder a stone ys a Suspirall w^t a tāpioñ (*sic.*) to clouse the home pipe.

20. The seconde welle in the same felde.

21. The thyrde welle in ye same felde.

22. The receyt vnd^r ye hege.

23. Seynt John receyte vnd^r ye hege.

24. Here begynnyth the nōnys condith of Clarkynwell.

25. Here seynt John pipe Crossyth vnder oure pipe.

26. Here within iij ꝑchis fro ye cisterne vnder the vautte ye waste pipe cōmynge fro ye same cisterne Entrith in to a gutter of stone.

27. Home pipe.

28. lapis. (*sic.*)

29. xxvj ꝑche ꝛ dī fro ye receyte vnd^r ye hege gothe vnd^r oure pipe a lityll gutt^r of stone oute of o^r gutt^r of stone in to a Suspirall of seynt Johns.

30. The gutt^r of stone is on ye est syde of oure pipe, ꝛ xxxv^ti perches fro ye cisterne vnder the vautte yt tornythe to the weste syde of oure pipe.

31. The cōdith of ye nōnys of clarkynwell.

32. Here the stone deꝑteth sainte Joñne condite from owers.

33. A cxxxviij perche fro ye howse there stande a stone on the west syde of our pipe, and ther deꝑtyth the gutter.

34. Here a geynst y^is mylle hill o^r home pipe brekyth somedele unto ye est.

35. petra.

36. ye receite of clarkynwell condite.

37. porta in pratū do^o sc̄i Joñis.

38. Here iiij^xx ꝛ xiij ꝑchis fro ye wynde went by seint Johñ receite vnder ye hege ye home pipe crossith the cōdite of clarkenwell.

39. The myll hill in ye Commaunders mantillis.

40. The first house off seint Johns condithe.

41. here o^r pipe goth in a pece of oke keued w^t a creste of oke ouer ye diche in to the hye Waye and to lyne ryght frō y^t of oke to ye suspirell in the nōnys felde throughe the hye way the pipe gothe closyd in harde stone.

42. The seconde howse of seint John condite.

43. This myll hille in ye nõnys felde of Clarkynwell. This hill ys made playne w^t^ the felde.

44. This Suspirell stondith in ye syde off the diche y^t^ departyth ye nõnys felde of clarkynwelle & ye hye Wey y^t^ gothe fro london to Jseldon.

45. Seynt John medue that ys callyd whyte welle beche medue.

46. This spurgell standeth in the dyche of this same medue.

47. Pardon Chappell.

48. The highe way fro Jselldon towarde london.

With such pains and labour, and expense of construction, was water brought from the higher land at Islington to the Charterhouse, to a spot which till within the last forty years had springs of water within twelve feet of the surface, and which either by pumps or by wells might have supplied water in great abundance. Of the measures taken for the formation of the Conduit we have the fullest information. Islington was noted for its numerous springs and ponds as late as the seventeenth century. "They lay" (says Mr. Tomlins in his Perambulation of Islington,) "at the back of Islington, and were fed by the springs that were plentiful in that locality. On the north side of White Conduit House there existed a deep and dangerous pool called the Wheel Pond, fed by the land springs and the overflowing of the water received at the White Conduit. This watery or oozy district was the place from which constant supplies of water were obtained for the priory of St. John's and the Charterhouse, "sweet water," to use the words of Stowe, "being in former times as great a desideratum with our ancestors as it is now." It would seem that when the prior and monks of the Charterhouse began to construct their conduit, the conduits marked 23 and 24 on the plan, the one carrying water to the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, the other to the Nunnery at Clerkenwell, had been already constructed. It may be supposed that the supply was not considered enough for a third establishment, and hence the necessity of bringing the water from a spot further to the north

at very considerable expense and trouble. The water which supplied the first two conduits rose in the ditch which separated the land of St. John from the land in the manor of Barnesbury, and both the conduits appear to have been carried along the lands of St. John, though it is probable that the conduit of St. John's did not reach the priory without passing over the Nuns' lands, the two bodies agreeing to accommodate each other.

Beyond the ditch was the manor of Barnsbury, then in the possession of John Feriby esquire, in right of his wife Margery, daughter and heir of Sir James de Berners knight. The distance of the spring from the boundary of the manor and of the Hospitallers' land was 33 perches (288 yards), and the width required for laying down the pipes was twelve feet. But in order that the Monks of the Charterhouse might acquire the right to possess this strip of land for their conduit, and carry the water-course across the King's highway, the following measures were necessary: First, an inquest was taken, at Islington, upon a writ, on the part of the Crown, ad quod damnum, by which it appeared that the spring and the land were worth twelve pence annual rent. Then the King, with the advice of his Council, by letters patent, granted licence to John Feriby and his wife Margery to grant the spring and the land to the monks, and to the monks licence to receive and possess the spring and the land, and to lay down leaden pipes under the land and the king's highway, the statutes against alienating lands in mortmain notwithstanding. The monks were to pay twelve pence as rent annually, at Easter, and to have access to the land to repair and maintain the conduit, but the herbage and profit of the land were to remain to John Feriby and his wife and their heirs. Upon petition presented in parliament by the prior and monks of the Charterhouse, the agreement was confirmed by act of parliament in 10 Hen. IV., 1432. A money rent was thus to be paid for the privilege of bringing the water from the manor of Barnesbury to the boundary of the Hospitallers' lands. For the privilege of passing through the land of the Hospitallers a less expensive but, as it was supposed, a more valuable consideration was given, viz., the admission of the Hospitallers to share in the prayers and masses of the monks.

By the kind assistance of Mr. Burtt, of the Record Office, and the permission of the Dean of Westminster, the author is enabled to state the terms upon which the privilege of laying down the pipes and constructing the aqueduct from Islington across the land of the prior and brethren of St. John of Jerusalem was conceded by them to the prior and convent of the Charterhouse. The whole transaction is detailed in a document of considerable length, under the seal of the prior and brethren of St. John of Jerusalem, bearing date the 19th of June, 1431, from which it appears that, although no rent was demanded (as in the case of the land in the manor of Barnesbury belonging to John Feriby and Margaret his wife,) the prior and brethren of St. John did not grant passage for the aqueduct through the land without obtaining the most valuable privilege, viz., that of fraternity with the prior and convent of the Charterhouse.

There can be little doubt that the work of laying down the aqueduct was begun prior to the signing of this grant, and it would seem that it was made, not only to confirm permission already granted or received, but also to record the motive of the grant, and the obligations to which the prior and monks of the Charterhouse had subjected themselves to the great spiritual advantage of the Hospitallers.

The charter of the prior and brethren of St. John recited at length two letters of fraternity granted by the Carthusians. They are both dated on the same day—the Assumption of the Mother of God, 1430, but the one is confined to the privileges of fraternity granted personally to William Hulles, the prior of St. John, the other to the privileges of fraternity to be enjoyed by all the members of the order.

In behalf of William Hulles it was granted that when he died he should have his obit celebrated, that a trental, masses during thirty days, should be offered for him, and his name enrolled in the martyrology of the Carthusians.

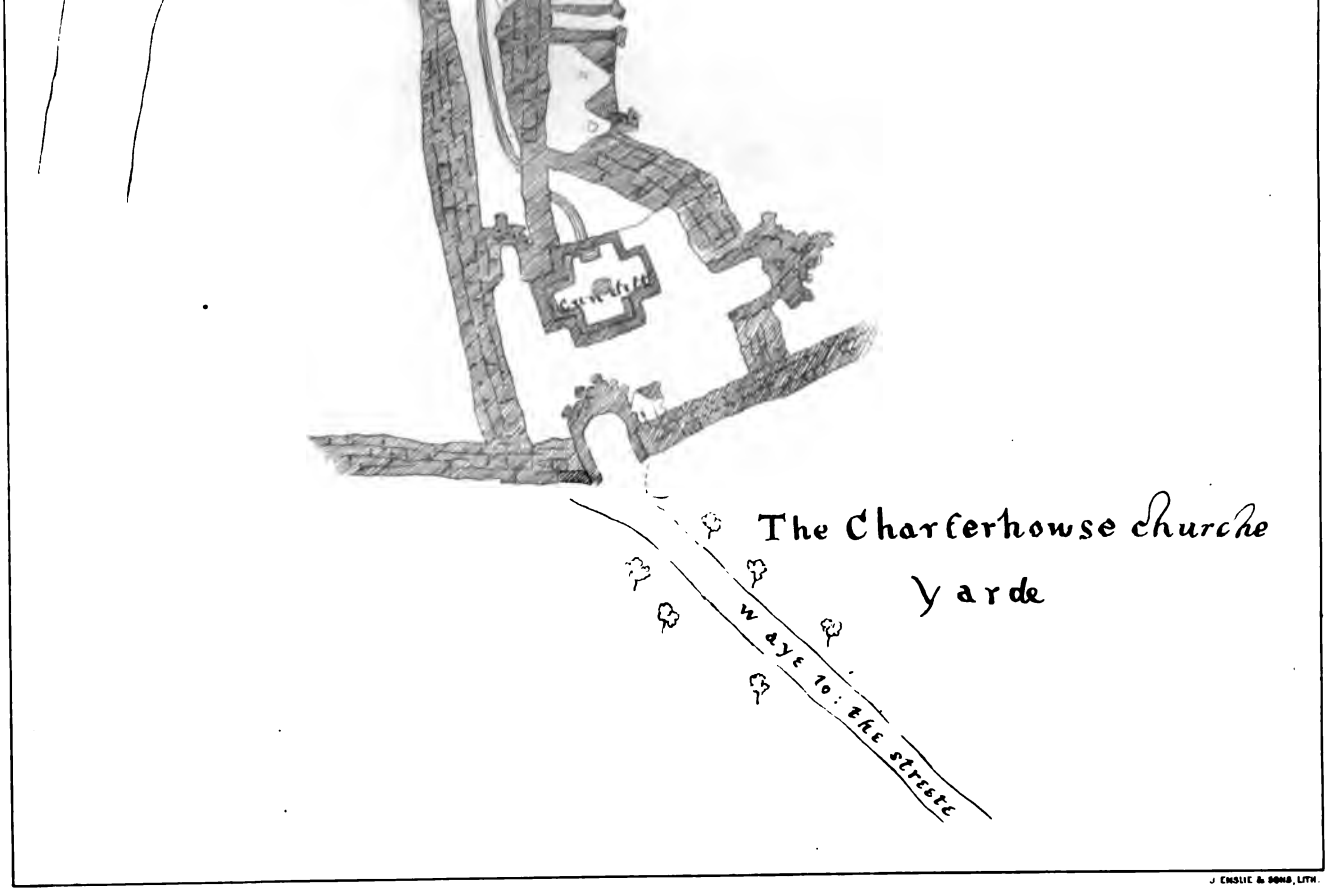
Whenever obits were founded an endowment was generally given by charging certain estates or benefices with the payment of a sum of money, to be distributed annually at the celebration of the obit. The cost of the celebration for William Hulles was

the value to the Carthusians of their aqueduct, and the obit may be considered as rent annually paid. If the Prior of St. John's thus provided in perpetuity spiritual benefits for himself he cannot be charged with neglecting his brethren. The second document, the grant of fraternity, enrolled the brethren of St. John of Jerusalem among the founders and principal benefactors of the Carthusians. It provided that whenever the death of any Prior of St. John's should be intimated an obit should be celebrated, and that all future priors, preceptors, knights, presbyters, and non-presbyters should partake of the fraternity, and, upon their death being intimated, should have commendation, suffrages, and masses offered for them, as for the dearest brethren of the order, and should share the benefit of all the prayers, fastings, and other religious services of the Carthusians.

We may dismiss the consideration of the water supply to the Charterhouse with exhibiting the accompanying rough sketch (see Plate IV.) of the course of the conduit as it existed in 1624, from which it appears that the "Aye" in the centre of the quadrangle occupied by the monks had disappeared, and that the water was brought to a reservoir still existing, but now supplied from the New River instead of from the conduit. No record can be found of the time when this change took place. The drawing exhibits, in a rude manner, traces of buildings which still exist, as well as of those which were taken down for the erection of the new rooms for the pensioners some forty years since.

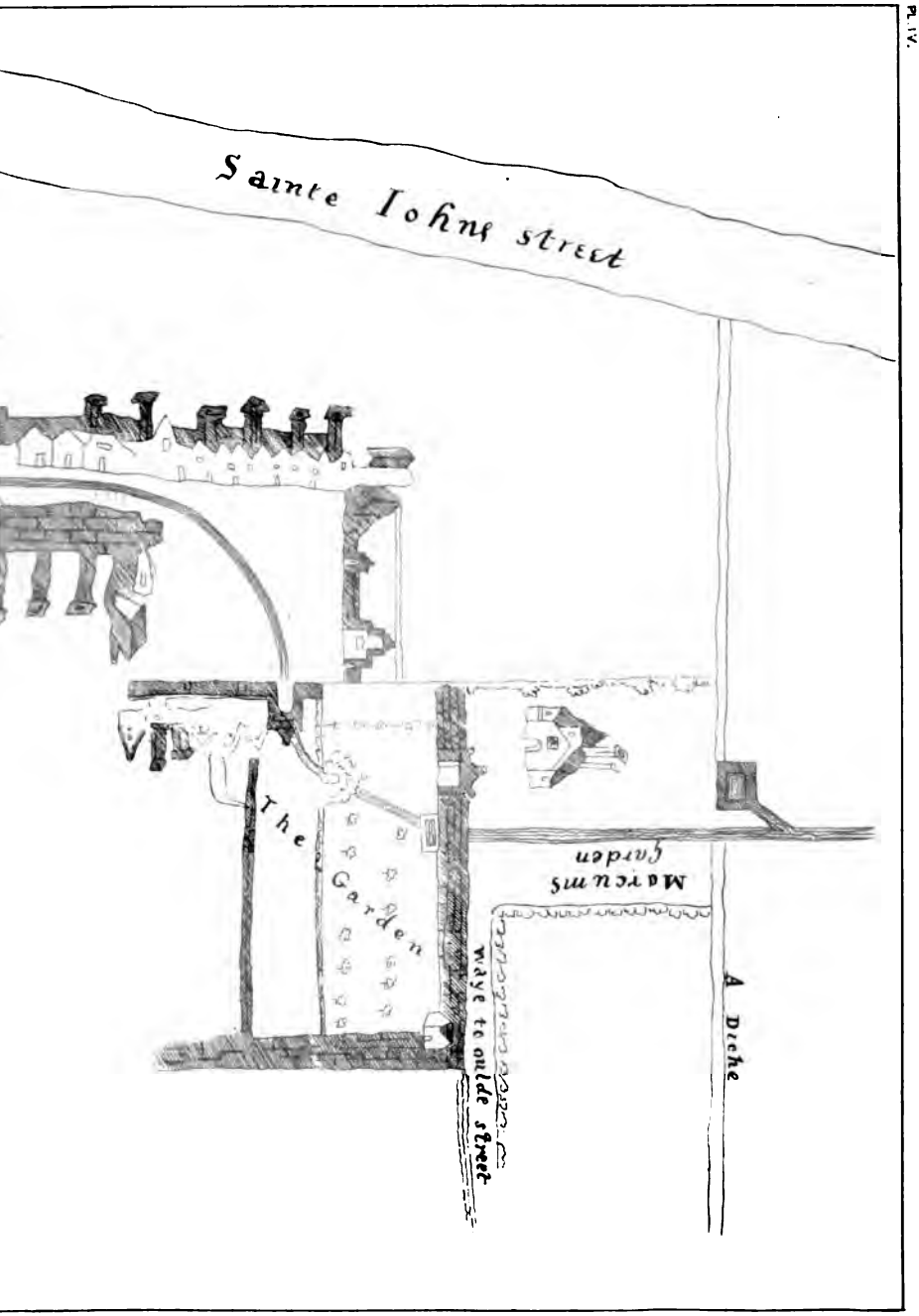
Referring once more to Mr. Newton's map, a small quadrangle will be seen at the south-west corner, which is not laid down in the plan of the conduit. If not coeval with the building of the monastery as shewn in the plan of the conduit, it must have been a very early addition to it. Three sides of it still remain; the windows and door-ways give evidence of great variety of structure, and of date, and the joints of the brickwork proofs of many alterations. There are letters on the west external wall, J. H., which we would willingly assume to be the initials of John Houghton, the last Prior but one, and the wall itself as of his building.

The cells of the monks, which were in the quadrangle, in the



T. MILBOURN, DEL.

J. ENSLIE & SONS, LITH.


Sainte Iohns street
The Garden
Marcums Garden
waye to oulde street
A Diche

centre of which the conduit stood, have been all destroyed with the exception of some few doorways still remaining. The buildings of the monastery now remaining are on the south side of that quadrangle; they include the chapel, the small quadrangle above mentioned, and the courts of Howard House, including the great Hall and the court called the Master's court. At what time these buildings were erected between the ancient flesh kitchen, the small quadrangle to the west, and the prior's lodgings on the north, has not been discovered. The masonry, chiefly of freestone, appears to be of the middle of the fifteenth century. The purpose for which they were erected was, doubtless, the accommodation of strangers who resorted to and were received at the monastery. It has been said that much information respecting the temper and feelings of the people was obtained by Henry VII., from the knowledge which the Carthusian monks acquired through intercourse thus kept up with the higher classes. The walls of these buildings are of great thickness, and are rarely cut into for the purpose of alteration or repair without pieces of wrought masonry being brought to light, mullions, and transoms, pieces of pillars, and fragments of monuments, so numerous as to indicate that some important building had been destroyed. In 1381 the neighbouring Hospital of St. John had been burnt by the rebels of Essex and Kent; so extensive were the buildings, that the fire lasted for seven days. That hospital does not appear to have been rebuilt in its ancient splendour before the end of the fifteenth century, and it may be possible that the ruins of St. John's supplied some of these materials, supposing them to have been lying waste. Amongst other interesting fragments which have been discovered was the head of an Indian or Egyptian idol, (for full size illustration see page 331,) and which was found embedded in the mortar amidst the rubble. The connexion of the brethren of St. John of Jerusalem with the East suggests the idea that this little figure might have found its way to the Charterhouse from St. John's.

How the site of the monastery, first granted at the Dissolution to Sir Edward North, the treasurer of the Court of Augmenta-

tions, was by him made over to the Duke of Northumberland, and upon his attainder having escheated to the donor, was re-granted to him, and sold by his son Roger Lord North to the Duke of Norfolk in 1565, need not be particularly detailed. That unfortunate nobleman possessed it but a very few years, being convicted of high treason in corresponding with the Queen of Scots, and beheaded in 1572. The room in which the meeting of the Society was held, which gave rise to the compilation of these notes, anciently styled the Great Chamber, contains some interesting memorials of the residence of the Duke and his two sons Philip Earl of Arundel and Thomas Earl of Suffolk. The original splendour of Howard House is shown in the tapestry which covered the walls, now faded and discoloured,—in the broad cornice round the room, formerly resplendent with gold,—in the mantel-piece rising from the floor to the ceiling, with its four Corinthian pillars, having medallions of the twelve apostles,—its centre panel, with the royal arms, and in the spandrils the four evangelists,—and on a base, an Annunciation and a Last Supper,—to which must be added the ceiling of flowing tracery, exhibiting in panels and compartments the armorial bearings of the family, those of Philip Earl of Arundel and Thomas Earl of Suffolk being evidently the work of a different hand, and inserted at a later period. The Earl of Arundel was the eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk. Of his possession of the Charter-house after his father's death no mention is made by the various authors who have written its history; nor was there any other trace of him in connection with the place (except the insertion of his arms on the ceiling) until of late years a discovery was made of a survey of Howard House in the year 1590, upon his attainder, from which it appears that he was seised of an estate for term of life and to the heirs male of his body of the capital messuage or house called Howard House, &c., and that by force of the attainder the Queen was to receive the rents and profits of the estate. This document is now in the custody of the Master of the Rolls. On the reversal of the Earl's attainder by Queen Elizabeth, the property was granted to Thomas Earl of Suffolk, and from him purchased in 1611 by Thomas Sutton.

The writer of these notes cannot conclude them without expressing his regret that want of leisure has prevented him from making them as complete as he would desire them to have been, and at the same time he is able to encourage further research into the antiquities of the Charterhouse, by stating that many documents illustrative of its history, and of its possessions, still remain to be produced from the Public Records, and which would repay those who have leisure for the time expended upon the research.

IDOL FOUND AT THE CHARTERHOUSE.

(*See* p. 329.)

NOTES ON THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE UNITED PARISHES OF S. MATTHEW FRIDAY STREET AND S. PETER CHEAP, IN THE CITY OF LONDON.

By the Rector, the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, M.A., F.S.A., &c.

[Read at an Evening Meeting of the Society, 12 April, 1869.]

The chronicler who determines to record the chief facts in the history of some grand cathedral must feel appalled as he surveys the vast field that opens out before him. Cartularies, books of statutes, court rolls, wills, leases, royal grants, and all the other evidences piled together in the archive chamber, pass before him in slow and apparently unending procession; to say nothing of printed books bristling with details which he must read, digest, and reproduce. It is no easy task to compile a notice even of two small city parishes. Years ago, when I first began to collect materials for my present paper, it seemed as if very little matter could be gathered for the purpose; but now I find the difficulty to be that of selection rather than of collection: abundant facts accumulate in the note-book; which shall be taken, which rejected?

And yet my two united parishes are by no means conspicuous upon the plan of the great city of which they form a part. I have not to treat of a very populous parish, like that of S. Matthew Bethnal Green; nor of a parish rustling with the sound of fresh and crisp bank notes, like that of S. Margaret Lothbury, within earshot of the Bank; nor of that other parish, full of historic memories, some so glorious and some so sad, S. Peter ad Vincula, within the precincts of the Tower. None of these is to furnish material for the present paper. I design only to speak of my own little parishes, S. Matthew

Friday Street, united with S. Peter Cheap;* and, though they be small among the thousands of our Israel, yet I hope that some few of the scattered notices which I have gathered together may not be found entirely without interest. I know that the subject of local antiquities is apt to be a very dry one, and that the task of groping amongst ancient papers may often result only in raising a cloud of dust. It was Luther who said of his adherents that they were like the vessels in Solomon's fleet; some brought back with them gold and silver, but some brought only peacocks and apes. Similar fortune awaits him who sets himself the task of wading through old account books and musty bills and memoranda. But still I cannot help thinking that there is a rich mine scarcely yet explored, in the domain of the antiquities of our City parishes, and that even the smallest must have some points of interest. If in the following sketch but little is seen of the gold and silver, and much of the peacocks and apes, I am afraid that I must shelter myself behind the very lame excuse, that the charm which the subject has had for me has made me over-estimate my powers of communicating to others the substance of the multifarious notes which have accumulated under my hands. I am not disposed to lay the blame of my own dullness at the door of the subject itself.

On being admitted to the Rectory of the united parishes, one of my earliest cares was to examine into the condition of the Registers and other ancient documents of which I had become the guardian. In the course of my search my curiosity was much excited by finding in the tower of the church a large oak chest. It was locked, and the key was nowhere to be found; according to the testimony of the sexton it had certainly not been opened for twenty years, and perhaps not for a much longer period. With the help of a locksmith, however, I was soon master of its contents, and had the satisfaction of drawing out one by one a black-letter prayer book of 1662, one of the first copies of the last revision; a folio of the Homilies, 1713; church-

* Styled variously in our ancient records S. Peter Cheap, S. Peter le Cheap, S. Peter West Cheap, and S. Peter de Wode Street (and, Newcourt says, Ecclesia S. Petri de West Chepin).

wardens' accounts for S. Matthew's parish from 1547 to 1622, and from 1678 to 1744; vestry minute books ranging from 1576 to 1743; a Latin dissertation in folio on the antiquity of the Benedictine Rule;* and a miscellaneous mass of bills and documents on paper and on vellum, including the greater part of the bills for the rebuilding of the church after the Great Fire. The most important of these documents are now safely lodged in two iron chests, which the churchwardens, at my request, readily provided. From these I have made copious extracts, a few of which will find a place in these pages. The vestry books detail, amongst other matters, the proceedings at the meetings of the Committee for the rebuilding of the church; and relate how the parishioners discussed the form of the new pews; how they deliberately decided that they would have more square pews, and fewer singly seated pews, than the architect had proposed; and how, while the church was building, they assembled for divine service in a temporary structure called, appropriately enough, S. Matthew's Tabernacle. It may be of sufficient interest to merit a note in this place, that amongst the accounts preserved in the archive chamber of S. Paul's Cathedral is a volume entitled "Schemes of Tabernacles," containing a somewhat detailed account of the cost of these *ad interim* edifices. I extract that portion of it relating to—

St. Matthewes Fryday Street (p. 6).

W.	A.	I.	S.	B.	T.
George Drew, Smith	03:03:10			03:03:10	03:03:10
John Blanquet, Glaz^{r}	10:15:00			10:15:00	10:15:00
John Longland, Carpent^{r}	77:13:01	70:00:00	70:00:00	77:13:01	77:13:01
Tho. Warren, Brickl^{r}	65:11:01	60:00:00	60:00:00	65:11:01	65:11:01
	157:03:00	130:00:00	130:00:00	157:03:00	157:03:00

It is unknown to what the initials above the columns refer, perhaps to different designs. The total sum accounted for in this volume for the City tabernacles may be seen from the following line:—

By account of Tabernacles 3312:07:06½

* Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia, sive Disceptatio Historica de Antiquitate Ordinis Congregationisque Monachorum Nigrorum S. Benedicti in Regno Angliæ . . . Reyner, small folio, Duaci, 1626.

But, not to be too discursive, let us take some order for our remarks; and first let us speak of the parish of S. Matthew Friday Street. (See the plan from Aggas's Map at the end).

"Friday Street," says Stowe, "so called of fishmongers dwelling there and serving Friday's market." I cannot say whether he had any ground whatever for this derivation; certainly the registers do not give it any support. But if it were ever true, I can only say that with the non-observance of the Friday fast, the fishmongers too must have disappeared; not one remains. It may be that some kind of market was held here on a Friday; but I do not find from the evidence of the registers that any particular class of dealers abounded in the parish.

The street has however a higher fame than the fishmongers could have acquired for it, "for here," says Peter Cunningham, in his excellent *Handbook of London*, "in 1695, at the Wednesday clubs, as they were called, certain well-known conferences took place, under the direction of William Paterson, which ultimately led to the establishment of the Bank of England." The first plan of that wonderful organization, which is now inseparably united with the nation's welfare, was here developed, and in this street arose the idea of that powerful corporation, at whose word commerce rises or is depressed, and whose decisions are eagerly awaited by thousands of capitalists in all quarters of the world. In the *Writings of William Paterson, Founder of the Bank of England*, edited by Saxe Bannister, M.A. (3rd edit. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1859), I find no less than three treatises purporting to relate to this Friday Street Club:—

1. Dialogues upon the Union of England and Scotland at the Wednesday's Club in Friday Street. 1706. Second Edition. (Collected Writings, vol. i. pp. 163-251.)

2. Conferences on the Public Debts by the Wednesday's Club in Friday Street. 4to. London, 1695.

3. Dialogues upon the Union of Great Britain, and upon the Redemption of the National Debt and Taxes, by the Wednesday's Club in Friday Street, 1717. (Vol. ii. pp 1-198.)

Mr. Bannister appears to entertain some doubt as to the real existence of this Wednesday's Club, (vol. i. p. xxxi.) but he states that the fact of the Bank of England having been devised at this

Club " is asserted by Mr. Allardyce in his Letter of 1798 to the Proprietors of Bank Stock. It is repeated by Mr. Macculloch in his *Bibliography of Political Economy*, and by Mr. Lawson in his *History of Banking*, App. A." I do not feel at all disposed to let this Wednesday Club pass away into the region of myths, if we can maintain our hold upon it.

If we have thus made our mark in the history of finance, we can also lay claim to a page in ecclesiastical history, for in Cheapside, at the easternmost corner of Friday Street, stood the famous Nag's Head Tavern, which for many years played so conspicuous a part in controversies between Rome and England on the question of the validity of Anglican orders. The Roman Catholic party asserted that the consecration of Archbishop Parker was invalid, and affirmed that this pretended and irregular consecration took place in this very tavern. I need not relate the fable in detail; it has been often refuted, and has for some time been abandoned by the best informed Roman Catholics. (See for example Lingard, *History of England*, vol. vii. note 1, and Courayer, *Dissertation sur la Validité des Ord. Angl.* Bruxelles, 1723.) The story indeed was finally exploded by the discovery of the original manuscript account of Parker's consecration, which took place in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth. The literature of the subject is very extensive, but for those who desire to pursue the matter further than the limits of this paper will allow, it will be probably sufficient to refer to the works enumerated in the following note.*

* 1. Archbishop Bramhall. *The Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops justified; the Bishop of Duresme vindicated; and that infamous fable of the Ordination at the Nag's Head clearly confuted.* (See the works of Abp. Bramhall, vol. iii. pp. 3-232, Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, where will be found the "Record of Abp. Parker's Confirmation and Consecration from the Lambeth Register," and a "Transcript of that part of the same Record which relates to the Consecration of Parker, from a MS. transcript of the original register in C.C.C. Library, Cambridge.")

2. Thomas Browne, B.D. *The Story of the Ordination of our First Bishop in Queen Elizabeth's Reign at the Nag's Head Tavern in Cheapside.* 8vo. London, 1731.

3. Hon. and Rev A. P. Perceval, *Apology for the Doctrine of the Apostolical Succession.* (2nd edit. 8vo. London, 1841. Appendix, pp. 114-118.)

"This foolish and absurd story," says the learned editor of *Notes and Queries* (4th Series, vol. ii. p. 436), "was first told in 1604, forty years after Archbishop Parker's consecration. In addition to the testimony to its validity given in the register of the see of Canterbury, there is an account of the rites and ceremonies which took place at his consecration preserved amongst the manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and called *Historiola*. It was written by the Archbishop's direction about the year 1569, and has here and there the Archbishop's own directions. In 1841 it was printed by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, with an introductory preface and notes. As to the official register, Archbishop Abbot, in the year 1614, invited Colleton, the arch-priest, with two or three other Roman Catholic missionaries, to Lambeth, and submitted the register to their inspection, in presence of six of his own episcopal colleagues (Dodd, ii. 277, Godwin, p. 219). It was also examined by so acute an historical critic as Dr. Lingard, who was convinced of its authenticity, and pronounced that 'the several objections against it are founded on misconception or ignorance, that the register agrees in every particular with what we know of the history of the times, and that there exists not the semblance of a reason for pronouncing it a forgery.' *Vide* three letters on Protestant ordinations, by Dr. Lingard, inserted in *The Catholic Magazine and Review* of 1834, vol. v. pp. 499, 704, 774, which, as historical papers, well merit republication in a separate form."

In Machyn's *Diary* are these valuable contemporary notices of the Archbishop's consecration:—

1559. ..... Park]er electyd byshop of Canturbere.

The xvii day of Desember was the nuw byshope [of Canterbury] doctur Parker was mad[e] ther at Lambeth.

The xx day of Desember afor non, was Sant Thomas evyn, my lord of Canturbere whent to Bow chyrche, and ther were v nuw byshopes mad[e].

The exact spot on which stood the tavern immortalised in the Nag's Head fable is that now occupied by Mr. Biden's house. I am, of course, aware that the house now bears as its cognizance an old sign of the White Swan; this sign, however, was probably

erected when the present house was rebuilt, some time after the Great Fire.* In the curious plate, to which I shall have occasion to refer by and by, *Entrée Royalle de la Reyne Mere du Roy tres Chrestien dans la Ville de Londres*, the sign of the house is shown as a Nag's Head, adorned for the occasion with a garland.

Friday Street also plays its part in the famous controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry, 1385-1390, edited by Sir Harris Nicolas. See also the *History of Castle Combe, Wilts*, (printed for private circulation, 4to. 1852) by G. Poulett Scrope, esq. M.P. who says that "upwards of two hundred deponents testified in favour of Sir Richard Scrope, comprehending all the illustrious characters of the period, from John of Gaunt to Geoffry Chaucer." Chaucer, who was about forty years old at the time, gave evidence that as he was walking up Friday Street, he had observed a new sign hanging out at an inn, bearing upon it the arms of Scrope: Azure, a bend or. The family crest of Scrope is "a plume of feathers azure issuing from a coronet or;" but in 1348, Richard Lord Scrope bore as his crest, "a crab issuing out of a coronet." I cannot trace any of these bearings amongst the ancient signs of houses in the parish, though many of these signs are enumerated in the registers. Thus in S. Matthew's parish I find the Saracen's Head 1701-1837, the Blue Boar, and the Bell; † in Cheapside the Nag's Head, the Three Nuns, the Ship, the Artichoke, the Key, the King's Arms, and the Blue Boar's Head; in Wood Street, the Bell, the Three Crowns, the Cross Keys 1696, the Seven Stars, the Bunch of Grapes; in Gutter Lane, the Plough, and the Horns 1698.

A house in Cheapside in the time of Edward IV. bearing the sign of the Crown, came into an unenviable notoriety. In Hale's *Pleas of the Crown* (Wilson, 1778, vol. i. p. 115) we read, "Baker in his *Chronicle*, p. 229, tells us of two very hard judg-

* In 1708, April 29, the churchwardens of S. Peter's "P^d^ att a Meeting at the Nag's Head Taverne, ab^t^ the engines, 0*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.*"

† The White Horse Tavern in Friday Street, which, says Cunningham, "makes a conspicuous figure in the *Merry Conceited Jests of George Peele*," is beyond the limits of S. Matthew's parish.

ments of treason given in the time of E. 4, viz. that of Walter Walker dwelling at the sign of the Crown in Cheapside, who told his little child, 'if he would be quiet, he would make him heir of the Crown;' the other, &c. For which innocent speech the unfortunate man appears to have suffered the extreme penalty of the law." The case is also mentioned in Blackstone (Stephens' *Blackstone*, vol. iv. p. 246), "We have two instances in the reign of Edward the 4th, of persons executed for treasonable words, the one a citizen of London, who said he would make his son heir of the Crown, being the sign of the house in which he lived," &c. A footnote gives the names of the persons as William Walker and Sir Thomas Burdett.

Considerable remains of the Roman occupation have been found here. In digging the foundation of Messrs. Boyd's warehouse, which is adjacent to the church upon its southern side, (and which was designed by Sir William Tite, the architect of the Royal Exchange,) a large piece of coarse tesselated pavement was discovered in the year 1844, at a depth of from sixteen to eighteen feet below the present level of the street, and several Roman wells (or cesspools) were also discovered. This warehouse covers the site of the old Saracen's Head Inn, and that of a house in which, according to a local tradition, Sir Christopher Wren lived during the progress of some part of the cathedral works.

In Wood Street also, under the foundations of the old Cross Keys inn, which was pulled down in 1865, fragments of Samian pottery and a few Roman brass coins were discovered.

The parish of S. Peter Cheap comprises a small portion of Cheapside, Wood Street, and Gutter Lane, and the whole of Goldsmith Street.

Stowe suggests that Wood Street may have been so called because it was built of wood, but surely timber houses must have been far too common for this fact to have been especially worthy of notice. Probably the more usual statement may be correct that the street took its name from one Thomas Wood, a Goldsmith, sheriff in 1491, a great benefactor to the church; indeed the nave roof is said to have been supported by figures of wood-

men to commemorate his generous gifts.* In Strype's time the street was "noted for the good cakes here made, which are wont to be bought here for Weddings, Christnings, and Twelfth-nights."

29 Feb. 1663-4. I eat for my dinner a Woodstreet cake, which cakes are famous for being well made. (*Journal of Sir Thomas Browne's Son*, Browne's *Works*, i. 52.)

It should be stated that a very small part of Wood Street is in S. Peter's parish, comprising indeed only a few houses on either side at its southern end.

Goldsmith Street tells its own story. It is near the Hall of the Goldsmiths' Company, and was therefore specially convenient for those who traded in the precious metals. Even in Maitland's time, its neighbour Gutter Lane was "inhabited chiefly by engravers, and others who work for silversmiths." In S. Peter's burial register I find the following entry.

1593. Joyce Hoode, mayden, and burnisher of plate, buried.

Now you may look in vain in Goldsmith Street for one inhabitant of the craft to which it owes its name. Even at the present day strangers are often heard to express their surprise at the number of jewellers' and silversmiths' shops to be seen in Cheapside; but in 1629 (Maitland tells us, in his *History and Survey of London*, edit. 1760, vol. i. p. 301,) from Old Change to Bucklersbury there were on the south side of Cheapside only four shops that were not goldsmiths; and he relates that Charles I. having received "information of the unseemliness and deformity appearing in Cheapside by reason that divers men of mean trades have shops amongst the goldsmiths," directed his Privy Council to inquire into the matter, as it was His Majesty's express pleasure to have this disorder reformed.

Stowe says that Gutter Lane is Guthurun's Lane, so called of Guthurun, some time owner there; in one of our registers in 1717 it is called Guttern Lane; and in a document preserved amongst the archives of S. Paul's cathedral,‡ Ralph de Diceto,

* Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 520.

† And not including the Mitre Tavern visited by Pepys, 18 Sept. 1660.

‡ Amongst these archives are preserved 58 grants, confirmations, &c. of lands and houses in the parish of S. Matthew, and 4 similar documents relating to S. Peter's.

(Dean from 1181 to 1206,) and the Chapter grant to Henry son of Richard, son of Edith, all that land which the said Richard held in Godrune Lane in the parish of S. Peter, paying yearly 6*s*.

The registers mention the following places within the limits of S. Peter's parish, but the names have now disappeared: Daies Alley, 1557, (Wiffm Daies house is spoken of in 1540), Day's Court, 1708; Cross Keys Alley, Court, and Stairs; Crosse Stairs; Cock Alley; Eve Alley.

I do not mention the Wood Street Compter because it did not stand within our boundaries; suffice it to say that it was established in 1555, and removed to Giltspur Street in 1791. (Cunningham's *Handbook of London:* and see also Sir Walter Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel,* note *o.*)

Some small traces still remain in the two parishes of the old religious associations; in S. Peter's we had till lately the Cross Keys inn, on the north of the churchyard, and in S. Matthew's Angel Court, lying on the south of the church. The Cross Keys are the well-known emblem of S. Peter, and the Angel the Evangelistic symbol of S. Matthew. I thought at one time that Fountain Court, in S. Matthew's, close to the church on the north-west, was so called from a spring which might have supplied the font with water; but I do not find that there is any spring there now, and Strype in his quaint way says that it was so called of the Fountain Tavern, which in 1720 was "of good account as most in Cheapside."

But the spot of greatest historical interest in the now united parishes unquestionably lies just in the centre of Cheapside, exactly opposite to the entrance of Wood Street. Here stood the famous Cheapside Cross. It was one of the series of Crosses erected by Edward I. to the memory of his beloved Queen Eleanor, daughter of Alphonso King of Castile, whom he had married when she was but fifteen. She died at Hardeby, near Lincoln, but in the county of Nottingham, on the evening of the 28th of November, 1290, a few days after the commencement of the 19th year of her husband's reign; and wherever her body rested during its removal to Westminster Abbey, the King ordered a cross to be set up. Mr. Hunter, of the Record office,

(in a paper *On the Death of Eleanor of Castile and the Honours paid to her memory*, Archæologia, vol. xxix.) decides that there were no less than twelve of these Eleanor crosses, and enumerates them as follows: Lincoln, Grantham, Stamford, *Geddington*, *Northampton*, Stoney Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, S. Alban's, *Waltham*, West Cheap, Charing. I have printed in italics the names of the places at which crosses still remain. Mr. Hunter informs us that the contract for the Cheapside Cross, which was of greater magnificence than most of the others, amounted to 300*l.* and that one Magister Michael de Cantuaria, the contractor for the work, received in the years 1291, 1292, 1293, sums amounting to 226*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The cross seems to have been completed in the year last named. Its position will be seen in the portion of Aggas's map copied in p. 391.

This cross was long the care and glory of the citizens; indeed a pamphlet might be written upon its changing fortunes, and would be highly illustrative of general, religious, and civic history. In Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata* will be found a careful paper upon the subject, to which I am largely indebted for the following particulars. The cross was rebuilt in 1441; new gilt in 1522 for the coming of the Emperor Charles V.; regilt again eleven years later at the coronation of Henry and Anne Boleyn; burnished for the coronation of Edward VI. in whose procession there were pageants from the Tower to Westminster, when "the streets were hung with rich tapestries, the guilds stood along Cheapside in all their splendour, presenting themselves as loving subjects unto their King, and so to S. Paul's." (Dean Milman's *Annals of S. Paul's*, 2nd. ed. p. 212.) Once more the cross was regilt at the coming of King Philip; but now a checquered career was in store for it. It was broken and defaced in 1581, though it is said that Queen Elizabeth "disapproved of these attacks on the remnants of the old religion, and offered a large reward for the discovery of the offenders. She thought that a plain cross, the mark of the religion of the country, ought not to be the occasion of any scandal: and so she directed that one should be placed upon the summit and gilt." (Allen's *London*, iii. 577.) It was repaired in 1595, repaired but again defaced in 1600, and finally destroyed 2 May 1643, in the mayoralty of Isaac Pennington

the regicide. Howell tells us that "while the thing was a doing there was a noyse of trumpets blew all the while."* Evelyn too, who was in London that very day, says, "I saw the furious and zealous people demolish that stately cross in Cheapside." The day before, as we find in Archbishop Laud's *Troubles*, the windows of the chapel at Lambeth Palace had been defaced, and the steps to the communion table torn up. On the site of the cross the *Book of Sports* was publicly burnt, and in 1645 "divers crucifixes, Popish pictures, and books" shared the same fate. From 1641 to 1643 the press teemed with pamphlets about the cross. The Library of the Corporation of the City of London contains a very curious collection of these rare little volumes. Did space permit, an amusing series of extracts might be made from these quaint booklets, full as they are of hard hitting and plain speaking; I will confine myself however to a list of their titles.†

In 1326 "a letter from the Queen was affixed to the cross in Cheapside imploring the citizens in pathetic words to rise in the common cause for the defence of their country." The King, Edward II. had committed the custody of the city of London to Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, the Lord High Treasurer. "The Bishop demanded the keys of the City from the Lord Mayor in the King's name. The citizens seized the Lord Mayor, and compelled him solemnly to swear to obey their orders.

* Cunningham, *Handbook*.

† 1. A Dialogue between the Cross in Cheap and Charing Cross. By Ryhen Pameach. [Henry Peacham.] 4to. London, 1641.

2. Cheapside Cross censured and condemned by a letter sent from the University of Oxford to the Citizens of London. 4to. London, 1641.

3. The Doleful Lamentation of Cheapside Cross, or Old England Sick of the Staggers. 4to. London, 1641.

4. The reason why so many desire the downfall of Cheapside Cross and all such like popish reliques. An Answer to the Lamentation of Cheapside Crosse; the Doctor's judgement upon his disease, and the downfall of Anti-Christ. 4to. N.D.

5. The Pope's Proclamation, or Six Articles exhibited against Cheapside Cross, whereby it pleads guilty of High Treason, and ought to be beheaded. 4to. London, 1641.

6. The Resolution of the Round Heads to pull down Cheapside Cross. Also the Answer to the Rattle Heads. 4to. London, 1641.

A cry arose, 'Death to the Queen's Enemies!' The Bishop had been taking a quiet ride in the fields. He endeavoured to find sanctuary in the church of S. Paul's. He reached the north door, was torn from his horse, dragged into Cheapside, proclaimed a traitor, and beheaded, and with him two of his servants. The rioters then dragged the body to the foot of a tower which he was building near the Thames, and threw him into the river." I am indebted to the late Dean Milman's most interesting *Annals of S. Paul's* for this episode, p. 71.

Stowe tells us in his *Annals*, (and Henry Machyn in his *Diary*, p. 59,) that on Sunday, 8 April 1554, "a cat with hir head shorn, and the likenes of a vestement cast over hir, with hir fore feet tied togithir, and a round peece of paper like a singing cake betwixt them, was hanged on a gallowes in Cheape neere to the crosse in the parish of S. Matthew. Which cat being taken downe, was caried to the Bishop of London, and he caused the same to be shewed at Paul's Crosse by the preacher, D. Pendleton."* This was only two days before the carrying of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, from the Tower to Oxford, "there to dispute with the divines and learned men of the contrary opinion." Henry Machyn says, p. 66, that when Dr. Pendleton preached at Paul's Cross a gun was fired at him, and he adds, that though the bullet was discovered the culprit was not. (See also Dean Milman's *Annals of S. Paul's*, p. 236.)

The divines of the Reformation period do not forget to mention this most famous cross. John Bradford the Martyr, in his *Hurt of Hearing Mass*, (Bradford, vol. ii. p. 350, Parker Society edition) says—

> If a man going by the street or way meet Sir John with his god about his neck, and see folks kneel down as many do; or if a man going through Cheapside, and see folks worship the Cross there, or Thomas Becket his image standing by his church, [the Chapel of S. Thomas of Acre, Cheapside, occupied at that time the site of the house in which Thomas à Becket was born; it is now the Chapel of Mercers' Hall.] this going and seeing others committing idolatry is not defiled for passing by the way, so that he commit not idolatry with them, or in his heart consent not to their iniquity.

* Stowe, *Annals*, 4to. London, 1601, p. 1054.

And Archbishop Whitgift, arguing against Cartwright (ii. Whitgift, 180, Parker Society edition), says:

If he should use no more faith in reciting the Doctors than you do, I would he were whipped at the cross in Cheap.

On the site of the cross proclamations are read with a goodly show of heralds in their tabards, with pursuivants and trumpeters, as in the days of old. So lately as the close of the war with Russia, after the siege of Sebastopol, peace was here proclaimed.

Before leaving the subject of the cross I ought to add that in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, already cited, there will be found an interesting series of plates representing the cross at various periods of its history; in 1546-7, in 1606, on the occasion of the entry of the Queen Mother Mary de Medicis in 1638, and "last scene of all," its demolition in 1643.

Of Cheapside Bishop Pilkington notes, p. 557, that one side was in Canterbury diocese, and the other in that of London. "Tell us also (says he,) if ye can, why the one side of the street in Cheapside fasts that day (S. Thomas à Becket's day), being in London diocese; and the other being of Canterbury diocese fasts not. Could not Becket's holiness reach over the street?" Newcourt, in his *Repertorium*, tells us that no less than thirteen parishes in London were exempt from the authority of the bishop of the diocese, and subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury. First and foremost amongst these he names S. Mary le Bow, where was held the Arches Court, "the chief and antientest consistory that belongeth to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the debating of spiritual causes."

The ancient churches of the two parishes next claim attention. S. Matthew's continued in the gift of the abbot and convent of Westminster till 32 Henry VIII.* The King gave it to the Bishop of Westminster, and, that see being soon dissolved, the right of presentation was annexed in 4 Edw. VI. to the see of London. There is, I believe, no trustworthy view extant of the church before the fire. Newcourt records that there was in it a chantry for the souls of Adam de Benteley and Maud his wife, to which a chaplain was admitted in 1334; and another chantry,

* Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 474.

founded by Thomas de Wyrlyngworth, at the altar of S. Katharine, for the endowment of which a house in Friday Street was given, the rent to be paid to the Cantuarist and his successors, to whom accordingly it belonged from 1391 or earlier, until the time of Henry VIII. In the year 1556 three incumbents of three several chantries in S. Matthew's were surviving, John Smyth, William Deane, and Henry Goldwell, each in receipt of an annual pension of c s. per annum. Sir Nicholas Twyford, Lord Mayor in 1389, gave to the church a house with its appurtenances in the same street, called the Griffin on the Hoop.*

The patronage of S. Peter's anciently belonged to the abbot and convent of S. Alban's, who retained it till the dissolution of that religious house. Henry VIII. granted it to Lord Wriothesley, ancestor of the Earls of Southampton, from whom it passed through the Montague family to the Duke of Buccleuch. At the union of the two benefices of S. Matthew and S. Peter after the Great Fire, in which both churches were destroyed, the patronage of the joint living became alternate between the Bishop of London and the Duke of Buccleuch.

S. Peter's Church possessed a chantry founded in 1392 by Nicholas Farringdon, a person of note, and four times Lord Mayor,† at the altar of the Blessed Virgin "in the south part or chapell of the same chirche." This chantry was to be served by a "couenable and honest chapeleyn of good fame and conuersacion by the name of oon chapleyn for the soule of Nich'as of Farendon in the said churche of Seynt Petir in Westchepe of London divynely to synge." "The forseid chapeleyn" is not "to defyle or willingly to contrary, or any grevouse trespas do, or be ouircome of custumable dronkelynesse, or be rebell and comberous ageynst the person of the seid chirche." The document from which I am quoting, and which is preserved amongst our parochial archives, proceeds to assign him "x marc' in the name of his wages and salarye . . . yerely for euirmore atte seid iiij termes of the

* Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 473.

† From whom, and William Farringdon his father, one of the sheriffs of London in 1281, both the wards of Farringdon, Within and Without, took their name. (Newcourt, vol. i. p. 520.)

yere by euen porcions." A mark is 13*s.* 4*d.*; the chaplain's salary of ten marks would therefore amount to 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The rector and churchwardens were patrons of this chantry.

The volume just referred to contains a copy of the will of "Robarde Botiller citesyn and goldsmyth of London," dated 1470. He bequeaths "to ye hy auter of ye seide chirch (of S. Peter), so that ye person of the sam chirch pray for my sowle, xx^s^." And he also gives to the fraternity or guild of Jesus in S. Paul's cathedral the sum of xl s. sterling that they also may "deuowtly prey" for his soul and the souls of his kindred.

The "morrow masse preest" certainly earned the scanty pittance that he received for saying mass daily, all the year round, at six o'clock in the morning.

1534. It'm paydé to the morowe masse preste for his wages for one hole yere, vj li. xiij s. iiij d.

It'm payd for wyne and waxe to the morowe masse preeste for one hole yere, ij s.

From incidental notices scattered through the register of burials, I have been able to re-construct the ground plan of the ancient church. It had a nave and two aisles, a chancel with north and south chapels, and a vestry to which access was gained from the north chapel by some steps. It was duly furnished with screens separating the chancels from the nave and aisles; with a poor man's box; with an hour glass; with women's pews on the north side of the nave; a reader's pew, 1637; with two "long walks" running north and south at the eastern and western ends of the nave; and with a gallery "for the maydens" of the parish, the stairs of which were at the north-west angle of the church. The masters of the parish sat at the east end of the south aisle. The only view of any portion of the church with which I am acquainted is that given in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata* in a plate representing part of the procession of the Queen Mother, Mary de Medicis, to visit Charles I. and Henrietta Maria; in which part of the tower and of the south chapel are incidentally shewn. Upon the flat roof of this chapel on great occasions minstrels were wont to be placed, and from that elevated position to discourse most eloquent music. Henry Machyn relates in his

Diary that, on the 21st March, 1556-7, every church in London was to sing *Te Deum laudamus*; and that three hoys of Spaniards came that day to London. On the 23rd was a grand procession with the crafts in their liveries, and "trumpettes blohyng with odur instrumentes with grete joye and plesur, and grett shutyng of gones at the Toure, and the waytes plahyng on sant Peter's ledes in Chepe; and my lord mayre bare the septer* afor the Kyng and the Quen." This was on the occasion of the landing of Philip. Stowe says that Philip landed at Dover on the 18th of March, and passed through London on the 23rd; in our churchwardens' accounts, however, is an entry that on the 27th of March the ringers received 6*d.* for their ringing when King Philip and the Queen passed through London. As Stowe and Machyn are agreed, I suppose that the entry in our account book may be in error; this is the more probable because the accounts were not engrossed till the end of each financial year, and the scribe who engrossed the accounts may readily have written xxvij for xxiij.†

Amongst other ancient documents the parish possesses an early copy of "the last wyll of Syr John Shaa Knyght, aldermã, Cytezen and Goldsmyth of london, made the xxvj day of the monyth of Decembr the yere of owr lord god M fyve hundryth and thre, and the xixth yere of the Reygn of Kyng Henry the VIJth," in which Sir John Shaw, the testator, directs his executors to "perfo^{r}me and fulfill the last Will of myn uncle Sir Edmonde Shaa Knyght conc̃nyng the contynuance of dayly s^{9}vyce to be songe and done w^{t}yn the paroch Church of Saint Petur in Chepe of london if it canne resonably be browht abowte. And else w^{t} the same londis and goodys I wyll that my sayd executo^{r}s shall cause ye said churche of Saint Petur to be bylded and made w^{t} a flatte roofe. And also the Stepull ther to be made up in gode and cõuenient man^{9}." Sir John Shaw seems to have been a great benefactor to the Church and Clergy; for in his will he also makes mention of "my tenemẽt in the paroche of Seint Peter in West Chepe of london wherein Master Chaunterell pson of the same Churche dwellyth." This Master Chaunterell, (John

* *i.e.* his own mace, still called the City "sceptre."

† Or perhaps the ringers were not paid till the 27th.

Chantrell, B.D. in Newcourt's list of Rectors,) was appointed Rector 17 March, 1491, and died 1509.

There were at least three monumental brasses in the old church. In the "south Ile" was in 1590 the "grave stone of Wiłłm Peryn, having iiij pictures of brasse upon the stone;" in 1602 the registers speak of "a greate stone that hath the Crosse of brasse in it in the middest of the middle Ile;" and in 1637 mention is made of a "brasse Image under the Communion Table."

The account books of the parishes are well preserved: we have for S. Matthew's parish, churchwardens' accounts from 1547 to the present day, and for S. Peter's, from 1519 with occasional memoranda reaching back as far as 1431. This portion of the subject is one of very great interest, and if I now dismiss it somewhat briefly, it is because I have lately printed in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association two papers illustrative of our parochial history. The first is an Inventory of the Vestments, Plate, and Books belonging to the church of S. Peter Cheap, in the year 1431 (see vol. xxiv. pp. 150—160): a document of the more importance because it shows the wealth of the inhabitants, for in the number and splendour of its vestments and appointments this small parish must have surpassed many a larger one. The second paper contains a long series of extracts from the account books of the same parish ranging over a period from 1392 to 1633. (See vol. xxiv. pp. 248—268.) It is unnecessary to repeat the details that are there given. I will cite one entry, because it throws light on the fact of the purchase of the vestry as an addition to the original church:

1558-9. It'm payde to Stephen hales, receyvor, for one yere's rent of the vestrye before yt was purchased, x s.

This vestry seems to have contained three chambers occupied by as many priests, who paid rent to the parish; as in 1533 "The Paryshe preeste for hys chambre vj. s viij d.; Syr Thomas Dybon for hys chambre vj s. viij d.; Syr Wyllam the morowe masse preestys chambre vj s. viij d." And I will add the following very curious entry because it is complete in itself, and is besides an interesting contribution to our knowledge of ancient rites.

1555. Charges for halowynge the Aulters:

It'm for a ell and a halffe of fine clothe	ij s.		
It'm for a pounde of frankensense	iiij d.		
It'm for oyle olyff . . . ij d.	It'm for coles . .	iiij d.	
It'm for red wyne . . . ob	It'm for Isopp . .	ijd.	
It'm for a ell of rose canvass	iiij d. ob.		
It'm for small waxe candell	ij d.		
It'm for iiij queyer of browne paper	iiij d.		
It'm for water . . . j d.	It'm to iij prestes .	iij d.	
It'm to the bysshoppes servantes and for hyer of copes . .	xij d.		
It'm to the bysshopps suffracan	xx s.		
It'm a nother ell of rose canvas	iiij d. ob.		
Sm' pagine xxviij s. iiij d. ob.			

In 1616 and 1617 S. Peter's was repaired and beautified at a cost of 314*l.*

The History of the Reformation is shadowed forth in such entries as these, from S. Peter's books: in 1555-6 a "new Rood with Mary and John" is purchased, and in the following year an image of the Patron Saint: whilst in 1558-9, xx d. is paid for taking down the Rood and for other work.

I must not omit the quaint couplet which prefaces the Inventory of 1431:

that who so ev' p'loynes it away
he shall have crystis curse for ay.

Such maledictory sentences, however, are not very rare in books of this period.

Floral decorations seem always to have been popular with us. We still retain bouquets on the altar on the greater festivals, and this is by no means a recent revival, but is simply the maintenance of an ancient custom. Formerly the church itself was strewn with "Russhes and Yerbes:" the following list will show the flowers or shrubs employed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the principal festival days.

Christmas Day.—Holly, ivye, rosemarye, and bayes.
Palm Sunday.—Palme, ews, flowers, and boxe.
Easter Day.—Yerbes.
Ascension Day.—Garlands and strawing herbs.
Whit Sunday.—Garlands, hearbes, and floures.
Corpus Christi Day (the Thursday next after Trinity Sunday).—Garland of roses, flaggs.

Midsummer Day, 24th June.—Birch.
St. Peter's Day, 29th June.—Garlands.
Lammas Day, 1st August.—Garlands and flowers.

We have a few quaint notices of parochial festivities. It would appear that the parishioners occasionally dined together at some of the inns in the parish, and that "though on pleasure they were bent, they had a frugal mind," and bought their eatables in the markets, sent them to the inn, and paid for the cooking. In 1688 on Ascension Day, they feasted upon "mutton, goose, and sparry grasse" at a cost of 1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, with "coffee for the men and ale for the boys" costing 9*s.* 6*d.* more. On a certain S. George's Day, 26 and 27 Henry VIII. Sir Nicholas Faringdon's obit was kept and 32*s.* 5*d.* was spent on "brede, ale, pyppens, and wyne, and spice, and butter for the brede." In 1736 they paid for "biscakes and sweatsmeats for the Bishop, 2*s.*"

I have printed in my papers already referred to, and therefore do not now repeat, some curious notices of ancient religious ceremonies, such as watching the sepulchre at Easter, the quaint rites of Palm Sunday, and the strange custom of the Boy Bishop.

The accounts for the rebuilding of S. Matthew's Church are all preserved: they give, as may be supposed, much information as to the price of labour and of materials, and specify with very great minuteness the exact details of nearly all the work done.

We have an abundance of entries of collections made by the authority of briefs: for all kinds of objects, and for all sorts and conditions of men; but none I think so odd as that for which according to Burn's *History of Parish Registers* the alms of the Church were collected at Loughborough in Leicestershire:

1673. Brief for rebuilding the Theatre Royal in London.

What a zealous cavalier the parson must have been! For the rebuilding of S. Paul's Cathedral, S. Matthew's gave 3*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.* S. Peter's 3*l.* 16*s.* 6*d* :* for the relief of the Vaudois in 1698-9 no less than 18*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* was collected.

Let us turn now to the church as it stood composed of flesh and blood. With the help of Newcourt's *Repertorium*, supple-

* Dugdale, *Hist. of S. Paul's*, edit. fol. London, 1818.

mented by other authorities, and especially by the parish books, I have been able to compile lists of the Rectors of the two parishes, from the early part of the fourteenth century down to the present time, commencing with Roger de South Croxton, rector, in 1322, of S. Matthew's; Thomas de Winton, rector, in 1324, of S. Peter's. (See Appendix I.) I will not here recapitulate their names, but will notice very briefly a few of the more remarkable. And, first, place for the bishops: three rectors have received the mitre. Edward Vaughan, Bishop of St. David's, consecrated 22 July, 1509 (he died in November 1522). He built the chapel of the Holy Trinity in his cathedral, and was previously treasurer of Saint Paul's. Lewis Bayly, a famous preacher, and chaplain to James I. known also as the author of *The Practice of Piety*, was consecrated Bishop of Bangor 8 Dec. 1616 (he died in 1632). And last, but chief of all, that illustrious man, famous alike in church and state, of whom it is recorded that he was "vir justus, mansuetus, hospitalis, misericors, amans omnes et ab omnibus amatus,"* of whom also history declares that "whether he was more dear unto his prince for his singular wisdom, or more beloved of the commonalty for his integrity and abstinence it is even very hard to say;" that great man, wise and good, skilful in embassies to foreign princes, earnest in working out the reformation of the church at home, Thomas Goodrich. High Chancellor of England, and Lord Bishop of Ely, who for twenty years, 1534-54, presided over his see with large-hearted hospitality, with true sympathy alike for learning and for religion.† These are our heroes.

Other of the rectors have been as notorious, though in a far different way. Henry Burton (with William Prynne and John Bastwick) was, on 14 June, 1637, sentenced in the Star Chamber to lose his ears, to stand in the pillory in the Palace Yard at Westminster, to pay a fine of 5000*l.* to the King, and to be imprisoned for life. He had published a sermon, wherein the prelates were charged with introducing several innovations into the divine worship. He was degraded from his ministry in the

* Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 522.; and Godwin, *De Præsulibus*.

† Consecrated 19 April, 1534, died 10 May, 1554.

High Commission Court, and, having stood in the pillory, was sent first to the castle at Lancaster, and thence to Castle Cornet in Guernsey. Released in 1640, by order of Parliament, he and Prynne made a triumphant entry into London, accompanied, says à Wood, "by thousands of filthy fellows on foot and horseback, and in coaches, with rosemary and bays in their hats, crying Welcome home! Welcome home! God bless you! God be thanked for your return! to the great contempt of authority and justice."* Fuller adds, in his quaint way, "that he rather took a snap than any meat in any university," and attributes his line of declamation to his dismissal from an engagement to accompany Prince Charles into Spain, either because "his parts and learning were conceived not such as to credit our English church in foreign parts, or because his principles were accounted inconsistent with that employment." He afterwards turned Independent, and set up a separatist congregation of his own.

In the library of S. Paul's Cathedral is a very curious pamphlet, "A Speech delivered in the Starr Chamber on Wednesday the 14th of June, MDCXXXVII. at the censure of John Bastwick, Henry Burton, and William Prinn, concerning pretended innovations in the Church, By the Most Reverend Father in God William [Laud], Ld Archbishop of Canterbury, his Grace." (Press Mark. ix. F. 24 4to. London, 1637.) The dedication, to King Charles, is so quaint and forcible, that I venture upon an extract:—

And as I thus beseech you for your people in general, so doe I particularly for the three professions which have a little suffer'd in these three most notorious libellous persons. And first, for my owne profession, I humbly begge of your Majesty to thinke M Burton hath not in this many followers, and am heartily sorry hee would needs lead. The best is your Majesty knows what made his rancour swell. I'le say no more. And for the law, I truly honour it with my heart, and believe Mr. Prynne may seeke all the Innes of Court (and with a candle too if he will), and scarce find such a malevolent as himself against State and Church. And for physicke, the profession is honourable and safe, and I know the professors of it will

* Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 475, quoting Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 313.

remember that *Corpus humanum*, man's body, is that about which their art is conversant, not *Corpus Ecclesiasticum* or *Politicum*, the body of the Church, State, or Common Wealth. Bastwick only hath been bold that way. But the Proverbe in the Gospell, in the fourth of S. Luke, is all I'le say to him, *Medice cura te-ipsum*, physician heale thyselfe. And yet let me tell your Majestie, I believe hee hath gained more by making the Church a patient, than by all the patients hee ever had beside."

Several entries in our registers relate to this notorious trio. In 1629 there was baptised "Susan, the d. of Mr. John Bastwicke, Doctor of Phisike, and Susan his wife." In 1621 and 1624 two children of Henry Burton, parson, and Anne his wife were baptized. In 1647 Henry Burton married Ursula Maisters. And in 1647, January 7, Henry Burton, minister, was buried. The library of the Corporation of the City of London contains some literary relics of Burton and his times.*

Henry Chesten, or Chestlen, is honoured by having his name enrolled in a "a briefe Martyrologie and Catalogue of the learned, grave, religious, and painfull ministers of the Citie of London, who have been imprisoned, plundered, barbarously used, and deprived of all livelihood for themselves and their families in these last years, for their constancy in the Protestant religion establisht in this kingdom, and their loyaltie to their Soveraigne." In this list, contained in *Mercurius Rusticus*, as the book is called in the

* 1. Israel's Fast, a Meditation on the VII chapter of Joshua, by H. B. rector of S. M. Friday Street. 4to. London, 1628.

2. A brief relation of certain speciall and most materiall passages and speeches in the Starre Chamber, occasioned and delivered June 14, 1637, at the censure of Dr. Bastwicke, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Prynne. 4to. London, 1638.

3. A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny in their late Prosecutions of Mr. W. Prynne, D.B. and Mr. Henry Burton. 4to. London, 1641.

4. The several Petitions of Dr. B., Mr. Burton, to Parliament. 4to. London, 1641.

5. Truth shut out of doors; or a brief and true narrative of the occasion and manner of proceeding of some of Aldermanbury parish in shutting their church doors against me, by Henry Burton. 4to. London, 1645.

6. The Door of Truth opened, or a True Narrative how Mr. Henry Burton came to shut himself out of the church doors of Aldermanbury 4to. London, 1645.

engraved title (12mo, London, 1647), though styled in the printed title *Angliæ Ruina*, is "A Generall Bill of Mortalitie of the Clergy of London, which have been defunct by reason of the contagious breath of the sectaries of that citie, from the year 1641 to this present yeare 1647, with the several casualties of the same;"* and here we find this entry: "Mathew, Fryday-street. M. Chestlen violently assaulted in his house, imprisoned in the Compter, thence sent to Colchester Gaole, in Essex, sequestered, and plundered. Dead."† A really touching account of the good man's troubles will be found in this curious volume,‡ on whose authority we learn that "In the 97 parishes within the walls, besides S. Paul's," 85 clergy were "outed."§ See also Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* (Fo. Lond. 1714), p. 165, 166.

Daniel Votier also "was for his loyalty sequestred in the late Rebellion of 1642, and died with grief." *Mercurius Rusticus*, 257.

It seems doubtful whether Henry Hurst, 1660-1662, was in holy orders at all when first he began to preach: he was ejected in 1662 for nonconformity, "upon which he became a great preacher in conventicles," where it "was usual for him to vent his mind in many things savouring of treason." He was seized with an apoplectic fit whilst preaching in a meeting-house near Covent Garden in 1690, and was buried in the churchyard of what our old registers call Convent Garden, "near the Sun Dial, within the rails." So far *Athenæ Oxonienses.*‖

Leonard Twells is well known for his contributions to theological literature: his Boyle and Lady Moyer *Lectures;* his *Critical Examination of the Text of the New Testament in Greek and English;* his *Vindication of the Gospel of St. Matthew;* and many polemical tracts, still attest his diligence. Though in parochial history the act by which he will be best remembered will be his repair of the rectory-house, in which for fifty years no rector had resided.¶ The house was for some time let for use as a school-

* Merc. Rustic. p. 252.
† Ibid. p. 256.
‡ Pp. 146-155.
§ P. 257.
‖ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 476, quoting Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. ii. 639.
¶ Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, 4to. Lond. 1807, vol. iv. p. 487, quoting *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, No. II. p. 189.

house for the ward of Farringdon Within. In 1713, July 31, there is recorded in the Baptismal Registers the birth of a son of "Jacob Cotton, schoolmaster, of the Charity School of the ward of Farindon Within . . . born in the Parsonage House, where ye School is kept . . . baptised on Thursday immediately after the second lesson at evening prayer." This house although repaired by Leonard Twells, seems soon to have become ruinous. It was taken down in 1791, when the present house was erected during the incumbency and at the cost of the Rev. George Avery Hatch, the rector.

With one more name, that of Dr. Lort, Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, I shall bring my notices of rectors to a close.

Lord Macaulay, under the year 1688,* gives some interesting details about the reading of the King's second Declaration of Indulgence. (The library of S. Paul's Cathedral is rich in pamphlets concerning this Declaration.) For petitioning against it, the Seven Bishops (*i.e.* the Archbishop William Sancroft, Bishop Lloyd of S. Asaph, Bishop Ken of Bath and Wells, Bishop Turner of Ely, Bishop White of Peterborough, Bishop Lake of Chichester, and Bishop Trelawney of Bristol,)† were sent to the Tower. "In the Cities and Liberties of London were about a hundred parish churches In only four of these was the Order in Council obeyed. At St Gregory's the Declaration was read by a divine of the name of Martin; as soon as he uttered the first words the whole congregation rose and withdrew. At St. Matthew's in Friday Street, a wretch named Timothy Hall, who had disgraced his gown by acting as broker for the Duchess of Portsmouth in the sale of pardons, and who now had hopes of obtaining the vacant bishoprick of Oxford, was in like manner left alone in his church. At Serjeants' Inn in Chancery Lane, the clerk pretended that he had forgotten to bring a copy, and the Chief Justice of the King's Bench who had attended in order to see that the royal mandate was obeyed, was forced to content himself with that excuse. Samuel Wesley, the father of John

* Vol. ii. eleventh edit. p. 351. † Ibid. p. 347.

and Charles Wesley, a curate in London, took for his text that day the noble answer of the three Jews to the Chaldæan tyrant: 'Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy Gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.' Even in the chapel of S. James's Palace the officiating minister had the courage to disobey the order. The Westminster boys long remembered what took place that day in the Abbey. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, officiated there as Dean. As soon as he began to read the Declaration, murmurs and the noise of people crowding out of the choir drowned his voice. He trembled so violently that men saw the paper shake in his hand: long before he had finished, the place was deserted by all but those whose situation made it necessary to remain."

What business the "wretch named Timothy Hall" had at S. Matthew's, I cannot tell. Certainly it was not, as Macaulay phrases it, *his* church: for his name cannot be found in the list of rectors. But in the list of vicars or ministers of All Hallows Staining, given by Newcourt,* I find the following entry:

Tim. Hall, A.M. licenciat. 20 Dec. 1677.

and in a note appended to his name it is said that "he became minister of this church Dec. 20, 1677, on the death of Will. Holland, in May or June 1688." I quote the actual words of the note without endeavouring to rectify the confusion of dates. Newcourt proceeds, "He caused the Declaration of K. James II. for Liberty of Conscience to be read in his church, (which had been refused by most of the ministers in London,) on which service the King gave him the Bishoprick of Oxon. void by the death of Dr. Parker, and was consecrated at Lambeth by the Archb. of Cant. and Bishops of Chichester and Chester, on Oct. 7, 1688. He died at Hackney, April 10, 1690, in mean circumstances."† Newcourt's statements are confirmed by Godwin,‡ who briefly dismisses Bishop Hall with this short notice, under the date 1688, Jac. I. 4. "Hujus tum sedis cathedram conscendit Timotheus Hall, vir nullius inter Literatos vel Clericos

* *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 915. † *Ath. Ox.* vol. ii. fol. 685.
‡ *De Præsulibus*, edit. Richardson, p. 549.

nominis, verum quod Regiæ voluntati obsecutus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ jura perfide deseruerat, id erat illi meritorum instar omnium: quare ad hanc Diocesin evectus septimo Octobris 1688, nomine magis quam re episcopus, post aliquot menses misere exactos, inops et contemptus obiit decimo Aprilis 1690." I fear that we must come to the conclusion that Lord Macaulay is here in error; and that, writing *currente calamo*, he substituted the name of S. Matthew Friday Street, for that of All Hallows Staining. Macaulay thus describes Hall's reception at Oxford. "The infamous Timothy Hall, who had distinguished himself among the clergy of London by reading the Declaration, was rewarded with the Bishoprick of Oxford, which had been vacant since the death of the not less infamous Parker. Hall came down to his see; but the Canons of his Cathedral refused to attend his installation; the University refused to create him a Doctor; not a single one of the Academic youth applied to him for Holy Orders; no cap was touched to him; and in his palace he found himself alone."*

It was but a few years earlier that the Church was the scene of another disturbance. That pleasant old gossip Pepys, after telling us that on "Lord's Day, 1 Nov. 1660, Mr. Mills, at our own church, did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer, by saying 'Glory be to the Father,' &c. after he had read the two Psalms; but the people had been so little used to it that they could not tell what to answer," relates that he went "after dinner to Westminster . . to the Abbey, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a Cathedral." So long had they been silenced during the rigid Puritanic rule. Soon came the famous 17 August, 1662, "the last Sunday that the Presbyterians are to preach unless they read the new Common Prayer and renounce the Covenant." And on the following Sunday he makes this entry: "Walked to my uncle Wight's: here I staid supper, and much company there was; among others, Dr. Burnett, Mr. Cole the lawyer, Mr. Rawlinson, and Mr. Sutton. Among other things, they tell me that there hath been a disturbance in a church in Friday Street; a great many young people knotting together, and crying out

* Macaulay, History of England, Ch. ix. 1688, referring to Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*; Luttrell's *Diary*, Aug. 23, 1688.

'Porridge' often and seditiously in the church, and they took the Common Prayer Book, they say, away; and, some say, did tear it; but it is a thing which appears to me very ominous. I pray God avert it!"

These are the chief of the scattered historical notices of my parishes that have fallen under my observation.

A year earlier, 1661, August 4, Pepys has a very odd entry, which I am glad to say does not relate to either of my parishes, but which I venture to introduce as it illustrates the habits of the day, at least in rural districts:

To church [at Impington, near Cambridge] and had a good plain sermon. At our coming in the country people rose with so much reverence, and when the parson begins, he begins "Right Worshipfull and dearly beloved" to us.

I will next invite attention to the ancient Registers. Of the most ancient, commencing in 1538,* we have a folio on vellum, a transcript very carefully made under the direction of Dr. Thompson, rector from 1666, April 6, to 1715, who with scrupulous care signs every page. But we have not only this transcript, but also the original paper register from which it was made: and, as so often happens at that period, in many cases the ancient original is clearer and easier to decipher than its more modern copy. We have also one of those note-books once in general use amongst the clergy, in which they roughly entered baptisms, burials, and marriages, just as they were celebrated; and from which the entries were afterwards transferred in their due order, under their several heads, to the register of the parish. These rough books were a fruitful source of error and omission; they were often destroyed or lost before the transcripts or fair copies were made, so that you may often find lapses in some registers of years after years to which no entries are attributed, simply because the original notes had at the rector's death, or by accident, or by wilful injury, entirely disappeared. The present system of immediate registration has removed this defect from our parochial registers.

* The year in which Lord Cromwell ordered that a register should be kept in every parish.

The first point in these curious volumes which I would note is the number of baptismal names now obsolete found at different periods. These I have digested into a rough chronological order, including amongst them several names remarkable only for the quaint way in which they are spelt. We will take male Christian names first:

1538-1600. Affabell, Armynger, Barnaby, Bartlyne, Domingo, Dymont, Elesander, Elliz, Jaronymus, Justinian, Hanniball, Harman, Holyware, Richardo, Stenny, Stylas, Tristram, Valentine, Walkaden.

1600-1700. Adrian, Allsantis, Boulas, Epaphro, Fabian, Ferdinando, Galfrid, Jarvis, Mirrick, Paske, Peirs, Persivall, Raphe, Remidge, Renatus, Sellers, Wolfstane, Zuraizaday.

To which may be added a few Scripture names occuring in the sixteenth century:—

Bezaleel, Elias, Enoch, Emmanuel, Esdras, Tobye.

Nor were the female Christian names less remarkable:—

1538-1600. Adlyn, Aigers, Annis, Apollen, Armell, Armenelle, Avery, Bithia, Cassandra, Christabelle, Cissele, Dennys, Dewte, Elizamon, Florense, Goddetha, Goodeth, "Harrye being a woman childe, 1540," Jehoyda, Lettice, Maryana, Minye, Parnell, Thomysard.

1600-1700. Beatrix, Blandina, Bethiah, Betteris, Chedeok, Darkis, Dusabilla, Debro, Easter, Ephan, Emm, Eriphine, Gillian, Joyce, Laudina, Love, Millier, Penelope, Pervis, Protera, Rode, Sadge, Sindeney, Theodocia, Theophila, Valentine, Zipore.

1700-1800. Althea, Alse, Apollonia, Armenilla, Bersheba, Brillanaa, Clarissa, Dorothea, Gainer, Mehetable, Mertila, Mercie, Millicent, Olimpia, Oriana, Palentis, Palestine, Possella, Philadelphia, Reabocka, Rediviva, Roose, Sabella, Sancta, Serena.

Names of Saints of course abound, as:—

Agatha, Barbara, Magdalene, Mudwyn (there was once a Saint Modwena), Winnifred.

And a few scriptural names, as:—

Dorcas, Eve, Marah.

Of the name Althemire I am not sure whether it be male or female, though I imagine it to be the latter.

A very few Puritan names occur, such as:—

Beloved, Godly, both female names.

Purifie Press the son of Mr. John Presse, Parson, 1584.

This Mr. Presse, rector 1573-1612, seems to have hastened to avail himself of the permission to marry then accorded to priests; Elizabeth, Mathias, Purifie, Rebecca, and Thomas, his children, followed each other in rapid succession. His predecessor Robert Richardson, who had been presented to two livings by successive kings, Henry VIII. and Edward VI. was less fortunate; he was deprived of his benefice by Queen Mary for being a married priest, though he was restored by Elizabeth.

I will now point out a few of the most noticeable features in the registers. In 1541 we find two brothers having the same Christian name, in the S. Peter's register.

1541. Thom's Smythe brother unto Thomas Smithe of this p'ishe, buried.

In 1561, in the S. Matthew's book, two Christian names first occur:—

1561. November 10, Thomas Francis, son of Peter Francis Heton, bapt.

In 1616 occurs for the first time the name of the mother of the child baptised; the father's name only having been previously inserted.

In the seventeenth century are many entries of baptisms "by dissenters;" and the rector, Dr. Thompson, is careful to add:—

Memorandum: that that old paper register in folio was kept by some of ye churchwardens and parishioners fro' the rector diverse years very unduely, and ag^st^ ye rector's will, 'tis thought that some of ye dissenters children might be inserted into ye parish register.

And again, in a similar tone:

1680. Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Hayes is foisted into the register, it being unknown to the rector that shee was baptised according to the order of the church of England.

And once more, two years later, "Will. Broderick, Clerk," signs a page of the register, and the rector adds to his signature this comment:—

Who hath set his hand here without either rector or churchwardens, very unduly. Fra. Thompson, 1682.

In 1696 the rector enters a baptism in this form:

1696.... born June 27, and born again by holy baptism July 12.

At this period children were baptised at a very early age, as indeed the Rubric contemplates and as piety suggests; for God's good gift of children, "a heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord," cannot be too early dedicated to the loving Father. A single page of the register, anno 1698, supplies five examples:—

born April 26, bapt. April 28.
born Aug. 15, bapt. Aug. 24.
born Aug. 31, bapt. Sept. 8.
born Sept. 30, bapt. Oct. 9.
born Nov. 29, bapt. Nov. 30.

In 1592 the occupation of the father is generally stated, as for example:—

. . . . . sonne of ffrauncis Wrenne, myllyner . . .

In 1789 a case occurs in which the officiating clergyman distinguishes between baptism and christening, entering the services thus:—

Born Jan. 2, 1768, baptized the same day, and christened this day, 25 May, 1789, at home.

I have not met with any entries of baptisms by women, as at Herne in Kent, "1567. William Lawson, an infant, christened by the woemen, buried 21 Martii," though I find in the Archbishop of York's Injunctions to his clergy this sentence:—

Item: All curates must openly, in the church, teach and instruct the mydwiefes of the very wordes and fourme of baptisme, to thentents that they may use them perfietly and none oder.

In 1600 I find this entry:—

1600. A chrisome child of Roger Clarkes, not being baptized, was buryed in the north vault.
1626. Sarah Smithe, a chrisme.

In turning over the leaves of the baptismal registers one cannot fail to be struck by the great number of foundling children whose baptisms are entered. In the parish of S. Matthew alone there were no less than 28 foundlings baptised between 1600 and 1700; and 11 between 1700 and 1750. One was baptised by the name of Matthew Monday, being found on that day in S. Matthew's parish (just as Robinson Crusoe called his man Friday because he entered into his service on that day); another was

named Matthew Peregrine, but all the rest had the name of Matthew given to them as a surname. In S. Peter's parish too, foundlings were equally plentiful, and were called by such names as Peter Westcheap, Peter Gouldstreet, Dorcas Faringdon, Peter Peregrine, Sarah Peters, and Thomas Keyes.*

Years have elapsed, I believe, since a foundling has been discovered in either of my parishes; but, curiously enough, since the last sentence was written, in this very year (June 1869), a fine healthy child about four or five months old was found in Fountain Court by the policeman on duty. The deserted infant was taken to the workhouse and baptised as Samuel Fountain, the names given being a combination of the Christian name of the relieving officer to whom the child was taken, and of the name of the court in which it was discovered.

I found in the old chest before mentioned a loose paper which had probably been pinned on to the clothes of some deserted infant:

1713, January 14.
Robert Staples is my name;
My parents being very poor
Were forced to lay me at y^{r} door.

but the exposure proved fatal: for the register of burials shows that on the same day the poor baby was buried. Indeed, generally, these foundling children seem to have died very shortly after their discovery and baptism.

I also found another loose paper of a similar kind, without date, but probably about 1680, endorsed "To the over seers of the poore of this parish," which contains a very interesting statement:—

To the overseers of the parish,

Humbly shewing the resons of exposing this child: his ffather being latly taken by the Turkes of Algieres, and now a slave, his mother, not able by reson of hir poverty to bring him vp, is constrained to doe after this manner to hir great trouble and greife, and assures you that when God shall please to restore hir husband back then to fetch him back and owne him and pay all charges for his keeping; pray baptise him and call his name Thomas.

* The usage of other parishes was similar to this, as our registers show, in 1501, a child of Grace Church was buried; in 1563 Bennet Fink was married; 1564 Mary Aldermary married.

Such entries give some insight into the domestic history of the times, and therefore are not without their value to any one who would form a correct estimate of the manners and customs of the days that are past. They speak of hard times, of scanty public provision for the distresses and necessities of the poor. And at the same time they testify to some not inconsiderable amount of private and of parochial charity to which the exposers of these poor children thought that they might venture to trust.

Suggestive, in a similar way, are such entries as these, which during a certain period, 1580-1640, follow each other with strange rapidity in the registers.

1587. Ellin, a child born atte the churche doore in Cheapeside.

1593. Two children, twins, were baptised. Anne Knoxson (the mother) being delivered of them twoo children in the streete, came and layde herself with her twoo children in oure churche porche of S. Peter's.

1626. Margaret ffarington, found uppon a stall in Cheapside.

1633. One child was born in the church porch, and two others in the street; and in the very next year is a similar entry.

1630 Three men died in the street.

1711. August 28, Sarah a fondling [*sic*] left in St. Matthews Ally or Court near Cheapside, August 26, 1711, with a note that it should be called Sarah, was baptized in the church

This poor little "Sally in our alley" was, so far at least, carefully tended.

We will next speak of the Burial Registers.

There is but one case of remarkable longevity recorded.

1548. Sr Willm Abey a prieste, being an hundreth and eight yeres of age, was buried.

This Sir William Abey was the priest of Sir Nicholas Farringdon's chantry, as we learn from the churchwardens' accounts, 26-27 Henry VIII.

To Sr William Abye, syngyng for Sir Nich'as ffaryngton for a hole yere, vj^li^. xiij^s^. iiij^d^.

The Great Fire finds brief record in the following terms:—

S. Peters 1666. These under written were buried since the dreadfull ffire in ye yeare 1666, Sept. 2d.

1669. John Saunders, esq. was buried ye 21st of August, being ye first buried in those ruinous walls.

Dr. Thompson (who signs the register in 1692 as "D.D. rector, chaplain in ordinary and in waiting in the months of March in the reign of King Charles the Second of glorious memory, and of his royall brother King James the Second, &c.") seems to have been rather given to diffuse entries, often very quaintly expressed. I subjoin two of these:

1708. Edward as hee was christened, alias Edmund Turner as he called himself, for he could not write though he was this year ye upper churchwarden, single man, was buried in the parish vault of S. Peters.

1711. [After registering a burial, Dr. Thompson adds] he was buried in the parish vault, after he was laid in the chancell by mistake, his brother and his brother's wife having been formerly buried in ye parish vault. He was a batchellor aged 64 years. Tho' he had black plumes on his herse, his executors would not be at ye charges of ye chancell, but would have him raised out of it, before ye Generall Resurrection, tho' he died rich.

There seems to have been great feasting at funerals; the "funeral baked meats" were certainly not forgotten. Richard Smyth, in his *Obituary*, is careful to record, evidently as an unusual circumstance, that in 1672 a bookseller in Little Britain was buried at S. Bartholomew the Great "w^th^out a sermon, w^th^out wine or waffers, only gloves and rosemary." Our account books contain a curious entry:

1588. Payde for p'fume at M^rs^. Palmers buriall iiij^d^.

As the entry is not elsewhere repeated, I conclude that the use of perfume on this occasion was something very unusual.

Rings with posies were given away at funerals. Richard Smyth notes one instance worth recording, at the funeral of Alderman John Smith in 1672, the posie on whose rings was EVER LAST, and the writer quaintly adds, "He made a great gain by musk cats that he kept," tempting one to ask whether the motto referred to the permanence of the perfume. In the same year at the funeral of Samuel Crumbleholme, schoolmaster of S.

Paul's school, rings were given whose posie was REDIME TEMPVS.

Nor were rings the only gifts, as may be seen from the following excerpts (three out of many that might have been selected) from *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, edited for the Camden Society by that accomplished antiquary John Gough Nichols, esq. F.S.A. 4to. London, 1848.

1554. The ij day of November was bered at sant Peters in Chepe one Master Pekeryng, with ij fayre whyt branchys, and viij torchys, iiij grett tapurs, and he gayffe unto xij [pore men] xij gownes, that dyd bere them, and eldyd th .... dyvers mornars, and the felowshype of the .... and the morow the masse of requiem.*

1557. The v day of Juin was bered in sant Peters in Chepe Master Tylworth Goldsmyth, with mony mornars, and with ij whyt branchys, and xij stayffes torchys, and the xij pore men had gownes of mantyll frysse, and iiij grett tapurs; and ys mas was kefth [*i.e.* kept] ... on Wyssun Monday, and after there was a grett deener.†

1560. xx May. The same day was bered Mastores Russell, wedow, in sant Mathuw parryche, and she gayff a xx gownes and cottes of blake, and a xij gownes to xij women, and they gayff unto Master Parre a blake gowne and a tepytt that mad the sermon; and ther was the compene of the Clarkes syngyng, and after a grett dener.‡

The following list of lord mayors, or their ladies, some time resident in the parish of S. Peter, may be thought of some interest:

1570. Allexhaunder Avenon his wyffe, the Ladie Mayris, buried.
Ladye Mundy, wyffe of Sir John Mundye.
1580. Sir Alexander Avenon § buried.
1591. Sr John Allot, knight.
1591. Sr Richard Martyn, knight.

Many familiar historic names occur in the burial registers, though but little may be known of the particular individuals to whom these names descended:

Matthew Paris, 1632; Anthony Wood, 1654; Richard Wickliffe, 1567; William and Thomas Machyn, 1539.

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* P. 73. † P. 138. ‡ P. 235.
§ See the Visitation of London, (edit. London and Middx. Soc.) pp. 14, 15.

And as sailors are wont to speak of a dead man as having gone to "Davey Jones' locker," I cannot forbear adding this entry:

1602. Davey Jones, Sextoun of this Parish, was Burred in Powls Churcheyard.

S. Matthew's parish seems to have been for nearly a century the home of the Middleton family, for the registers abound with notices concerning members of this house, closing, at length, with this entry in the burial register:

1631. X^br^ 10, Sr Hugh Middleton, knight.

It is hardly necessary to say that he was the projector of the artificial canal, thirty-eight miles in length, called the New River, concerning which the following brief note from Cunningham's *Handbook* must here suffice: "Myddelton laid his plans before the Court of Common Council 28 March, 1608-9, and on 29 Sept. 1620, the river was publicly opened. Nearly ruined by his scheme, Myddelton parted with his interest in it to a Company called the New River Company, reserving to himself and his heirs for ever an annuity of 100*l.* per annum. The dividend for the first year was 15*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*; a single share, however, bequeathed by Sir Hugh to the Goldsmiths' Company for charitable purposes produces 200*l.* per annum." In the committee room of this company, of which he was a member, is a fine portrait of him by Jansen; his statue, by Carew, adorns the Royal Exchange. In the *Biographia Britannica* (fo. London, 1760), vol. v. p. 3090, is a notice of Sir Hugh, filling two pages; and in Smile's *Lives of the Engineers* there is a memoir occupying pp. 85-152 of the first volume.

A few words must yet be added about the Marriage Registers. The entries from 1654 to 1660 have no small interest. On 20 Sept. 1653, a registrar was appointed by the parish, by whom, holding a certificate from the alderman, all marriages were to be entered. The Puritans were now in the ascendant, and one step which they took to prove their superior spirituality was to deprive the holy ordinance of matrimony of its religious rites, and to make it a purely secular contract. The entries take such form as this:

An Agreement of Marriage between and
was publisht three severall Lords Dayes (or Markett Dayes in three severall weeks), being the day of .
By me, EDWARD TAYLOR, Register.

Some marriages took place before Alderman Andrews, Alderman Ireton, or the Lord Mayor; some were published in Cheapside Market; but one couple, retaining, on one side at least, the old religious feeling, "were married by Justice Gravener and our own minister."

The following entry is somewhat unusual in its form:

1538, November. Nathen Johnson and Mawde Studbery were copled in Matrymonye, the Third daye. (S. Peter's.)

In 1779, April 22, the "Rev. Robert Sumner, clerk, of the parish of Kenilworth," was married in S. Matthew's church to "Hannah Bird, of S. Peter's parish," a marriage which gave two prelates to the Church of England, for these parties were the parents of John Bird Sumner, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and Charles Richard Sumner, Lord Bishop of Winchester.

In 1809 an entry is made that the bride refused to sign the register.

I have been at some pains to prepare a statistical account of the number of baptisms, burials, and marriages that have been solemnized in the two parishes ever since the registers were first kept, chiefly with the view of arriving at the numbers of the resident inhabitants at various periods. Whilst examining the books for this purpose, I was surprised to find (and I cannot even now account for the circumstance), an occasional, sudden, and very large increase in the number of marriages celebrated. Thus, whereas for the previous ten years the average number for S. Peter's parish had been four, in 1609 there were 36, and in 1611 there were 57, no corresponding increase in the number having taken place at S. Matthew's. Again, whilst for the previous ten years in S. Matthew's the average number had been six, there were 20 in 1644, 48 in 1645, 59 in 1646, and 93 in 1647, and this time there is no increase at S. Peter's. After this last date the numbers fall off at once to about the usual average. Robert Chestlen, the staunch Royalist, was Rector in 1647; the next

year, as will be remembered, was that of the atrocious murder of Charles I.

	Baptisms.		Marriages.		Funerals.	
	S.M.	S.P.	S.M.	S.P.	S.M.	S.P.
1550-1600 . .	475	743	184	323	369	640
1600-1650 . .	608	862	430	281	453	906
1650-1700 . .	518	657	362	83	727	505
1700 1750 . .	340	416	743		506	414
1750-1800 . .	115	323	167	112	217	262
1800-1850 . .	185	178	56	47	190	111

The registers indicate the following years to have been seasons of great mortality, 1548, 1563, 1593, 1603, 1625, 1665.

In 1548 the funerals in the two parishes were as many as 63, and Stowe in his *Annals* says "1548. This yere a great mortality by the pestilence was in London, wherefore commandement was given to all curates, and other having to do therewith, that no corps should be buried before 6 of the clocke in the morning, nor after 6 of the clock at night, and that there should at the buryal of every corpse bee rung one bell at the least, by the space of 3 quarters of an houre." Entries of charges for these knells are very common in our account books.

The year 1563 was a year of terrible mortality. Stowe relates that in the 108 parishes of London and its liberties there died of the pestilence in this year 20,136; besides 3,000 dying of other diseases. At Newhaven "the streets were full of dead corpses, not able to be removed by reason of the multitude that perished. In London a blue cross was ordered to be affixed to the door of every house where the plague was; every housekeeper was to make bonfires three times a week, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, in his street: and no one in whose house the plague had been was to go to church for one month after." In the library of S. Paul's Cathedral is preserved a copy of a form of prayer, issued in the July of this year, for use during the pestilence. Our registers record the burial of 62 persons during this year.

The next plague year, 1593, was even more fatal in our parishes; 71 persons falling victims to its ravages. Stowe notes in his *Annals* that "this yeere also no Bartholomew faire was kept at London, for the avoyding of concourse of people, whereby the infection of

the rest, or plague, might have increased, which was then verie hot in that citie: so that on the three and twentieth of October deceased Sir William Roe, then Lord Maior." This year there died of the plague 10,675.

In 1603, the year of the coronation of James I., 69 of our residents were buried. This too was a plague year, no less than 30,578 falling under its terrible stroke.

In 1625, 82 parishioners died. In this year 35,000 died of plague, and the first Parliament of Charles I. was adjourned to Oxford.

Of the terrible year 1665 it is unnecessary to speak, its story is familiar, is a household word: no less than 73 parishioners died. There is a notice however in Smyth's *Obituary* which I must transcribe for its local interest:

1665, Novemb. 13. About this time died young Mr. Wakeman, minister of St. Matt Fryday Street, *ex peste.*

The date however is not quite accurate; our registers having this entry:

1665. Mr. Edward Wakeman, minister of this parish, was buried the 9th of November.

The numbers dying in this plague have been variously estimated. It is said that 68,590 were returned as having died, but some say that no less than 100,000 perished. The coincidence between these fatal years as indicated by our registers, and the general mortality of those years throughout the city, illustrates the remark, often made, that parochial history is as it were an epitome of history in general.

From 1650 to 1850, 749 funerals are noted as having taken place in the vaults of S. Matthew. The dates of the last interments are:

S. Matthew, vaults 1846, churchyard 1841.

S. Peter, vaults 1838, churchyard 1846.

The vaults of S. Peter's on the south side of the churchyard were finally closed on the 18th March, 1859, by authority of an Order in Council: and those of S. Matthew's were closed in the year 1862.

In looking through the old registers, and especially in turning over the leaves of the old preachers' books, one can scarcely fail

to notice the number of different names of officiating clergy occurring throughout the early part of the last century. Paterson in his *Pietas Londinensis* (12mo. London, 1714) explains this curious fact, and indeed gives us some insight into the religious habits of the citizens in his days. He gives the following account of the services at S. Matthew's:

In this United Parish Church Morning Prayers are only on Wednesdays and Fridays and all Holy Days and Publick Days at Ten a Clock. Sacraments are administered twice upon the first Sunday of the Month, at Six after Morning Prayers and Sermon, and again at Twelve: on Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, and all other Hōly Days in the Year, after Morning Prayers at Ten a Clock. Lectures are, a Preparation Sermon, before and at the Sacrament, then also administred on the first Sunday of the Month, at Six a Clock in the Morning: which are maintained by a Religious Society, and preached by Mr. Richard Short. A Weekly Lecture every Sunday Night at Five, preached by Mr. George Bell, Mr. William Burscough, Mr. James King, and Mr. John Rogers, joynt Lecturers: and maintained by the Society of Farringdon Within. Upon every Wednesday throughout the Year at Ten, preached by Mr. John Coggan. Another upon every Friday at Ten, preached by Mr. John Cullen, and both maintained by Collections and Subscriptions of Private Hands; and if either of these be Holy Day, the Holy Sacrament is also administered after Sermon. And Annual Sermons, on Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, Jan. 30, March 8, Sept. 5, Nov. 5, and most Holy Days and Publick State Days. Ministers: Dr. Francis Thompson, Rector, and Mr. Thomas Haywood, Lecturer.*

Of these numerous Lectureships not one remains. Our Registers confirm Paterson's accuracy. Let one extract suffice:

1713. Mr. Shortland, w^o^ reads Prayers, Preaches, and Administers the B. Sacrament of o^r^ Lord's Supper, in S^t^. Matthew's Church, every first Sunday in the month, by the consent of the Rector, F. Thompsō, about Seven of the Clock in the mornings of ye s^d^ days.

Paterson was certainly an admirer of the Rectors, Vicars, and Lecturers, of the city of London; for he says of them, that they "are a set of the most eminent Divines in Britain, and perhaps in the world beside."†

The hours of Sunday service at this time were ten in the morning, and two or three in the afternoon. On sacrament days the morning service was taken a quarter of an hour earlier, and the

* *Pietas Londinensis*, pp. 187, 188. † Ibid. Introduction.

afternoon service a quarter of an hour later: and in most of the churches there was "public catechising of the parish children and those of charity" on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent.

I cannot but believe that there was much more vitality and heartiness in the religion even of the middle of the eighteenth century than many persons are willing to allow. The frequent services in the church were supplemented by acts of devotion at at home. Sir John Hawkins, in his *History of Music*, says:

> The time is hardly beyond the reach of some person living when Psalmody was considered a delightful exercise. A passenger on a Sunday evening from S. Paul's to Aldgate would have heard the families in most houses in his way occupied in singing Psalms. (See Preface to Mercer's Hymn Book.)

And now, to turn from things sacred to secular matters, I must not forget that great "River of Life" Cheapside, which runs through my united parishes.

There is a quaint old ballad, ascribed to Dan Lydgate a Benedictine monk of Bury S. Edmund's who was ordained in 1389, in which the author bewails the mishaps of a countryman coming to London with empty pockets. He fared much as such an one would fare now: save that he hears certain street cries now forgotten, such as "hot peascods." Mayhew, in *London Labour and the London Poor*, vol. i. p. 180, explains this cry:—

> In many parts of the country it is, or was, customary to have "scaldings of peas" often held as a sort of rustic feast. The peas were not shelled, but boiled in the pod, and eaten by the pod being dipped in melted butter with a little pepper, salt, and vinegar, and then drawn through the teeth to extract the peas, the pod being thrown away."

The stranger hears these cries, as well as the pleasant sounds of "strawberries ripe" and "cherries in the rise," that is, on the bunch; and then he ventures into the grand thoroughfare. But we will let him tell us in his own words how he fared:—

> Then to the Chepe I began me drawne,
> Where mutch people I saw for to stande;
> One ofred me velvet, sylke, and lawne,
> An other he taketh me by the hande,
> 'Here is Parys thred, the fynest in the land;'

I never was used to such thyngs indede,
And wantyng mony I myght not spede.
* * * * *
Then into Corn-Hyl anon I yode,
Where was mutch stolen gere amonge;
I saw where hongê my owne hoode,
That I had lost amonge the thronge:
To by my own hood I thought it wronge,
I knew it as well as I dyd my crede,
But for lack of mony I could not spede.

The ballad is called "London Lackpenny;" I quote from the copy preserved in the *Percy Society Publications* (London, 1840) vol. ii. pp. 105, 106.

Its burden is now and has been ever since it was written on the lips of many a country visitor; for, however much the great city is changed, it is little altered in this respect; the countryman may still sing with a rueful countenance,

For lack of money I could not speed.

In Edward III.'s time a grand tournament was held in Cheap, between the Great Cross and Soper Lane, the pavement being strewed with sand that the horses should not fall. The King and Queen Philippa came to see the spectacle. The occasion was rendered memorable by the falling of a wooden tower erected across the street, in which sat the Queen and her ladies. Stowe records that but for the prayer of the Queen, made upon her bended knee, the carpenters had been sorely punished. The King then caused a stone shed to be constructed, anno 1331, a little north of Bow Church, from which the jousts might be seen with greater safety.

Chaucer, in the "Coke's Tale," has an amusing reference to the "Ridings in Chepe," which took place on the festival days observed by the corporation and principal fraternities; supplying a lively sketch of the London 'prentice of his days:—

A prentys dwelled whilom in oure citee,
And of a craft of vitaillers was he:
Gaylard he was, as goldfinch in the schawe,
Broun as a bery, and a propre felawe:
With lokkes blak and kempt ful fetously.
Dauncen he cowde wel and prately,

That he was cleped Perkyn Revellour.
He was as ful of love and paramour
As is the honycombe of honey swete;
Wel were the wench that mighte him meete.
[At every bridale wolde he synge and hoppe:
He loved bet' the taverne then the schoppe.]
For whan ther eny rydyng was in Cheepe,
Oute of the schoppe thider wolde he lepe,
And tyl he hadde al that sight i-seyn
And daunced wel he nold nat come ageyn;
And gadred him a meyné of his sort
To hoppe and synge and mak such disport.

It was not always that the London 'prentices witnessed such pleasant sights as these. Let Richard Smyth, secondary of the Poultry Compter, certify us in this extract from his *Obituary:*

1658, July 7. Coll. Ashton & one Batteley. } hanged, drawn, and quartered, in Tower Street and Cheapside, for there loyalty.

and again:—

1657, Aug. 31. Nath. Butler hanged in Cheapside, for killing a young man, his bedfellow, in Milk Street.

From the stone shed above mentioned the royal visitors from time to time witnessed the famous civic pageants, and especially the "Great Watches," as they were called, on the eves of S. John Baptist and S. Peter. On S. John's eve, 1510, Henry VIII. came to this place in the livery of a yeoman of the guard, with a halbert on his shoulder, and having seen the pageant departed privately as he came. The next year however he appeared in a more kingly fashion.

Full many a strange gathering of priests and people must have passed along this great highway. As for example, in 1553-4, when my Lord of London "issued his mandate that every parish church should provide a staff and cope to go in procession every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, and pray unto God for fine weather through London."* Or in 1559, "on the last day of June, S. Paul's Day," on their way to "a goodly procession at S. Paul's. There was a priest of each parish in the diocese of London with a cope, and the Bishop of London wearing his mitre, and after came a fat buck, and his head with his horns

* Dean Milman, *Annals of S. Paul's*, edit. 2, p. 236.

borne upon a pole, and forty horns blowing before the beast and behind." This buck was to be received at the west door of S. Paul's, and thence to be taken up to the high altar.* "Imagine Bonner," writes Dean Milman, "mitred in the midst of this strange tripudiation. Pleasant relaxation from burning heretics!"

I must not, however, trust myself to speak of pageants and shows, except just to add that it was usual in a Cheapside lease "to insert a clause, giving a right to the landlord and his friends to stand in the balcony, during the time of the shows or pastimes on Lord Mayor's Day."† One famous "Riding in Cheap" must find mention here, that of the illustrious citizen, renowned in Cowper's story, Johnny Gilpin, dear to childhood's days; when,

> Smack went the whip, round went the wheel,
> Were never folk so glad,
> The stones did rattle underneath,
> As if Cheapside were mad.

I omit all mention of the Great Conduit in Cheapside, since it stood near the entrance to the Poultry, and of the Standard, where Jack Cade caused Lord Say to be beheaded in 1450, for it stood near to Bow church, both sites therefore being beyond the boundaries of my parishes.

The range of four low shops in Cheapside, at the south-west angle of Wood Street, are built upon the site of a shed, called in the ancient registers the Long Shop, which the inhabitants obtained licence to erect in front of the church in 1401.‡ In 1556-7 William Wygynton paid "for the rent of the longe shoppe for one hole yere iij^{li}." The existing houses were erected in 1687, as we learn from a tablet on the north wall:

Erected at ye sole cost and charges of the parish of St. Peter's Cheape, A^{o} D^{ni} 1687.	William Howard, Jeremiah. Taverner,	Church-wardens.

The open space northward of these houses is the churchyard of S. Peter Cheap, inclosed on its eastern side by an iron railing erected in 1712.

* Ibid. p. 252, quoting Machyn's *Diary*, p. 141.

† Cunningham, *Handbook*, Art. Cheapside.

‡ Maitland, p. 1175.

1712. P^d^ Mr. Jos. Stanley for the Iron Fence of the Churchyard ffronting Wood Street, weighing 65c 3qr. 12¼ at 3¼ per pound, am^s^ to 107*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.* [Churchwardens' Accounts.]

A plate affixed to the railings bears on its eastern face a bust of S. Peter, and on its western this inscription:

1712.
John Bradford.
Richard Garbrand. } Churchwardens.

In the large house on the western side of the churchyard now in the occupation of one of the churchwardens, H. S. Way, Esq. the eloquent preacher Dr. Chalmers was a frequent visitor.

The noble plane tree planted in this open space, and overshadowing the four houses already mentioned, is now no longer inhabited by the rooks which for many years had built there, though the nest remains, tenanted by a colony of audacious sparrows: and if no longer, as Wordsworth sings,

> At the corner of Wood Street, when daylight appears,
> There's a thrush that sings loud, it has sung for three years,

yet still the chirping and restless flight of my winged parishioners will be found pleasant both to the eye and ear. The poor rooks are said to have been shot with an air-gun from the windows of a neighbouring warehouse by some idle apprentice. We have not, as the good people of S. Dunstan's in the East, funds especially left to provide the rooks with sticks to build their nests, but a few years ago I was delighted to see a pair of my sable favourites hovering round the then deserted nest, as if to examine the empty premises. I suppose that they found the tenement too much out of repair to make it worth their while to occupy it, for they flew away and I have not seen them since. In 1850 there were four nests in the tree.

Mr. Smee in his *Instinct and Reason* mentions this rookery, and adds that rooks have also taken possession of the crowns surmounting the highest pinnacles of the Tower of London, and that pigeons have lately taken to build on the tops of the pillars of the Bank and Royal Exchange. Our city ornithology is soon learnt, sparrows, pigeons, and rooks being the only birds that rear their young within the walls. I am lately informed, on indisputable

authority, that a pair of peregrine falcons have spent a portion of each year for some little time past in the north-western tower of S. Paul's cathedral; and I may add, of my own knowledge, that an owl was caught a year or two since in the cathedral itself near the classic region of the library. Robins and starlings have been seen in Finsbury Circus.

Leigh Hunt mentions our beautiful tree, of which the parishioners are justly proud. "A little child (he says,) was shown to us who was said never to have beheld a tree but the one in S. Paul's churchyard (now gone); whenever a tree was mentioned it was this one, she had no conception of any other, not even of the remote tree in Cheapside."

The churchyard of S. Matthew Friday Street, entirely surrounded by houses, lies to the west of the rectory-house; it contains two plane trees, but no sepulchral memorials.

Some details as to the charities of the parish will be found in the *Report of the Charity Commissioners* (vol. xxxii. part ii. pp. 358-360, folio, London. 1838). The only point of any public interest is a dole of bread consisting of four threepenny loaves, still given away every Sunday, bequeathed by one Valentine Sparrow (buried in S. Peter's parish, 1703), who also gave a guinea to the rector, and a half-guinea to be divided between the clerk and sexton, every Easter Day, requesting that notice be given from the pulpit on that festival of the fulfilment of his intention.

Newcourt says that when the chuch was rebuilt after the dreadful fire, a piece of ground belonging to the parish or to the poor thereof, was added to the site "for the enlarging of the same and making it more uniform than before," and that the parish was to have received 240*l.* out of the Chamber of London, or coal money, as a recompense, but that this compensation had never been received.*

Of the present church of the united parishes, S. Matthew Friday Street, I need say but little; it is fully described in Godwin's *Churches of London*, and in other books equally easy of access. It is one of the plainest of Sir Christopher Wren's churches, carelessly designed, and not even rectangular in plan.

* Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 474.

Its cost was 2381*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* The interior is chiefly remarkable for the excellent carving of the reredos, pulpit, and font cover. Of course the carving is said to be by Grinling Gibbons, and, I had almost said, of course also it is not by him: one Edward Pearce was the skilful workman to whose chisel we owe this well-wrought work. The original bills are still preserved, and from these I find that the carving of the pulpit cost 30*l.* and that of the font cover 4*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.* no inconsiderable sums in those days. The rebuilt church was opened for divine service on 29 Nov. 1685. A small carved screen standing upon the pews, scarcely more than 18 inches above the moulding on the backs, divided the church into two parts, forming, as is the case in most of Sir Christopher Wren's churches, a quasi-chancel. This screen was removed but a few years ago, though before my incumbency. From its carved panels, which were fortunately preserved, I have constructed the present reading-desk.

At the east end of the church is an arcade of five windows, of equal size; the fact is only worth notice because this particular feature appears to have been quite a *crux* to draughtsmen who have made sketches of this portion of the church, one engraving depicting it with four windows, and another with six. *In medio tutissimus ibis.*

One James Smith, Esq.* presented the "altar-piece, table, and rails," to the new church, as a tablet of wood on the south wall still records: "Edward Clark and Thomas Sandford gave the front of the gallery and the King's arms; Miles Martin and John Shipton gave the two branches and irons; John Prat laid out liberally towards the charges of adorning the church."

The western gallery contains an Organ† constructed by George England in 1762, rebuilt and greatly enlarged under my directions exactly a century afterwards by Mr. J. W. Walker

* In *A New View of London* (2 vols. 8vo. 1708) it is said that in the south aisle "Here is a hatchment in memory of the said Mr. Smith, who was buried in the vault. Arms are, Azure, a lion rampant or, on a chief argent a mullet gules between two torteaux; impaled with Argent, a saltire gules between four leaves proper, on a chief vert a lion's head erased between two hammers or."

† A Mr. Green was organist in 1738; can this be the well-known cathedral composer Dr. Maurice Greene, who died in 1755?

of Tottenham Court Road. I found, amongst bills and papers belonging to the parish, England's original specification for the organ, according to which it contained a *vox humana*. At the time of its reconstruction in 1862, it had three rows of keys, the naturals black, the sharps and flats white; the *vox humana* had been displaced by an open diapason. It has been said that this instrument was the first organ in England to which pedals were added; that they were two octaves in compass, of CCC range; that they had a complete set of stopped diapason pipes of 16 foot tone attached; and that they were made in 1790 under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Latrobe. But I fear that we must abandon this proud distinction in favour of an organ built by Avery for Westminster Abbey, or in favour of one constructed by Snetzler for the Savoy:* for, prior to the rebuilding, the organ in S. Matthew's had but a meagre set of toe-pedals acting upon the manual. England's organ contained 1,046 pipes, and cost 210*l.*; of which sum 25*l.* was allowed for an earlier instrument, the case of which was retained in the church. This older organ was built by G. Morse in 1734, and cost 150*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*

In rebuilding the organ I was careful to retain all the old pipes that were sound, especially the diapasons, which are all of metal, and are singularly sweet. I was even conservative enough to retain the old stop called the mounted cornet, which was originally used for playing out the melody of chorales and as a solo stop in some voluntaries. It is composed of stop diapason (wood, which is the only wooden diapason in the old instrument), open diapason (metal), principal, twelfth, and fifteenth, to middle C.

The hour-glass stand has long since disappeared, but it was regilt in 1734.

There is but one monument of early date (I use the phrase with reference to the rebuilt church, not a fragment of the ancient structure being visible), and that is a mural tablet on the south wall, commemorating Sir Edward Clark, Lord Mayor in 1690, who died 1 Sept. 1703; his arms are: Argent, on a bend engrailed azure a cross-crosslet fitchée or. His crest, a demi-lion rampant or, holding a cross-crosslet fitchée azure.

* Hopkins and Rimbault, *History of the Organ*, p. 207.

A list of the persons commemorated on the other tablets will be found in Appendix III. In the vestry is a good etching of the patron saints of the two parishes, purchased by the parishioners; as the following entry in the churchwardens' accounts indicates:

1714, Jan. 23. Paid Mr. Lambert's son for one half of ye picture in the vestry, 00·10·09. [S. Peter.]

In the way of epitaphs we have nothing at all note-worthy; unless indeed I except a tablet to the memory of "A. W. Law, Esq., of the Honourable East India Company's Service," who died in 1824, curious only because it records that "he died in lat. 26 south, lo. 60 east," that is, near the entrance of the Persian Gulf.

The ancient church of S. Matthew had indeed two epitaphs which may be considered worth transcription; the first to one of the Middletons, who died in 1596:

As man liveth, so he dieth;
As tree falleth, so it lieth:
Ann Middleton, thy life well past
Doth argue restful bliss at last.

The second, to one Anthony Cage, 1583:

Anthony Cage entombed here doth rest,
Whose wisdome still prevailed the Common weale:
A man with God's good gifts so amply blest,
That few, or none, his doings may impeale.
A man unto the Widow and the Poore
A comfort and a succour evermore.
Three Wives he had of Credit and of Fame:
The first of them Elizabeth that hight;
Who, buried here, brought to this Cage by name
Seventeene young Plants, to give his Table light.
The Second Wife, for her part, brought him none.
The third, and last, no more but only one.

The square brick tower of the church, which is about 74 feet in height, is one of the plainest that could well be designed, and is scarcely to be seen, so surrounded is it by tall warehouses. From the steps of the Chapter House, in S. Paul's churchyard, a view may be obtained of its summit: and from the Golden Gallery of the cathedral, all its beauties, if it have any, are

visible. It contains a solitary bell, whose note is E, and whose diameter is 26½ inches, and which is inscribed:

WM SWANN DAVID ABBOT CH WARDENS 1704
S NEWTON I PEELE MADE ME.

I ought to add that the church was entirely reseated in the year 1862, the old material, good sound oak, being retained, and the new oak made to harmonise with the old. It will be admitted, I think, by all persons, however averse from change they may be, that re-arrangement was necessary, when I say that the pews on either side of the church were five feet ten inches in height. The cost of the alterations, including the rebuilding of the organ, was defrayed by the liberal contributions of the parishioners, (who are always willing to aid in any good work with ready generosity,) assisted by donations from the Duke of Buccleuch and others.

And here I must bring this desultory paper to a close. It is little more than a bundle of facts, loosely tied together, and yet I venture to hope that it may not be wholly without interest. Expansion would have been as easy as compression has been difficult. A more skilful hand might have grouped the facts in a more picturesque manner: I trust however that this paper will be found to be fairly accurate, and I offer it only as a very humble contribution to the Parochial History of the City of London.

Tile, with the arms of Clare, found at the south-east angle of S. Matthew's Friday Street, at a depth of 18 feet; and presented to the Museum at the Guildhall Library by R. Tress, Esq.

APPENDIX I.

Rectors of S. Matthew Friday Street.

[This list is taken from Newcourt's *Repertorium*; a few modifications are introduced from the Parish Registers.]

Roger de South Croxton, cap. 8 Id. Maii, 1322.

Hugo Scotard, 7 Id. Mar. 1332, became Rector of Doddinghurst, Essex, kal. Jan. 1337.

John de Bergholt, pr. 8 kal. Jan. 1337.

John Fakenham, 20 June, 1349, presented by King Edward III. resigned the Vicarage of West Ham in 1365, and was appointed to the Rectory of Newenden, Essex, 14 May, 1395.

John Eccleshall.

Thomas de Tybbay, cl. 9 Junii, 1399, per mort. Eccleshall.

Thomas Damosel, 31 Mar. 1400, per res. Tybbay.

Radulphus Drew.

Ric. Acton, 21 Aug. 1440, per res. Drew.

John Eaton, pr. 5 Nov. 1441, per mort. Acton.

Ric. Wyes, 21 Aug. 1443, per res. Eaton.

Ric. Sparkford.

Joh. Basset, 17 Mar. 1472, per mort. Sparkford.

Tho. Fitzherbert, cl. 4 Dec. 1479, per mort. Basset.

[? George. See Addit. MSS .Brit. Mus. 5814, p. 86; and 5833, p. 200.]

Will. Wrixham, S.T.P. 29 Mar. 1482, per res. Fitzherbert.

John Salkeld, pr. 22 Nov. 1482, per res. Wrixham.

Edward Vaughan, L.D. 21 Junii, 1487, per mort. Salkeld.

[Consecrated Bishop of S. David's 22 July, 1509, died Nov. 1522.]

John Berneby.

Walt. Morewent, A.M. 16 Sept. 1518, per mort. Berneby.

Rob. Richardson.

[Presented to the rectory of Chelsea 19 March, 1543; of which living he was deprived for being a married priest, but restored temp. Eliz. In our burial register is this entry, "1573, Oct. 31, Rob. Richardson, parson of ye parish, who dyed of very age."]

Joh. Presse, A.M. 27 Nov. 1573, per mort. Richardson.

[The Registers contain entries of the baptisms of several of his children].

HEN. MASON, S.T.B. 18 Dec. 1612, per mort. Presse. Prebendary of Willesdon in S. Paul's Cathedral, died Aug. 1647.

LUDOVICUS BAYLY.

[Consecrated Bishop of Bangor 8 Dec. 1616, died 1632.]

FR. JAMES, S.T.B. 11 Jan. 1616, per promot. Bayly ad Ep'at' Bangoren., died 1621.

HEN. BURTON. Deprived 14 June, 1637.

[Burial register, "1647 January 7, Henry Burton minister buried.]

JOS. BROWNE, A.M. 22 Dec. 1637, per depr. Burton.

ROB. CHESTEN, or CHESTLEN, A.M. 8 Oct. 1640, per res Browne.

[See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, fo. Lond. 1714, pp. 165, 166.]

HEN. HURST, A.M. 11 Mar. 1660, per mort. Chesten. Ejected for nonconformity 1662, died 14 April, 1690.

EDW. WAKEMAN, cl. 28 Aug. 1662, per inconf. Hurst.

[Ric. Smyth *Obituary*. "1665, November 13, about this time died young Mr. Wakeman, minister of S. Matth. Fryday Street, ex peste." Our burial register corrects this entry. "1665, Mr. Edward Wakeman, minister of this parish, was buried the 9th of November."]

FR. THOMPSON, 6th Apr. 1666.

RECTORS OF S. PETER CHEAP.

[This list is taken from Newcourt's *Repertorium*, with some modifications and corrections.]

THO. DE WINTON, cl. 6 non. Mar. 1324.

STE. DE WALLINGFORD, acol. 10 kal. Aug. 1334.

WILL. KELM, pres. 1 June, 1349, by King Edward III.

JOH. LEDBERY.

JOH. HONYNGHAM, 5 Nov. 1396, per mort. ult. rectoris, presented by King Richard II.

[Thus Newcourt, but in a deed founding the chantry for the soul of Sr Nicholas Farringdon, dated 1392, he is then spoken of as "John Honyngham, parson."]

RIC. KELSTERNE, pr. 17 Feb. 1408.

HEN. HAMOND.

RIC. BARNETT, cl. 1 Apr. 1433, per mort. Hamond.

ROB. WIGHT, pr. 4 Nov. 1433, per res. Barnett.

JOH. LONDON, resigned the vicarage of Hatfield Peverell, Essex, in 1429: and that of Anstey, Herts, 1432.

JOH. ALCOCK, acol. 16 Apr. 1462, per res. London, rector of Stapleford-Tawney, Essex, 18 Aug. 1470.

JOH. CHANTREL, B.D. 17 Mar. 1491, per mort. Alcock

WILL. ROBINSON, D.D. 8 Nov. 1509, per mort. Chantrel.

[Whose signature occurs in the churchwardens' accounts in 1515, "Sr Wyll^m^ Robynson, p'son."] He was also vicar of Littlebury, Essex.

WILL. BOLEYN, cl. 23 June, 1516, per mort. Robinson. Prebendary of Caddington Major in S. Paul's Cathedral, 23 May 1529: Archdeacon of Winchester, 1530.

[Called in the accounts in 1518, "Sir W^m^. Bulmer, parish precst."]

THO. GOODRYCH, A.M. 16 Nov. 1529, per res. Boleyn.

[Lord Chancellor 22 Dec. 1551, consecrated Bishop of Ely 19 April, 1534, died 9 or 10 May 1554.]

RIC. GWENT, D.D. 17 Apr. 1534, per promot. Goodrych ad Episcopatum Eliens'.

[Archdeacon of London, 19 Dec. 1534.]

JOHN GWYNNETH, Mus. Doc. Oxon. 1531, cl. 19 Sept. 1543, per mort. Gwent.

RIC. SMITH, pr. 19 Nov. 1556, per res. Gwynneth.

[In the churchwardens' accounts in 1561 occurs this entry:

"MASTER SMYTHE, o^r^ p'son one whole yeres anutie vj^li^. xiij^s^. iiij^d^." Similar entries occur in 1562, 1563, 1566. I suppose that this was paid for some special mass.

Burial Register. "Richard Smyth person of this churche was buryed in the mydes of the quyer the viij^th^ of february a° 1570."]

[Mention is made in the parish registers of one William Porrage, variously styled minister or pastor of this church.

"1564. ANN the wyfe of William Porrage, mynister of the churche."

1568. Baptism of a child of William Porrage "minister of the churche."

1569. Baptism of another child of William Porrage "pastor of this churche."]

EDM. SYMPSON, cl. 5 Aug. 1571, per mort. Smith.

[Newcourt's accuracy is confirmed by the following entry in our books:

"August 1571. Be y^t remembered that Edmund Symson M^r. of Arts was inducted and possessyd in this benefyce the xv^th of August A°. 1571, after the decease of Richard Smyth the last incombent, whoe dyed the vj of february, A° 1570."]

JOH. JONES, A.M. 9 March 1580, per mort. Sympson.

[His autograph signature occurs to the churchwardens' accounts in 1582.

".Jo'HES JONES, rector ecclesiæ S^ti Petri."

Baptisms. "1583, Jane, the daughter of Mr. Jones, p'son of this churche."]

RIC. JUDSON, A.M. 15 Maii 1585. See Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus. 5833, p. 201. Abp. Laud's Account of his province, p. 559.

[Our books mention in 1585, "M^r. Samuell Collefford, minister of ye P'ish of St Peter."

From 1594 to 1601 Judson frequently signs the churchwardens' accounts, as in 1601, "Richard Judson, p'son."

In 1601 was baptised "John the sonne of Thomas Ashbell, mynister of this p'ishe."]

DAN. VOTIER, A.M. 24 Nov. 1615, per mort. Judson.

[1620. "Elizabeth the d. of Mr Daniell Votier p'son of this p'ish and Martha his wife" baptised.

ROGER DRAKE. [Whose name is omitted by Newcourt, but he signs the churchwardens' accounts in 1633, and Geo. Davenport his successor makes oath 27 Car. II. that Dr Drake lived in the rector's house in Philip Lane in right of the rectory.]

GEO. DAVENPORT, A.M. 21 Jan 1660, per mort. Vǫtier.

[*Sic*, but probably per mort. Drake. A memorandum made in 1660 states that Davenport was inducted 24 January 1660, and read himself in 3 February.]

GEO. WOODWARD, A.M. 20 Feb. 1664, per cess. Davenport. Rector of East Mersea, Essex, 3 Feb. 1667; died before 24 Oct. 1668.

RECTORS OF THE UNITED PARISHES OF S. MATTHEW, FRIDAY STREET WITH S. PETER CHEAP.

[This list is compiled partly from Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, but mainly from the parish books.]

FRANCIS THOMPSON, D.D.

He was inducted to S. Matthew's alone 6 April 1666; he first signs as Doctor of Divinity 31 Oct. 1680, and he was buried Oct. 1715. President of Sion College, 1695.

Ross Ley, M.A. presented 1716, died 1737.

Leonard Twells, D.D. presented 1737; died 19 Feb. 1741, buried 24 Feb. 1741.

Adam Langley, M.A. presented 4 May 1742.

Thomas Winstanley, M.A. presented 14 Feb. 1758; removed to S. Dunstan in the East in 1771.

Michael Lort, D.D. presented Jan. 1771; died 5 Nov. 1790, buried 12 Nov. 1790; his widow survived him only 15 months. See tablet in church. Prebendary of Tottenhall in S. Paul's Cathedral, 11 April 1780.

George Avery Hatch, M.A. presented 19 April 1791, died 15 January 1837, married at S. Matthew's 1796, buried 21 January 1837; monument and bust in church. President of Sion College, 1804.

William Alexander Campbell Durham, M.A. instituted 3 Feb. 1837, married at S. Matthew's in 1838, died 26 January 1857, aged 81; monument in church.

William Sparrow Simpson, M.A. F.S.A. inducted 12 March 1857, the present Rector.

APPENDIX II.

Names of persons having titles or arms occurring in the registers.

[M.—S. Matthew's parish; P.—S. Peter's]

1554. Alderman Austen Hynde, xix Aug. buried. P.

1558. John Jarmon, p'vost of the Mynte, and carryed unto Shorediche by the Companye of Inholders, Octob^{r}. P.

1561. Sr George Speake, Knight, married to Dorothe Gilbert. P.

1563. Alderman Baskerfield, buried. P.

1570. The Ladie Mayris, wyffe to the Ryght Honorable Lorde Maior then of this cittie, Alexander Avenon, was buried in this p'ishe in the quere, upon the sowthe syde thereof, neere unto the towe pyllers of the same syd, in the vawte of brycke, contaynyng viij fowt in length and towe fowt and a halfe of bredthe, with there steres at the hede thereof, the xvijth daye of Julye.

This vawt of brycke was fyrst mayd for the Ladye MUNDYE, layte wyffe to Sir Johñ Mundy, sum tyme Lorde Mayre of this cittie, and she was the fyrst that eve' was buried in this vawte afore wrytten. P.

1577. Mr. RICHARD KYLLYFYTT, gentleman, and servant to the Quene's Maiestie in the Wardrobe of Beddes. P.

1579. Alderman ANTHONY GAMAGE, buried. M.

1580. Sir ALEXANDER AVENON, knight, alderman, buried. P.

1581. Sr LYONELL DUCKETT. P.

1591. Sr JOHN ALLOT, knighte, and nowe Lorde Maior of the cytie of London. P.

1591. The Right Honorable Sr RICHARD MARTYN, knight and Lorde Maior of London; married here in 1599 to Mrs. Elizabeth Meggs. P.

1598. GYBRIGHTE JACOB, President and Fellow of Clare Hall Colledge, in Cambridge. P.

1601. Mr MILES HUBBARD, a mercer by trade, his coate and crest were sett upp in the quyer. P.

1606. Sr FRANCIS CASTELION, Knight, married to Mrs. Alice Mashame, widdow. M.

1612 JOHN, 1615 ELIZABETH, two children of Sr WILLIAM HERRICKE, Knight, baptised. P.

1613. Lady DOROTHY FORTH, married to Gressam Parkins. M.

1631. SIR HUGH MIDDLETON, Knight, buried. M.

[Entries concerning members of this family from 1557-1730.]

1634. Sr MARTINE LUMLEY, Knight and Alderman, buried. P.

1637. JOHN JONES, a lodger att the Morocka Embassadours in Sr Martin Lumley's house. P.

1644. Lady ACTON, wife to Sr William Acton, buried. P.

1678. Sir ROBERT TABOR, knight, married to Elizabeth Aylett, "in S. Matthew's Tabernacle, by his brother Mr. Tabor, minister of Kelvedon in Essex." M.

1680. SELLERS THORNBURY, buried. M.

1704. Dame or Lady MARY COLBURN, wife of Sr Robert Colburn, buried. P.

1712. SARAH WOOD, daughter of Mr. Charles Wood and his wife, baptised, "the Countesse of Oxford, the Rt Honourable the Lord High Treasurer's Lady being God mother." M.

APPENDIX III.

TABLETS AND MONUMENTS. S. MATTHEW FRIDAY STREET.

1. 1660. SELLERS THORNEBERY, citizen and salter, 6 January $16\frac{6}{7}\frac{0}{1}$, and SELLERS THORNBERY, his grandson, 19 September, 1757. [Gravestone in south aisle.]
2. 1679. WILLIAM LANE, citizen and salter, 11 April, 1680, and his wife ELIZABETH, daughter of Wm. Towill of Broomfield, co. Somerset, gent. 6 March, 1679. [Gravestone in south aisle.]
3. 1703. Sir EDWARD CLARK, 1 Sept. 1703, Lord Mayor in 1696:

Here lyes ye body of Sr Ed^d^ CLARK,
K^t^, Lord Mayor of this City of
London, A.D. 1696, who dy'd Sep.
1st 1703, in ye 76th year of his age.
By his first wife Elizabeth, daugh^r^
of ye Rev^d^ Mr. Thos Gouge, he had
Issue Ann & Thos y^t^ dy'd before him.
By his second, Jane, daughter of
Richd Clottesbook, Esqr, he
had 2 children y^t^ survived him,
Jane, marry'd to Maynard
Colchester, of Westbury in
Gloucestershire, Esq.
and Sr Thomas Clark of Brick-
endonbury in Hertfordsh^e^, Kn^t^.
Who in pious memory of his dear
Parents buried underneath
erected this Monument.

[In Strype's *Stowe*, book iii. ch. 8, the name Clottesbook is printed Clotterbuck; but it is Clottesbook upon the monument. It is right, however, to mention that the inscription is painted not incised, and may possibly have been altered since the words were transcribed by Stowe.]

4. 1786. Mr. JOHN COLE, tobacconist, citizen and founder, 26 July, 1786, his wife FRANCES, 30 May, 1791, and two children, CHARLES and FRANCES.

5. 1790. Rev. MICHAEL LORT, D.D., F.R.S., A.S. Rector, 5 Nov. 1790, and his wife SUSANNAH, 5 Feb. 1792.
6. 1812. MARY ANNE COTTIN, 24 July, 1812; and MARY ANNE, her eldest daughter (married to Rev. George Thackeray, D.D. provost of King's college, Cambridge), 18 Feb. 1818.
7. 1824. A. W. LAW, Esq. 17 Feb. 1824.
8. 1831. Mr. WILLIAM TWINCH, vestry clerk, 26 June, 1831.
9. 1837. Rev. GEORGE AVERY HATCH, M.A. rector for 46 years, 15 January, 1837.

[This tablet, which is surmounted by a bust of the rector, was erected by the inhabitants of the united parishes.]

10. 1838. Mrs. MARTHA HATCH, widow of the above, daughter of Mr. Henry Emlyn of Windsor.
11. 1857. Rev. W. A. C. DURHAM, M.A. Rector for 20 years, 26 January, 1857.

[Erected by the parishioners.]

Nos. 3-11 are tablets affixed to the north wall.

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CHURCHYARD OF S. PETER CHEAP.

1. 1701. (Gravestone.) Mrs. ANNE ROGERS and Mr. OBADIAH WICKES ROGERS.
2. 1803. (Tablet on north wall of one of the houses abutting upon the churchyard.) Mr. WILLIAM CANNER, late Marshall of this City, 13 Jan. 1803, his son JOHN WILLIAM, 12 Oct. 1788, and his wife HANNAH, 29 Dec. 1808.
3. 1810. (Tablet on house.) JOHN, WILLIAM, and CHARLES STAPLER.

MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH OF S. MATTHEW FRIDAY STREET BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE.

(Stowe, edit. Strype, 1720, book iii. ch. 8.]

1395. THOMAS POLE, goldsmith.
ROB. JOHNSON, goldsmith, alderman.

1478. Robert Harding, goldsmith, one of the sheriffs.
1525. John Twiselton, goldsmith, alderman.
1546. Ralph Allen, grocer, one of the sheriffs.
1579. Anthony Gamage, ironmonger, one of the sheriffs.
1583. Anthony Cage.
John Mabbe, Chamberlain of London.
1596. Anne Middleton.
1604. John Perte, citizen and fishmonger, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Eyre, citizen and skinner.
1613. Gaius Newman, citizen and goldsmith; his wife was Ann, daughter of Nicholas Cullum, of London, merchant taylor, by whom he had seven sons and five daughters.

Monuments in the Church of S. Peter Cheap before the Great Fire.

(Stowe, edit. Strype, 1720, book iii. ch. 8.)

Nicholas Farringdon. (. . . . pur l'alme du Nichole de Farendone . . . pries . . . .)
1400. Thomas Atkins, esq.
1420. John Butler, sheriff. (Botiler, alderman.)
1424. Henry Warlaye, alderman and goldsmith, and Julian his wife.
1429. Wil. Rus, goldsmith, sheriff.
1486. Thomas Atkyns, armiger, and Johanna his wife.
1492. Richard Hadley, citizen and grocer, and Margery his wife.
1513. John Palmer, fishmonger, and Agnes his wife.
1524. Henry Warley, alderman.
1527. Sir John Munday, goldsmith, Lord Mayor.
1529. William Dayne, citizen and goldsmith, and Margaret his wife.
1554. Augustine Hinde, clothworker, sheriff, alderman.
1561. Thomas Marshal, citizen and salter, and Johanna his wife, 1560.
1569. Dame Elizabeth, widow of Augustine Hinde.
1570. Sir Alexander Avenon, Lord Mayor.

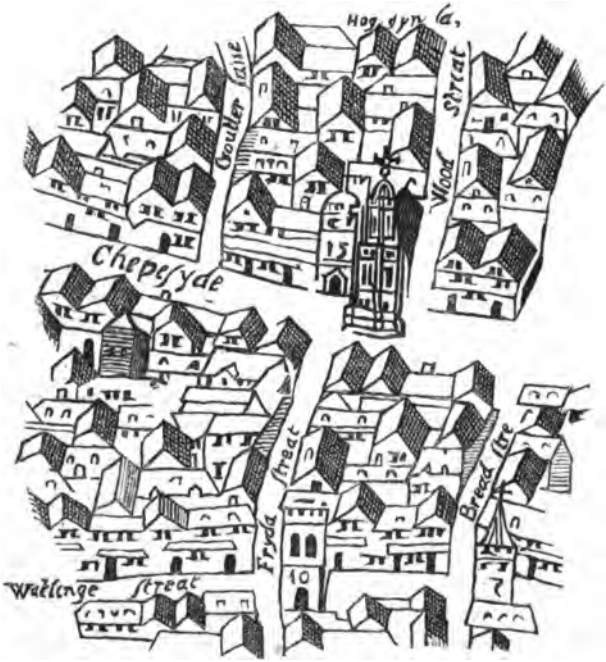
The following coats of arms adorned the ancient church :—

1. Or, semée of crosses crosslet sable, on a fess gules three leopard's heads erased argent, for FARRINGDON.

2. Or, a lion rampant sable, holding a palm branch.

3. Argent, within a border gules a chevron sable between three lozenges: probably for SHAW.

4. The arms of the Company of Goldsmiths, impaling Argent, a fess gules between three scythes sable, ALCOCK.



CHEAPSIDE IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(From the Map of Ralph Aggas.)

ST. JAMES GARLICK HITHE.

By William Durrant Cooper, F.S.A., V.P.

The subject of the introduction of Parish Registers prior to the injunctions issued by Cromwell on the 29th September 1538 * requires more investigation than has yet been given to it. No doubt some instructions were given in 1536 on the dissolution of the minor monasteries, and it was one of the special grievances put forward by Robert Aske in his Northern Rebellion. Very few registers however have been found to commence thus early.† Among them are the registers of this parish.

These registers have been preserved, notwithstanding the burning of the church in the great fire, and are now perfect; except during the Commonwealth time of civil registers,‡ and the loss of the book between 1692 and 1708. For ten years after the fire, 1666 to 1676, there are only a few entries.

The entries are in treble columns, and the following is a copy of those prior to the date of Lord Cromwell's order.

The original register, neatly written, is in a small folio book of

* In the parochial register returns (1833) the register of St. Mary Bothaw is stated also to commence in 1536. The following sixteen registers commence in 1538: All Hallows Bread Street, All Hallows Honey Lane, St. Antholin, St. Benet Finck, Christ Church, St. Laurence Jewry, St. Laurence Pountney, St. Mary Aldermanbury, St. Mary-le-bow, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Matthew's Friday-street, St. Michael Bassishaw, St. Mildred Poultry, St. Nicholas Cole Abey, St. Pancras Soper-lane, and St. Peter Cornhill; and the following four in 1539: St. Clement Eastcheap, St. Martin Ludgate, St. Michael Crooked Lane, and St. Nicholas Acons.

† Mr. J. S Burn in his History of Parish Registers mentions some.

‡ Richard Freeman, the Rector in 1642, was badly treated by the Commonwealth men.

paper, bound in leather, with a strap and buckle, and stiffened in the cover with the slip of an old manuscript. They end in 1621. There is also a parchment transcript of the whole of the registers down to 1681, but in it the names come first.

Some years since the then Rector, the Rev. Thomas Kyd, purchased two of the register books, one of 1663, at an old book stall.

The clerk informed Mr. J. S. Burn,* that a transcript had not been made for some years; the Bishop of London having told the Rector it was of no use sending one, as it would only be carelessly thrown into a room at St. Paul's: so the clerk lost two guineas per annum, for the transcript. Subsequently the copies were made perfect.

It is headed "The booke of register belonging unto S. JAMES BY GARLICKE HYVE."

Anno Dni. 1535. *Mariages.*

The 26 of Januarye was Thomas Mauryng and Margrett Jorden.

Christenings.

The 18 of Novembre, Edward butler.
The 23 of Novembre, Alyce dente.
The 10 of Decembre, Margery Wyemarke.
The 28 of Decembre, Margerye Hawe.
The 6 daye of Januarye, Hewe Grenalles.
The 14 of Januarye, Willm Grage.
The 2 of Februarye, John hayes.
The 2 of Aprill, John gibbes.

Buryalles.

The 7 of Januarye, John Kydwicke.
The 13 of Januarye, Anthonye Boneuant.
The last of Januarye, Umfreye Crowkes.
The eyght of Februarye, Wyllm Gardener.
The 18 of Februarye, John Jarlande.
The 24 of Februarye, John hayes.
The 28 of Februarye, Agnes Howell.

* To whom I am indebted for the loan of a copy of these entries in the earliest register.

The xvj. of Marche, Jone Allett.
The 14 of Aprill, Sir Robert Durham, Prest.*

Anno 1536. *Mariages.*

The 20 daye of Apryll, Francis Brooke and Elyzabeth Bannester.
The iiij. of Maye, Steven Coldwell and Marye bonnevaunte.
The 22 of June, Wyllm bonfilde and Jone Partynton.
The xxvij. of Julye, Nyholas Alwarde and Margrett Smyth.
The 13 of Septembre, Willm Marshall and Alyce Brown.
The xxiiij. of Novembre, John Wye to Agnes Davye.

Christenings.

The 17 of Maye, Elyzabeth Stevens.
The 18 of Maye, Margett Morleye.
The xx. of Maye, Wynyfred Kylyfett.
The 13 of June, Margerye Greene.
The 14 of June, Water Evans.
The laste of June, Thomas Mynoris.

Buryalles.

The xx8 of Aprill, Thomas Hall.
The 21 of Maye, Wynyfred Kylyfett.
The 17 of June, Water Evans.
The 28 of June, Elyzabeth Spearеman.
The last of Julye, Jone Machem.
The same daye, Margerye lawe.

Anno 1537. *Mariages.*

The 14 of Januarie, Thomas Danell and Anne Browne.

Christenings.

The 18 of Julye, Jone Stounar.
The 19 of Julye, John Merydale.
The 2 of August, Margerye Willms.
The 8 of August, John Chereborne.
The 10 of Auguste, John Lingwoode.
The 2 of Septembr, Jeorge Ashbye.
The 8 of Septembr, John Lone.
The 18 of Septembr, Jone Langton.

* On 10th October 1539 is the burial also of "Umfreye keye, Prest."

The 28 of Octobre, Margerye Androwes.
The 2 of Novembre, George Russett.
The 14 of Novembre, John Androwes.
The 28 of Jauuarie, Thomas bibe.
The 29 of Januarye, John Hayes.
The xxvj of Januarie, Umfrey Crowke.
The 1 of Februarie, Edmund bannington
The 8 of Marche, Tymothe lane.
The xvij. daye of Marche, hewe wright.
The 24 of March, Richard Bonefell.

Buryalles.

The 1 of Septembre, Ellyn Moore.
The 4 of Septembre, John Grennalles.
The 7 of Septembre, Margerye Willms.
The 12 of Novembre, Alyce Smyth.
The 16 of Novembre, John Androwes.
The 2 of Decembre, John Stevens.
The 6 of Februarye, John Wolfe.
The 7 of Februarii, Edmund Bawington.

Anno Dni. 1538. *Mariages.*

The 2 of May, Jasper Ydell and Alic grenally.
The 2 of Maye, hew warren, and agnes Stanton.
The 30 of May, Thomas Sawnder and Christian Neweman.
The 30 of May, John Smithe and Jone Butler.

Christenings.

The 12 of April, hewe getherns.
The 13 of Aprill, George Stracye.
The 2 of Maye, Henrye Deane.
The 6 of June, Hewe Greene.
The 16 of Julye, Annes Johnson.
The 24 of Julye, Prudence Rudye.
The 16 of August, Margery Evans.
The 10 of September, Richarde Kelifitt.
The 12 of Septembre, Alice Mashim.

Buryalles.

The 12 off Aprill, Kattren Butler.
The 11 of Maye, Margerye graye.
The 24 of Maye, Henry Deane.
The 3 of June, John Minoris.
The 26 of Julye, John Sherborne.
The 28 of Julye, John Russell.
The 3 day of August, Prudence Rudie.
The xx3 of August, John Bothe.
The 4 of Septembre, Richarde Thorneton.
The 8 of Septembre, John Browne.
The 12 of Septembre, Roger Spencer.
The 13 of Septembre, Richarde s'vaunt to Wm. boone.
The 18 of Septembre, Alyce Peereson.
The 25 of Septembre, Adam Herrys.
The 26 of Septembre, James Spencer.

The registers have been kept for their original purpose only, but in the middle of the seventeenth century they have the additions of the callings of the parties who were buried, many of whom were clothiers, and the diseases of which they died.* The burials show the ravages of the plague. In 1593, July to November; in 1596, August to November; in 1603, July to November, the persons who died from it being marked with a "p": some few instances in 1604, 1606, 1607, 1608, and 1609; in 1625, July to October; and in 1665, August to November.

When the registers were commenced (from 1531 to 1544) the Rector was the Rev. Arthur Bulkley, D.D. who was then raised to the see of Bangor, and Thomas Wallingford alias Longistowe succeeded him. Bulkley was the last Rector presented by the Abbot and Convent of Westminster.†

* The disease is not copied into the parchment transcript.

† The rectory was given by the Crown on 2 May, 1 Mary (1554) to, and has since remained in the gift of, the Bishop of London.

In addition to the registers this parish is noticeable for its churchwardens' accounts.* They commence in 1555, but the next two years are torn out. From 1558 they are perfect. We find the following entries, which are worth printing.

		£.	s.	d.
1555.	Paid for rood	4	13	4
„	for iron-work for same .	0	2	0
„	Palms for Palm Sunday .	0	0	6
„	Palm cakes and flowers .	0	0	2
„	setting up the sepulture .	0	0	4
„	garlands and flowering herbes on St. James's day 2 years	0	2	4
1558.	Franckincense at Easter .	0	0	1
„	water for the font on Whitsunday	0	0	2
„	garlands on Corpus Christi day	0	0	10
„	Two dozen garlands (St. James's day) . . .	0	0	21

In 1559 we have an entry of the receipt of £3 5*s.* 10*d.* "for a challys that was sold;" and in 1560, 8½*d.* for old parchment out of the old mass book. In the same year we find that new pews were made; the small organs were mended; and "pricked songs" bought for the choir.

		£	s.	d.
In 1561.	Small cord for Sanctus bell	0	0	10
„	for making of pews .	0	30	0
„	Book of homelies . .	0	0	16
„	Table of Commandments	0	0	16

and for the bible, paraphrases, and register book.

There is an entry for the purchase of the rood of the adjoining parish of St. Martin, which was also converted into pews.

In 1624 the north isle of the old church was built, and the church itself "beautefyed" at the expense of £700 to the parishioners; and in 1645 the sum of £600 was borrowed to put it in repair; at this time it had a cloister. Soon after the burials

* We have to thank the present minister and churchwardens for their courtesy in allowing these extracts to be taken, and for their attendances.

are entered as having taken place at St. Bartholomew's churchyard.

From the great fire in 1666 no effectual steps seem to have been taken for some years to rebuild the Church, but it was eventually rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. The first item appears in 1676, when twenty guineas, at £1 1*s.* 8*d.* a piece, amounting to 21*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, were paid to "a gentleman to promote the rebuilding our Church;" and £2 12*s.* 6*d.* were given to his servants. During the next four years there are several entries for "wateridge" and going to Sir Christopher Wren, and two guineas paid to Mr. Stopford his clerk, to urge him on with the work.

In the year 1676 it was ordered for the more speedy and effectual carrying on of the building that six of the parishioners should be bound for the payment of such monies as should be taken up by the Chamberlain of the city on security of the coal duties, and that the lands, &c. of the parish should be a security to indemnify them. Accordingly two several sums of £500 were raised, and the work continued till 1682, when these items were paid:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
For Church Bible and Common Prayer Book	3	3	0
Two bottles of sherry and pipes* at the opening of the Church	0	3	4
Hire of three dozen cushions, and porterage	0	13	4
Lord Mayor's officer for summoning the Aldermen to our church	0	5	0
Wax Links to enlighten my Lord Mayor home	0	4	6
Mr. Kempster for speedily paving and finishing the east end of the church	5	7	6
Wine when the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were at our church	1	11	0
Bell-founder his bill	13	13	0
Upon a man for giving his judgment on the carver's work	0	8	0
Mr. Newman the carver	57	13	0
Mr. Kempster the stone-cutter	5	10	0

A subscription was raised to complete the work.

* Tobacco is charged for a short time after in the account of the expenses attending the Bishop's confirmation.

At this time the Rev. Jacob Buck, LL.D. who was divinity preacher at the Temple, and who held this rectory from 1661 to 1685, was incumbent, and several items relate to his coach-hire coming to preach.

There is yet a third class of books belonging to the parish; they contain the minutes of the different vestry meetings from 1615. Copies of the particulars relating to the property belonging to the church are copied into the first book.

In 1618 is an entry from the record of the Court of Hustings of 50th Edward III. (1375-6) of a deed made by and will of John de Rothing, citizen and vintner, where he directs his executors to pay money towards the finishing of the old belfry, and the door on the north side, and directs that his own body should he buried in the church, and the remains of his father and mother moved to it. This was probably Richard de Rothing who had been sheriff in 1326, and has been called the refounder of the church.

Robert de Chichele, citizen and grocer, gave in 1437 a wharf, crane, and stable, &c. in the parish of St. Mary Vintry and this parish to the rector and keepers of the goods and works of the church, to maintain a fit chaplain at the altar of the blessed Mary. This has since been called *Dounghill stairs*.

The parish had also, until a recent sale for the enlargement of Smithfield, a tenement called *the Woolpack* given by the will of William Hayward, citizen and joiner, dated 27th May 1500 (15 Henry VII.) situate in the parish of St. Sepulchre without Newgate outside the monastery of St. Bartholomew, to Charles Bouth,* doctor of laws, and rector of this church, and the keepers of the goods, rents, and ornaments of the same, towards the works and ornaments thereof.

The Chantries are thus returned in 1547-8.†

* Charles Booth was Rector from 19th September 1499 to his resignation on 15th December 1503.—*Newcourt's Repertorium.*

† 9 Jan. 1st Edward VI.—*Certificate of Chantries* 34, *No.* 16, *Middlesex and London.*

John Rodynge (*Rothing*) gave to the parson and churchwardens, for the maintenance of a priest to sing within the same church, lands to the annual value of £22 12 0

Paid to the priest . . .	£8	0	0		
To the King for a quit-rent . .	1	0	0		
For the obit	0	6	8		
To the poor people in alms .	0	13	4		
				10	0 0
And then remaineth clear . . .				£12	12 0

Thomas Lincoln gave to the same parson and churchwardens for the finding of ccc * tapers before the high altar, all his lands and tenths amounting yearly in value to . . £8 13 4

Paid to the churchwardens of St. Pancras, for a quit-rent 0 13 4

And then remaineth clear . . . £8 0 0

which now is employed towards the maintenance of the poor; and was two years past bestowed in finding a light.

Laurence Smyth gave to the same parson and churchwardens for the increase of divine service and reparations of the church, all his lands and tenths amounting in yearly value to . . £9 14 0

Thomas Kent gave to the same, to the intent to keep one yearly obit for his soul, one tenement of the yearly value of . £2 13 4

John Woode gave lands to the prior of St. Mary Spittell, to the intent to pay £8 to the finding of a priest, which is allowed by decree in the Court of Augmentations, and paid by the Treasurer there £8 0 0

Thomas Longlow † is parson of the same church, which benefice is worth by the year £18, and keepeth a minister to serve the cure in his absence.

There is of housling people within the same parish the number of 400.‡

Further there hath been found of the surplus of the same lands three

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* *Sic.*

† He was inducted in 1544, and was removed in 1554. See *Newcourt's Repertorium.*

‡ This certificate contains the approximate population of the several parishes, and if printed would tell us the numbers then in London.

conducts and singing men who have none other things to live upon but only their wages of £8 a piece; their names are William Stevens, John Grove, and Nicholas Abbot.

These tenements were subsequently disposed of by Edward VI. Among the particulars for the sale of colleges and chantries we find the following entries.

The farm of one tenement * with the appurtenances, let to Stephen Coldewell, by an Indenture for a term of years by the annual rent of 40*s.*

Paid to Augustine Lynch and his heirs . 20*s.*

And is worth clear 20*s.*

Memorandum. This tenement was given by Thomas Lincoln to find a priest to sing for ever.

The farm of one house let to Henry Wincote by indenture £4

Payable to the King as part of the Priory of the Blessed Mary of Overy . . . . .

And is worth clear £4

Memorandum. This tenement amongst others was given by John Roding to find a priest to sing for ever.

The foregoing were granted to William Gunter and William Hobson, 6th July, 2nd Edward VI.

On 14th September † in the same year, there passed for William Warde and Nicholas Gravener, one house or messuage with a cellar called the Comons, adjoining the church, in the possession of several presbyters worth yearly 53*s.* 4*d.* given by Sir Thomas Kente to find and keep an obit for his soul for ever.

In the value for Francis Goldsmith‡ is the farm of the tenement in the tenure of Philip Hardwicke in the parish of All Saints Minors, given by Thomas Lincoln to find a priest to sing for ever, worth per annum . . . . . 33*s.* 4*d.*

A tenement in St. James, in the tenure of Reginald Smythe, worth per annum . . . . . 26*s.* 8d.

Ditto —— More, worth per annum . . . 40s.

The two last being of the gift of John Roding.

* *Particulars for the Sale of Chantries*, vol. 68, *p.* 282.

† Ibid. vol. 67, p. 526. ‡ Ibid. p. 618.

A tenement there in the tenure * of Edward Drew, from which was received . . . . . 16*s.* 8*d.*
Ditto, John Clark, producing . . 16*s.* 8*d.*
Ditto, John Derbye . . . . 16*s.* 8*d.*
Ditto, John Smyth . . . . 16*s.* 8*d.*
Ditto, William Benefield . . . 13*s.* 4*d.*
Ditto, John Langeton . . . 16*s.* 8*d.*
Ditto, Gilbert Browne . . . 10*s.* 8*d.*

The seven last were given by Robert Chicheley, to find a priest to sing for ever at our Lady's altar within the said church.

A tenement there in the tenure of William Stevens, let at the yearly rent of . . . . . 26*s.* 8*d.*
Ditto, Thomas Lowe . . . . 26*s.* 8*d.*
Ditto, ... 26*s.* 8*d.*
Ditto, Henry Knyghtebridge . . . 40*s.*

These tenements were amongst many others given by Thomas Lincoln and Richard Lyons to find a priest to sing a morrow mass within the said church for ever.

A tenement † there held by John Forman . 6*s.* 8*d.*
Ditto, Robert Jackson . . . 4*s.*
Ditto, Roger Noris . . . . 16*s.*

All these were part of the tenements given by John Rodinge.

And to Francis Goldsmith ‡ was also granted another parcel of Roding's chantry, being a tenement in the Blessed Mary Mounthawe, in the tenure of Nicholas Henry . . . 13*s.* 4*d.*

A cellar there § in the tenure of Robert Barking by lease for years . . . . . 40*s.*
Given by Lincoln and Lyons.

A tenement leased to Christopher Marsham, at the rent of 34*s.* 4*d.* being part of the gift of John Roding.

The last two were granted to William Bryton and Humphrey Lucie on 29th January 3 Edward VI.

The bulk of this property was sold at a value of fifteen years' purchase.

* Particulars for the Sale of Chantries, vol. 67, p. 622. † Ibid. 623.
‡ Particulars, vol. ii. p. 92. § Ibid. vol. i. p. 83.

The pensions after stated were assigned to the different persons having life interests, and were payable when Cardinal Pole's Book of Pensions was compiled, viz. 24th February, 2 & 3 Philip and Mary * (1555-6).

Nicholas Abbot,	late incumbent there,	per ann.	c s.
John Grove,	Ditto	. .	c s.
Thomas Barret,	Ditto	. .	c s.
George Stronger,	Ditto	. .	c s.
Reginald Smyth,	Ditto	. .	c s.
William Stephans,	Ditto	. .	c s.
John Wood,	Ditto	. .	c s.
Leonard Potte,	Ditto	. .	vj li.
Henry George,	Ditto	. .	c s.

Abbot, Grove, and Stevens, had been returned as the singing men twelve years previously.

The services of the singing men were required at funerals for some years after, for we find in the Diary of Henry Machyn † this entry under the year 1563:

"The iij. day of June was bered in sant James (Garlick hithe?) master Coldwell, gentylman and a laer,‡ with halff a (dozen) schochyuns of bokeram, and ther was a x. mornars, ... and women, and ther was a xij. clarkes syngyng ..... ded of a laske; and master Beycon mad the sermon.

There is in the present church a fine organ by Schmidt recently renovated by Gray and Davidson.

The altar-piece representing the Ascension was painted by A. Geddes, A.R.A. and presented by the present rector, the Rev. Thomas Burnet, D.D. F.R.S. in 1815, when he was curate.

* Cardinal Pole's book, No. 23. † Camd. Soc. p. 309. ‡ Lawyer.

The Vintry Wharf before the Fire of 1666.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE WARD OF VINTRY AND THE VINTNERS' COMPANY.

BY WILLIAM HENRY OVERALL, F.S.A., LIBRARIAN TO THE CORPORATION OF LONDON.

[Read at VINTNERS' HALL, 27th April, 1868.]

IN the following paper I have striven to collect such materials as may prove of interest and value to the historical student, rather than attempted any exhaustive account of a subject, which, thoroughly investigated, would comprise a consideration of the extent to which the Vine was cultivated in England, the importation and trade in foreign wines, the history of the Ward of Vintry, as well as that of the Vintners' Company.

The Ward itself, from its antiquity, abounds in interest, so called, says Stowe,* "of Vintners and of the Vintrie, a part of the banke of the river of Thames, where the merchants of Burdeaux

* "This ward beginneth in the east, at the west end of Downgate ward, as the watercourse of Walbrooke parteth them, to wit at Granthams lane on the Thames side, and at Elbow land on the lande side: it runneth along in Thames Streete west, some three houses beyond the Old Swan, a brewhouse on the Thames side, and on the land side some three houses west beyond S. James at Garlickehithe."

craned their wine out of lighters and other vesselles, and there landed them;" but there is no doubt, that, prior to the days of the Bordeaux merchants, the locality was connected with the disembarkation of wine, for it is more than probable that both the vine and the trade of the vintner were introduced by the Romans into Britain. In the writings of Cæsar and Pliny we have various particulars as to the native products of this country, and the trade of its inhabitants, but no reference is made by either author to the vine as among its cultivated plants. At what period it was first introduced is uncertain, but possibly about the time of the rescinding by Probus of the edict of Domitian.* Of the former it is related:—

"Multa etiam in communi rerum usu novavit, &c. Ad summam quondam ubertatem vini, frumenti vero inopiam, existimans nimio vinearum studio negligi arva, edixit, ne quis in Italia novellaret, utque in provinciis vineta succederentur, relictâ, ubi plurimum, dimidiâ parte: nec exequi rem perseveravit."

restricting the growth of vines throughout his empire. Domitian himself lived to see the uselessness of his enactment, and, according to Suetonius, he, from suspicious fears, withdrew the edict ordering the destruction of the vines.

"Pater quoque super cœnam quondam fungis abstinentem palam irriserat, ut ignarum sortis suæ, quod non ferrum potius timeret. Quare pavidus semper atque anxius, minimis etiam suspicionibus præter modum commovebatur; ut edicti, de excidendis vineis propositi, gratiam facere non aliâ magis re compulsus credatur quam quod sparsi libelli cum his versibus erant:

Κὴν με φάγης ἐπὶ ῥίξαν, ὁμως ἐτί χαρποφορησω
Ὀσσον ἐπισπεισαὶ Καίσαρι θυομενω."†

The Emperor Probus, in the 3rd century, according to Vopiscus, thus encourages the planting of vineyards: "Gallis omnibus, et Hispanis, ac Britannis hinc permisit ut vites haberent vinumque conficerent."‡ Britain is here associated with Gaul and Spain. Its climate, compared with these other places, would be against successful cultivation; but the Romans were a people not deterred

* C. Suetonii Domitianus, c. 7. † C. Suetonii Domitianus, c. 14.
‡ Vopiscus, Probus, c. 18.

by obstacles, and they, with their government and laws, habits and customs of domestic life, would also introduce the vine to England, in common with the apple, pear, and other of our household fruits. The peach, now plentiful enough, was once deemed too tender for even Italian skies. The apricot became diffused over the western world by Roman influence and the cherry,* also, unknown in Italy previous to the victories of Lucullus, was in the days of Pliny† successfully grown in Britain.

Beyond such presumptive evidence but little is known, for from the Roman occupation to the first written document concerning the vine in England there is a wide interval. Bede, writing in the eighth century, mentions its cultivation:‡

"Opima frugibus atque arboribus insula, et alendis apta pecoribus ac jumentis; vineas etiam quibusdam in locis germinans; sed at avium ferax terrâ marique generis diversi."

At the time of the Norman Conquest vineyards are known to have existed in the South of England; and Domesday§ furnishes, says Sir Henry Ellis, no less than thirty-eight entries of vineyards in the several counties, which were usually measured by the *arpents*, or *arpenna*. At Bistesham in Berkshire, on the land of Henry de Ferrieres, "xii arpendi vineæ" are entered. At Wilcote in Wiltshire, "Ecclesia nova et domus optima et vinea bona." At Holeburne in Middlesex, it is said, "Will's Camerarius reddit vicecomiti regis per annum vi solidos pro terra ubi sedet vinea sua." In the village of Westminster, at Chenetone, and in the hundred of Ossulston in Middlesex, "Bainiard holds land,

* From information furnished at one of the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries by Octavius Morgan, V.P. &c. and James Thompson, F.S.A. we learn that near Leicester a *Roman Villa* existed at a spot known as the *Cherry Orchard*, and that in grubbing up one of the fruit trees tessellated pavements were discovered in 1782. Mr. Thompson conjectures that the site has been continuously occupied by a succession of villas or suburban residences since the Roman settlement, and consequently the cherry may have grown there throughout the whole of the intervening period. See Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond. vol. iv. No. 4.

† Pliny, book xv. c. 30.

‡ Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, liber 1.

§ Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to Domesday, vol. i.

&c. in Drayton, and four arpents of vineyards newly planted."* And at Ware in Hertfordshire, vineyards recently planted occur, &c. It has been considered by some writers on the subject,† that the word *vineæ* in old records signifies orchards, but Sir Henry Ellis quotes a passage from William of Malmesbury, affording a decisive proof, if any were wanting, of the difference between the vineyard and the orchard being at any rate well known in Norman times. The Chronicler is describing Gloucestershire: ‡

"Terra omnis frugum opima, fructuum ferax hic et solâ naturæ gratiâ, illic culturæ solertiâ, ut quamvis tædiosum per socordiam, provocet ad laboris illecebram, ubi centuplicato fœnore responsura sit copia. Cernas tramites publicos *vestitos pomiferis arboribus* non insitivâ manus industriâ sed ipsius solius humi naturâ." . . . . . "Regio plusquam aliæ Anglicæ provinciæ *vinearum frequentiâ densior, proventu uberior, sapore jucundior. Vina enim ipsa bibentium ora tristi non torquent acredine quippe parum debeat Gallicis dulcedine.*" . . . . . "Nulla ibi vel exigua terræ portio vacat: hic in POMIFERAS ARBORES terra se subigit; *hic prætexitur ager* VINEIS, *quæ vel per terram repunt vel per bajulos palos in celsum surgunt.*"

In addition to this, Mr. Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A. in a valuable paper on the Archæology of Horticulture, gives an instance existing among the accounts of the Abbey of St. Augustine at Canterbury, the writing of which is said to be as old as the reign of Edward III., in which occur the following entries with respect to vineyards:—

EXPENSE IN VINEIS §

Iidem computant de stipendio vineatoris de Norhome,
per annum . . . . . lij s.
Et solut' fodientibus in eisdem, per totum annum, xliij s. j d.
Et in scalet' emptis pro eisdem, cum cariagio, xxxiij s. xj d.
Et in vanges, howes, et aliis utensilibus pro eisdem, v s. ij d.
Et in stipendio et vadiis vineatoris de Chist', per annum, lij s.
Et solut' fodientibus in eisdem, cum xv carectatis
de scalet' emptis pro eisdem - - - xix s. vj d.
Summa x li. v s. viij d.

* Domesday Book, vol. i. p. 128.
† Archæologia, vols. i. and iii.
‡ De Gestis Pontificum, liber iv. 7.
§ Collectanea Antiqua, vol. vi. p. 78.

And Mr. Smith shows that the entries must refer to vines, as the word *scalettis* signifies little ladders or trellises, and not mere stakes as for non-climbing plants.

The counties of Worcester, Lincoln, Hereford, and Sussex can still point to the ancient sites of the vineyards.

In 1289, Thomas de Cantilupe,* Bishop of Hereford, planted or renewed the vineyard which Bishop Swinfield then had at Ledbury, and it yielded seven pipes of white wine and nearly one of verjuice, in the autumn valued at £8; and Bishop Skip in 1539 had also a vineyard in the same parish.

In 1314 "Hugh Bishop of Lincoln fined to the Crown in 50 marks, that in what part soever of the year the said Bishop or any of his successors should die, he and his successors, notwithstanding any usage to the contrary, might have all their moveable goods, and all the product as well of their land sowed before their death as also of their vineyards and wine-presses." †

Extensive vineyards were the property of the Abbot and Monks at Battle in Sussex,‡ and in 1565 the receipt of moneys from the wyneyarde of the rectory of Hawkhurst occurs as an item. Almost every large convent at this period possessed vineyards. The Bishop of Rochester's at Rochester was very extensive, and produced, Somner states, great quantities of grapes, of which were made excellent wines; and the Benedictine Monks of the Priory of St. Andrew, in the same city, had also within their inclosure a large plantation of vines, which is called to this day "*The Vinesfield.*"

The country around Arundel was formerly covered with vineyards from which wine was made, and it is said that in 1763 there were sixty pipes of excellent wine resembling Burgundy in the cellar of the castle, the produce of one vinery attached to it.

In records relating to London itself various entries are to be

* The Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, published by the Camden Society.

† Madox's History of the Exchequer, p. 289.

‡ Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. xvii.

found concerning vineyards. In the will* of John de Kyrkeby,† Bishop of Ely, enrolled 1290, we find mention of the houses in Holborn, in the suburbs of London, with the vineyards, gardens, &c. "*Omnes domos suas de Holeburne, in suburbis London., cum vineis, gardiniis*," &c. This will was challenged by Sir William de Kirkeby, the heir-at-law, on the ground that the vineyards were without the liberties of the city. In the will of William de Luda,‡ his successor, who died in 1298, are mentioned the same houses in Holborn, with their vineyards and crofts,§ "*Domus meas de Holeburne, in suburbis London., sine vineis et croftis*," which are not within the liberty of the city, but are of the county.

Vineyards and wine-wharfs both occur in connection with the parish of St. Martin's Vintry.

In 1330, Adam de Sarum ‖ left several tenements, a brewhouse, &c., in St. Mary Bothaw, and at the wine wharf, St. Martin's Vintry,—"*super le Wyn wharf, in parochia Sancti Martini de Vinetra, London.*" ¶

In the will of Robert de Barsham, enrolled in the Hustings Court 1332, many bequests are made of property situated in different parishes, among which are mentioned gardens, cellars, wharfs, &c. but in the parish of St. Martin in the Vintry special notice is taken of vineyards which he left to his son. "*Ac domibus, vineis, reddititus, in parochia Sancti Martini Vinetra, London.*"

Other instances might be quoted, but whatever opinion we arrive at as to localities, and the extent and nature of the cultivation of the vine in this country or city, it is certain that the trade of the vintner must have been extensive both in Roman and later times. Especially would this be the case in the great commercial city of Londinium. The Romans, accustomed to the luxury of wine

* Hustings Roll, No. 19.

† Kyrkeby had held the office of Treasurer to the King, and was Dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Martin's-le-Grand; in the former capacity he summoned before him in 1285 Gregory de Rokesley, Mayor of London, to render an account how the peace of the city had been kept, but he refused to go, and the King suspended the office of Mayor for 12 years, and appointed a Custos.

‡ He was also Archdeacon of Durham, Treasurer of the King's household, Keeper of his wardrobe, and was raised to the Bishopric of Ely in 1290.

§ Hustings Roll, No. 27. ‖ Hustings Roll, No. 58. ¶ Hustings Roll, No. 60.

abroad, could not have dispensed with it here, and would doubtless soon initiate the provincials in its use. Its importation from Spain and Gaul must have been on a large scale, and the tenacity with which any particular craft or custom will linger in certain localities is proverbial. It is possible therefore that the two hithes or havens now called Garlick and Queen Hithe may be near, or occupy the site of, the ancient landing places, for the locality abounds in Roman remains. Fragments of pavements, foundation tiles, and other relics of extensive buildings have been observed opposite Vintners' Hall, and in its neighbourhood, all testifying to the importance of the site in the area once covered by Roman London. It is this place, and this place only, that is mentioned in the early manuscripts as the spot where wine ships were permitted to land their cargoes. According to Madox, some regulations were made by Ethelred II. about the year A.D. 1000 for the protection of foreign traders who visited this country, and in 1237 a convention was entered into between the citizens of London and the merchants of Amiens and Picardy for the better carrying on of this trade. These regulations were renewed in the early days of the Plantagenets, if not at a more remote period. A wine fleet,* with the produce of the banks of the Moselle, was in the habit of visiting this country every year,† which, according to the regulations of the Port of London, "had to be moored off the Queenhithe or Garlickhithe, where they had to remain two ebbs and a flood tide, during which period they were not permitted to sell any part of their cargo, it being the duty of one of the Sheriffs and the King's Chamberlain to board each vessel in the meantime, and to select for the royal use such articles as they might think proper, the price thereof being duly assessed by lawful merchants of London; they were then allowed to lie alongside the wharfs and to dispose of the tuns of wines, under certain regulations, to such merchants as presented themselves as customers." Richard Refham and John Gysor were appointed by the King as assessors of wines. They were the princely mer-

* Liber Custumarum, fol. 61, 63.

† The first vineyards on the Moselle and the Rhine were planted by the Emperor Probus, A.D. 281.

chants of that day, and afterwards served the office of Lord Mayor in 1310 and 1311.

In 1380 the following custom is recorded:

"Item, the said Constable (of the Tower of London) shall have for every galley that cometh two roundletts of wyne, &c."

"Item. For every shippe that cometh with wynes two bottels, either of them conteyning a gallon, one before th'other after the maste."

This custom is thus explained by Taylor the Water Poet. In his *Farewell to the Tower Bottles*, he says, "There was a guift given to the Tower, or to the Lieutenants thereof, for ever, of two blacke leather bottles or bombards of wine, from every ship that brought wine into the river of Thames."*

From 1272 to 1300 this ward was called the ward of Henry de Coventry. And we find that in 1276,† September 14, "being on the Sunday next before the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the Chamberlain and Sheriffs were given to understand that one Adam Schot, a servant of Ponce de More, was lying dead in the house of the said Ponce in the ward of *Henry de Coventre*, in the parish of St. James Garlecheythe; on hearing which they went there, and calling together the men of the ward, diligent inquisition was made how this happened, when it appeared, that, trying to climb a pear-tree in the garden of one Lawrence, in the parish of St. Michael Paternosterchirche, the branch upon which he was standing broke, and he fell to the ground."

The Wards in the city were formerly called after the name of their Aldermen, as the following extract shows:‡

"Aldermannus quoque modernis a nomine Wardæ cui præsidet dicitur, ut Aldermannus Chepe, Aldermannus Pontis, Aldermannus Quenehithe. Antiquitus tamen, e converso, warda vocabatur a nomine sui Aldermanni, et warda de Candelwyke Strete dicebatur Warda Thomæ de Basyng, &c. Sic etiam warda Vinetriæ dicta fuit Warda Henrici de Covyntre."

* See further in Mr. J. G. Nichols's paper on the Lieutenants of the Tower of London, vol. i. of these Proceedings.

† Letter Book B. fol. 3. ‡ Liber Albus, fol. 8 *b*. Letter Book E.

In 1320, John Gysores * being Alderman, the Ward of Vintry was assessed at the then large sum of 94*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, which shows its wealth and importance at that time.

In 1369, a collection of fifteenths was granted by the City for assisting Edward the Third in his French wars, and this ward was assessed at 180*l.* Thomas Cornwaleys, Gilbert Benet, Thomas Lincoln, and John Norfolk, being appointed collectors.

In 1272 the following upright men of this Ward were returned as representatives to the Municipal Council of the City to advise with the Mayor touching the affairs of the City in "Warda Vinetriæ:† Johannes de Gisors, Ald., et Henricus de Hersted et Johannes dictus Clementis," and

In 1347,‡ "Vinetriæ, Henry Fannere, John Cressingham, Walter Benet, Henry Palmere, and Thomas Sharnebroke."

The VINTNERS' COMPANY, like other commercial fraternities, had its origin in that old Saxon law which exacted sureties from every freeman above the age of 14 years for his good behaviour, and which gave rise to associations called "Guilds," from the payment of money into one common fund for meeting any claims which might be made against their brethren of the craft. They were subsequently divided into two kinds, ecclesiastical and political, the former devoted to religion and charity, the latter to the protection of trade. The most ancient of these guilds in London of which we have any record is the Knights' Guild, recognised by King Edgar for services rendered in the wars. This privilege was confirmed by Edward the Confessor.

The Vintners were called the Merchants Wine-Tonners of Gascoyne, and were divided into two classes, the Vinetarii and

* In 1350, 24 Edw. III. John Gysors left, besides quit-rents, lands, gardens, and keys (wine quays), in the parish of St. Martin Vintry, a tenement and premises called Gysors Halle, in the parish of St. Mildred the Virgin in Bread Street (Gerrard's Hall), the crypt of which was built for stowing his wines.—Will enrolled in the Hustings Court, No. 78.

† Liber A. fol. 116.

‡ Liber F. fol. 136.

the Tabernarii. The former were importers of wine and resided in stately stone houses adjoining the wine-wharves, such as Picard's mansion in the Three Cranes Lane, Stodeye's in Broad Lane, and Gysors' both at the Vintry and Gysors' Hall. The latter, or Tabernarii, were the tavern, inn, or cook-house keepers.

The Company of the Vintners exercised important powers over both the importation and sale of wines, as well as the licensing of taverns; together with other rights and privileges, upon which considerable light is thrown by the ensuing extracts from the Records of the Corporation of the City of London, the State Papers, and the archives of the Company.

1256. Henry de Ba, the Justiciar, came to the Guildhall in this year, bringing a writ from Henry III. to the Mayor and Sheriffs, directing them to summon before him all the vintners of the City, the Justiciar wishing to amerce all of them for a breach of the assize of wine, but the citizens claimed to be amerced only at the Common Pleas of the Crown, and not before a Justiciar at the Tower, &c.*

"The Bordeaux merchants in the 28 Edw. I. 1299, complained that they could not sell their wines paying poundage, neither hire houses or sellers to lay them in, and it was redressed by virtue of the King's writ directed to the Mayor and Sheriffes of London dated at Carlaveroke or Carlile, since the which time many fair and large houses with vaults and sellers for stowage of wines and lodging of the Bordeaux merchants have been builded in place where before time were cookes' houses: For Fitzstephen, in the raigne of Henry the second, writeth that upon the river side betweene the wine in shippes and the wine to be sold in tavernes was a common cookerie or cookes' row, and as in another place I have set downe; whereby it appeareth that in those daies, (and till of late time) every man lived by his professed trade, not any one interrupting another. The cookes dressed meate, and sold no wine, and the taverner sold wine, and dressed no meat for sale." (Stowe.)

1257. An edict was published in the City, on August the 5th, prohibiting any one of the King's household to take any

* Liber de Antiquis Legibus, fol. 70 *b*.

provisions from the citizens against their will, saving however unto his lordship the King his rightful prisage of wine, that is to say, from every ship that owes full custom two tuns of wine, at the fixed price of 40*s.**

In 1282, Edward the First gave Botulph Wharf to Henry de Kingston, and confirmed it to him for the use of the Company, he paying a silver penny yearly to the King at the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.

In 1311 Edward II. issued a writ regulating the sale of wines within the City:† it runs as follows:—

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, &c. to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London greeting: For the amendment of the dearness of wines, which of late has been in the City of London, and now is, more than ever it used to be, for the honour of ourselves, and for the profit of our people, be it ordained by ourselves and by our Council, that no person whatsoever, freeman or stranger, saving our customers ‡ of wines, nor any other person, butler of a great lord, or any other, save only our own butler, shall go to meet wines coming towards the City by land or by water, to offer to buy the same; but only after they have been unladen and stowed in a cellar of the City. The tuns to be marked, and the wines to remain quiet for three days. It may then be sold. The Mayor and Aldermen shall cause eight or twelve good and lawful men to be chosen, who are most skilled in wines, to assay all wines. A gallon of the best wine to be sold at 5*d.*, the next best at 4*d.*, and the rest at 3*d.*

Witnessed by JOHN DE SANDALE, our Treasurer, at Westminster, Jan. 5, in the 4th year of our reign"

In 1320-1, the Vintners of London refusing to permit their customers to see the wine drawn from the casks, were all fined 20 marks, and compelled to send their measures to be sealed by the Aldermen:§

"Die Veneris proximo post festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, anno xiiii^to^, omnes vinetarii Londoniarum amerciati fuerunt ad xx marcas, eo quod non permittebant homines videre trahi vinum eorum sic venditum. Et proclamatum fuit, quod nemo ex vinetariis perturbet

* Liber de Antiquis Legibus, fol. 76 *b*.
† Letter Book D. fol. cxvii *b*.
‡ Receivers of the Customs.
§ Liber Custumarum, fol. 261*a*.

hominem aliquem videre, et ire ad caput tonelli; et quod potellus, quarta, et lagena sint sigillatæ sigillis Aldermannorum."

In 16 Edw. III. Aug. 1, 1342:*

"At a congregation of the Mayor, Aldermen, and an immense number of the Commonalty, on Monday the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, Simon Fraunceys, Mayor, It was ordered and agreed, that no taverner should mix putrid and corrupt wine with pure and good wines, &c. The vintners present consented to the same. Thomas Gisors, Nicholas Ponge, John Hablond, John Blaunche, John Fynche, John Chaucer, Henry Fannere, John de Stodeye, and several others."

This entry from the Account Book of the Company confirms the power exercised by them 1507-10:†—

First payd to Mr. Broke the Mayers Sergeaunt when they sawe the Malmeseyes that wer medled at Harsnapes Key . . . . . iiij d.
Item, payd for drinke to the Company the same tyme iiij d.
Item, payd to a Cowper to fetche a key to see the Caprikes j d.
Item, payd for brekefast at Mr. Kirkebyes hows the same tyme the Company dranke of the Caprik . . ij s. ij d.

25 Edw. III. (1351).‡ On Monday next before the feast of Saint Martin, a certain bill was sent by Andrew Aubrey, the mayor, as appears below in these words:

"By the Mayor,

"To JOHN DE STODYE, and
To HENRY VANNERE. } Vintners.

"Assemble the good people of the said mystery, and cause them to elect by common assent four good people of the said mystery, the wisest and most sufficient, to treat with the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, upon some heavy business touching the state of the said City: and this you omit not on the faith which you owe to our lord the King, and have the names and persons of those so elected at the Guildhall on Thursday the eve of Saint Martin."

"Names of persons selected from the said mystery by the aforesaid

* Letter Book F. fol. lxiii.
† Egerton MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1143 fol. 1 b.
‡ Letter Book F. ccvi.

men to come to the Guildhall of London for businesses touching the City, when they shall be forewarned on the part of the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen.

~~John de Stodeye~~ John Osekyn. John de Rothyng.
(because an alderman.) John de Wendoure."

On the 15th July, 1364, Edward III. granted a charter to the Vintners, giving them power over the importation of wine; it is dated from Westminster, and by it four sufficient persons being the Wardens are to be presented to the Mayor, and by him to be sworn to see as to the selling of wines and taverns; leave was also accorded to the fraternity to export cloth, fish, and herrings, in exchange for wines; and that all wines coming to London should be landed above London Bridge, westwards, towards the Vintry.

On Monday* after the Feast of All Saints, in 1370, the following men were presented to the Mayor and Aldermen to perform their duties faithfully, Walter Doget, William More, Nicholas Blake, and William Stokesly.

38 Edw. III. Nov. 11, 1364.† Pleas holden before Adam de Bury, Mayor, and the Aldermen, on Tuesday the morrow of St. Martin (Nov. 11), 38 Edw. III. "John Rightways and John Penrose, taverners, were charged with trespass in the tavern of Walter Doget in *Estchepe*, on the eve of St. Martin, and there selling unsound and unwholesome wines, to the deceit of the common people, the contempt of the King, to the shameful disgrace of the officers of the City, and to the grievous damage of the commonalty. John Ryghtways was discharged, and John Penrose found guilty; he was to be imprisoned a year and a day, to drink a draught of the bad wine, and the rest to be poured over his head; and to forswear the calling of a vintner in the City of London for ever."

On Thursday the Feast of St. Valentine, Feb. 14, 1370,‡ the good men of the trade of Vintners came before John de Chychestre, Mayor, and the Aldermen, and delivered to them certain articles, among them by common consent ordained, and

* Letter Book G, fol. 257 b.
† Letter Book G, fol. cxli.
‡ Letter Book G. fol. 248.

requested the Mayor and Aldermen would order the same in future to be observed inviolably, for the good governance of the trade.

1. Search to be made for corrupt wines.
2. That no white wine of Gascoigne, of La Rochelle, of Spain, or any other country, shall be laid in taverns where Rhenish wine is for sale.
3. That the cellar door in taverns, where wines are laid down for sale, shall be kept open for one person of a company to see the wine drawn.
4. That upon the coming of the first fleet in time of Vintage, after the arrival of the first three or four ships from Gascoyne, inquisition shall be made, and the price fixed.

In 1416 the four Masters of the Vintners were enjoined* to assemble the citizens of their Company, and make known to them, that they shall not sell white or red wine at a dearer price than eight pence per gallon, or any sweet wines dearer than twelve pence, on pain of forfeiture of their vessels and imprisonment.

Red Gascoigny wine not to be sold at a higher price than eightpence a gallon.

Vessels with sweet wine† coming from Calais to be examined before being sold. 16 Jan. 7 Hen. VI. 1428.

Nov. 8, 1427. The charter of King Edward III. was confirmed by Henry VI., and another granted by him dated from Kenilworth Castle, 23 Aug. 1437.

18 June, 15 Hen. VI. 1437. The Wardens of the Vintners' Company sworn to make due scrutiny of Vintners.‡ John Lucok acknowledging that he had forbidden the Wardens of the Company to enter into his shop to make scrutiny on pain of losing their heads,§ was ordered to show cause why he should not be punished for this grave offence.

Sept. 17, 1447. A coat of arms was granted to the Company by Clarencieux King of Arms, "Sable, a chevron between three tuns argent." This was confirmed by Thomas Benolt, Claren-

* Jor. 1, fol. 1.
† Jor. 2, fol. 137 b.
‡ Jor. 3, fol. 203b.
§ Jor. 3, fol. 205.

cieux, Oct. 22, 1530, and again at the Visitation of London by Sir Henry St. George, Knt. Richmond Herald, 1634, Richard Davis then being Master.

A petition was presented by the Vintners' Company,* to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, in 1445, against Peter Pope of the *Wine Drawers' Company*, for refusing to permit them to carry on their labour and rights as allowed them by their charter.

The Mayor and Aldermen,† in order to prevent the recurrence of these complaints, presented a petition to the Lord Treasurer against the charter granted by the King to the Wine Drawers.

The Mayor, Recorder, and Council‡ waited upon the Lord Treasurer, and entreated him to intercede with His Majesty to revoke the letters patent granted to the Company of Wine Drawers contrary to the liberties of the City.

The Winedrawers § shall take no more than two pence for drawing one tun from the boat on to the quay, and from thence unto the cellar upon the quay; and from the boat unto a cellar in any lane upon the Thames, two-pence half-penny ; and from the boat unto a cellar in the street of Thames Strete, in the parish of St. Martin, &c.

In the account for 1513-16 occurs, Item, p^{d} to the Mayors Sergeant the same day that the Mayer was at the Stulyard to warn them to sell no Reynnyssh wyne aboue x d. the Galone . . . . . .

Item, p^{d} to the Mayor's Officer Edmay that went w^{t} us to speke wth the Aldermen to stop the p'clamacion wherby we shuld haue sold wyne for viijd. the Galon in Mr. Broun's tyme, iiij s. iiij d.‖

At a court of aldermen, Rogerus Martyn, Maior,¶ Thursday, Nov. 6th, 1567, 9 Eliz.

"Item this daie the Vinteners brought into the Courte here the Quenes Highness L'res patente to them latelie graunted, the contentes and effect wherof were brieflie reported unto the Courte by Mr.

* Jor. 3, fol. 106 b.
† Jor. 3, fol. 109 b.
‡ Jor. 3, fol. 114 b.
§ Liber C. fol. 69.
‖ Egerton MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1143, fol. 32, 33.
¶ Letter Book V. fol. 137 b.

. . . . who had read over and considered the same l'res patente as he said, the hole contentes of the which l'res the Court did assent and agree, that the same Vynteners shall from tyme to tyme put in due execution, so alwayes that they by color of the same l'res do not at any tyme hereafter attempt or do or cause to be done any act or acts thinge or thinges contrary to the lawes ancient customes or liberties of the said Citie, and it was agreed and ordered by the Court at the humble suite and request of the said Vinteners that all suche wynes as xij of the saidd [wise] and discrete citizens, of their said companie or more, beeinge here yerely sworne accordinge to the auncyent laudable custome of this cittie for true searche to be made of all the wynes sellered within the same citie, or the liberties therof to be solde, except Rumneys and Malmeseys, and presentment of the same to be trulie made unto this courte, shall present be defective, and not meete to be dronken, shall ymediatlie be conveyed and brought hither into the Guildhall, and here without delay be vewed and searched by the wardens of the Tallow Chaundlers upon their othes, accordinge also to the auncient custome of the said citie, whether the same be defective wynes, or any parcell of them will serve to make vyneger or sauce or not, and those that will not serve to any suche good vse to be poured out into the canell in Cheapeside, according also to the said auncyent lawes and custome in that behalf.

At a court holden before Aylmer Maior, on the last day of February, 1520:

"Item at the same time the wardens* of Vynteners exhibited a bill purporting that divers persons of the citie who exercise and occupye the crafte of vynteners by retayllyng, should not occupie the same, but yf they are sworn of the Company."

Stowe thus describes the *Hall:*

"Next is Spittle Lane † of old time so called, since Stodies lane of the owner thereof named Stodie. Sir John Stodie, vintner, Mayor, in the yeare 1357, gave it, with all the quadrant wherein *Vintners' Hall* now standeth, with the tenements round about, unto the Vintners. The Vintners builded for themselves a faire hall there, and also 13 almshouses for 13 poore people."

* Repository, 5 fol. 185. † Stowe, fol. 187.

On the 10th Jan. 1497, (13 Hen. VII.)* several persons were "appoynted to viewe the Vynteners' Hall, and to assese the ffyne at their discrescion for the *mortizyng* of the said Hall."

This Company exercised the power of chastising refractory Members, for on the 12 October, 1609,† "It is ordered that a pair of stocks shall be provided and placed in the Common Hall of this Company, and that the offenders shall sit therein for one whole hower in the view and sight of the whole assembly."

This building was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, after which the Company held their meetings at the Bell Inn, in St. Nicholas Lane, but subsequently removed to the Fleece in Cornhill. A new Hall was erected (partially on the old foundations), by a subscription raised among the members of the Company. They had their first gathering in the present building on the 10 April, 1671. The Court Room was wainscoted at the charge of Samuel Comyn, Upper Warden, in 1676.

June 7, 1611.‡ Grant to the Company of Vintners by James I. of a new charter, enlarging their liberties and rights.

Feb. 2, 1612.§ Grant to the Company of Vintners of London of a charter of incorporation and licence to retail wines, with confirmation of former privileges (dated from Westminster).

The following entry of the good things provided for the Master's feast on Saint Martin's Day, Nov. 1508, shows that even then this Company was noted for its hospitality:

Money paid for Expences at Dyner on Seint Martyn's Day, in November, A°. xxiiij. H. vij. for the Maister's, 1508. ‖

Item for Brede - - - - - -	vj d.
Item for Ale and Byer - - - - -	x d.
Item for Wyne - - - - - -	xvj d.
Item for butter - - - - - -	ij d.
Item for bacon, heryng - - - - -	iij d.
Item for Salt ffishe - - - - -	v d.
Item for ix lb. of Stude Elez & iij lb. of Pymper Ele	xxj d.

* Repertory, 1, fol. 10 b.
† Minute Book of the Company.
‡ Domestic State Papers, 1611—1618, p. 40.
§ Ibid. p. 117.
‖ Egerton MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1143, fol. 7 b.

Item for iij. Pykes, price - - - - v s.
Item for a quartron of Lamprons - - - ix d.
Item for Erbez, Spyce and Sawce - - - iiij d.
Item for Quene apples - - - - - iij d.
Item for the Mynstreles - - - - - iiij d.
Item for wode and cole - - - - - viij d.
Item to the Coke for dressyng of the dynner - viij d.
Sm[a] xiij s. iij d."

The next account of the Master's feast, 2 years later, shows the increase in the value of money:

" Money paid for the Maester's dyner on Seint Martyne's daye in July, ij. H. viii., A°. 1510.*

Item First payd for brede - - - - ix d.
Item payd for Ale - - - - - ij s.
Item payd for Wyne - - - - - v s.
Item payd for bere - - - - - viij d.
Item payd for beeff, moton, vele, Marybones, and Sewet - - - - - - - ij s. viij d.
Item for iiij Conyes to stewe - - - - viij d.
Item for vj Gese - - - - - - iij s. vj d.
Item payd for iiij Capones - - - - v s. iiij d.
Item for a fresshe Salmon and ij Chynes - - vij s.
Item for x Chekyns - - - - - xx d.
Item for ix Rabbettes, Renners to Roste - - xxij d.
Item for flour for Venyson pyes and Custardes - viij d.
Item for ij Galones of Creme for Custardes - viij d.
Item for iiij li of Suger and other Spyces - v s. ix d.
Item for ij disshes of butter - - - - iiij d.
Item for Erbez and Sawce - - - - ij d.
Item for Wode and Cole - - - xv d.
Item for ij Garnysshe of vessell - - - xvj d.
Item payd to the Waytes - - - - iiij d.
Item payd to the Syngers towardes theyr dynner at John Austyn's howse - - - - viiij d.

* Egerton MS. No. 1143, Brit. Mus. fol. 12 b, 13.

Item payd for the Coke's Wages and for turnyng the broches - - - - - - - iiij s.
Item payd to the Syngers for kepyng of Masse and evensong - - - - - - vj s. viij d.
Item payd for Wyne delivered into the Church for the Syngers - - - - - - viij d.

"Money paid for the Obite.

"Item payd for Bounes and Maunchetes - - xviij d.
Item payd for Ale - - - - - - ij s.
Item payd for Wyne - - - - - ij s. iiij d.
Item payd for Chese - - - - - xviij d.
Item for a Syff of Cheryes - - - - ij s. viij d.
Item for Strawberyes - - - - - xij d.
Item paid for Wyne the next day to the Hall - viij d.
Item payd for the Preestes, Clerkes and Ryngers - - - - - - iiij s. viij d.
Item payd for Offryng money - - - iiij d.
Sm^a. iij li. ix s. xi d.

"Expences incurred upon the occasion of the Swearing-in of the Mayor and Sheriffs, anno 23 Hen. VII. 1508:*
Item payd for Hyryng of a barge for the ffeliship when the Shereffes wente to Westmynster to take theyr charges - - - xv s.
Item for barge hyre when the Mayor tok his charge - - - - - - - - xv s.
The total amount paid for hire of barges during the 23 Hen. VII. and 1 and 2 year of Henry VIII. was - - - - - - - - v li. v s.

"(1510.) Expences and Rewardes when Mr. Monoux and Mr. Dogette toke theyr Charges at Westmynster.†
First geven to my Lord Chamberleyn's porter for goyng thurgh the place unto the barge - viij d."
(Then follow other rewards.)

* Egerton MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1148, fol. 1. † Ibid. fol. 13 b.

To assist distressed members was then as now, one of the privileges of this Company, and we find in these early accounts several items for that object :*

"(1507-10.) Item lent unto Thomas White, wynedrawer, by commaundement of the Maisters xl s.
Item lent unto Waltier Thirlowe, by the commaundement of the Maisters, upon an obligacion - - - - - - - - - xxvj s. viij d.
Item geven unto Walter Thirlowe, vyntener, by commaundement of the Maister when he was ꝑsoner in Ludgate - - - xij d.
Item geven and delivered to John Brown, vyntener, by commaundement of the Maister when he was seke - - - - - - xij d.
Item delivered to a Surgeon to hele John Galan, vyntener, by the commaundement of the Maisters - - - - - - - - v s.

In the accounts† of John Kirkeby, Robert Scrace, Henry Pedyll, and George Grylle, Master and Wardens, &c., chosen on the day of St. Martin the Bishop in the winter, the 11th Nov. 1510, 2 Hen. VIII. that is to wit, from the same day unto the day of St. Martin, the 11th Nov. 1513, 5 Hen. 8, "as by the space of thre yeres hoole, w^t the sufferance of God and by the intercession of Seint Martyne:"

Item paid for a quayer of paper for this Booke - iij d.
Item paid for a Dynner geven unto Mr Recorder and his wyfe, Mr Towne Clerke, M. Owen, and other persones that they broughte w^t theym, beside one Paycok and a Swan, xiiij s. x d. whereof is to me vij s v d, and to the place to have their Counseilles in certayn causes‡ - - - - - - - - - vij s vd.

* Egerton MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1143, fol. 1 and 1 b. † Ibid. fol. 18 b.
‡ Ibid.

Item paid and spent the xiiij day of January, A° iij H. viij uppon Mr Stubbes, Towne Clerk, at the iij Tonnes, at the Yeldehall gate * - ij d. ob.

The following entry of one of the curious customs in use at the ancient feasts, may be of some interest:—

LEVERYE TO SERVE AT YE PRINCIPALL FEASTS.

9th July, 1610. This daye after some relason made and debate had of an auncient custome used some tymes in this Companie, and still continued amongst other the Worshipfull Companies of this Cittye, That is, that the youngest of the Liverye at the chief feasts and solempnities at the Cōen Hall, have caryed the dyett to all the tables, and afterwards sett themselves according to their places; It is now thought meete ordeyned and agreed that this daye and for from tyme to tyme hereafter soe many of the youngest of the Liverye as shall suffice shall carrye the dyett at every election dinner to the Upper Table in the Hall, and to the Ladyes and Gentlwomen onlye, and the rest of the service to be p'formed by the Waytors onlye.

The following entries,† relating to the repair by the Company of the vestments of the church of their patron saint, St. Martin, also of a bequest towards the repair of the said church, are interesting:

Item payd to a vestment maker to amende the ornamentes in Saint Martyn's Chapell, and for stuff to the same - - - xiij s iiij d.

Item payd for iij Awter Clothes, one of bokeram, and ij of Diaper, and for the halowing of theym - - - - - iiij s. vj d.

Item, receved the x day of December A° v. Hen. viij. for the bequeste of Maister Yōgge towardes the reparacions of the Churche of Seint Martyn in the Vyntry ‡ . . . . . xx s.

* Egerton MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1143, fol. 19.

† Ibid. fol. 83.

‡ Ibid. fol. 15.

In the accounts of John Scrace, James Spencer, Richard Gyttons, and Richard Hilton, Masters and Wardens, from 11 Nov. 1513, 5 Hen. 8, to 11 Nov. 1516, for 3 years.

Item payd for makyng of the lighte afore Seint Martyn, the iiijte day of June, A° 1514, weying xxxiij lb. iij q^{a}rtns and of new wax x lb iij q^{a}rtrons at j d. le lb. makyng * - ij s x d.

The obit of John Micole, late Master of the Company, was kept on the 17 of April, 1507.

For the obite of Mr Mycoll kept the xvij daye of April, anno xxiij H. vij.†

Item payd for brede - - - - -	ix d.
Item for a kynderkyn of Ale - - -	ij s.
Item for Wyne - - - - - -	iiij. s.
Item for cxij pepyns - - - - -	xviij d.
Item to prestes and clarkes and for ryngyng -	iiij s.
Item for the bede rolle - - - -	iiij d.
Item for offering money - - - -	iiij d.
Item for the Waxchaundeler - - -	xxij d.
Item in Almes - - - - - -	xiij d.
Item to the iiij Wardeyns - - - -	xiij iiij d.
Item to the bedell - - - - -	xx d.
Item to the parson of Seynt Martyns for the Hall	vij s.
Summa -	xxxvij s. xd.
Item, to Richard Gyttons, for white Coton for vj. gownes to vj. pore men when King Henry vij^{te} was buryed ‡	xvijs. iiij d.
Item, paid for Maister Richemond's Masse § .	xij d.

1560. The xiij day of May was bered Mastores Palmer, the wyff of (blank) Palmer, vyntoner, dwellyng at the sant . . . hed, at Ludgatt, and he gayff in gownes and cottes a x . . . . . and at her berehyng was the cumpene of the Vyntoners in ther leverey, and Veron dyd pryche at her berehyng. ‖

* Egerton MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1143, fol. 33.
† Ibid. fol. 15.
‡ Ibid. fol. 2.
§ Ibid. fol. 2 b.
‖ Machyn's Diary, fol. 234.

1561. The xviij day was Sant Luke's day, the same day of October was bered in Whytyntun colege,. Master Alesandur Karlelle, the Master of the Vyntoners, the wyche he mared the dowther of Ser George Barnes, knight, (late) mare of the nobull Cete of London, and haburdassher, and he gayff a xx blake gownes, and he gayff (blank) mantyll (frieze) gowne(s) unto (blank) pore men; and ther wher the Clarkes of London syngyng, and (Master) Crolley dyd pryche; and then to the plase to denner, and a dolle, and a ij dozen kochyons of armes, and the leverey of the Vyntonars.*

SWAN UPPING.—This Company has enjoyed the right of keeping a number of these regal birds upon the river Thames from the time of legal memory. The earliest entry I can find relating to this custom is in the accounts† of the Master and Wardens of the Company now in the British Museum, about the year 1509.

Money payd for expences for uppyng of Swanes.

Item payd in the grete ffroste to James the vnder Swanherd for Uppyng of the Maister's Swannes -	iiij s.
Item for bote hyr at the same tyme - - -	iiij d.

The next entry is from the first Court Book now in possession of the Company:

10 July, 1609. Swan Uppers for this yeare elected Mr. Edwards or Mr. Bate in his steed, Mr. Warden Bonham, Mr. Newman, Mr. Hodgson, Mr. Whaplett, Mr. Kinaston, and Mr. Gale. The care of the birds *are* confided to them.‡

The Swanherd of the Company, with His or Her Majesty's Swanherd and the Swanherd of the Dyers' Company, assemble at Lambeth in August, and proceed up the river to mark the swans.

There were many restrictions imposed by the Craft upon its Members, some of which are curious:

Dec. 1, 5 Edw. IV. 1465.§ It was orderyd for sundrye good consyderacons movynge the court, that no manner of vynteners, or that retayllers of wynes to any vyttayllers or typllers within this citye, or the lybertyes thereof, other then the inholders, shall soffer any

* Machyn's Diary, fol. 269.
† Egerton MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1142, fol. 2.
‡ Company's MSS. p. 48.
§ Rep. 12, No. 2, fol. 420 b.

manner of person or persons, other than their owen famylies, to eate or dryncke within any of their houses upon the Sabott day before xi of the clocke upon payne of imprisonment of their bodyes for every offence, there to remain untyll suche tyme as they shalbe dyscharged thereof by the Lorde Mayer.

10 of December, 22 Hen. VII. 1508.* Item that all such wynes as be presented by the Vynteners faulty shalbe tayn out of the celers where they lye, and to be brought to such place as the Mayor shall thynk convenyent, that all such wyne as is not holshom [wholesome] may be put out in to the cannell, and the remainder to be delyvered to the chandelers for sauce.

25 October, 1 Henry VIII. 1509.† At the same Court commandment and instruction were given to the Wardens of the Vynteners, that they shall straitely charge all their Company, that none of theym selle Reynysshe wynes above x pence the galon uppon peyne of imprisonement and ffyne makying, after the discrescion of the Mayor and Aldermen.

26 Oct. 6th Henry VIII. 1514.‡ Wardens of the Vintners commanded to warn all persons selling wine by retail to see that their pots be sealed by a given day, after which the Chamberlain shall seize all pots unsealed.

Letters Patent § granted by King Henry VIII. Feb. 26, 1518, in the 9th year of his reign, to the Vintners' Company, to use the measures for the sale of wine according to the measures delivered in at Guildhall, and all vintners ordered to send in their measures to the Guildhall to be tried, assized, and marked.

1628, February 10. The Lord Mayor (Hugh Hammersley) and others of the City of London to the Council. According to an order of the Council,‖ the writers certify, that, for freeing the City of the debts to which they stood engaged for the late and present King, it was enacted, by Common Council, on the 17th December last, that 60,000*l.* should be levied upon the several Companies, according to the proportions in which they are rated, towards their provisions of 10,000 quarters of corn; according to

* Rep. 2, fol. 36b. † Rep. 2, fol. 75. ‡ Rep. 2, fol. 198b.
§ Jor. 11, fol. 341. ‖ State Papers, Domestic, 1627-8, p. 554.

which rate 3,120*l.* was to be provided by the Company of Vintners; but Philip Travis, Cordell Hamond, Ralph Moore, Nicholas Clegate, Alexander Child, and Michael Gardner, freemen of that Company, refused to furnish the sums rated upon them. Whereupon Hamond and Travis were committed to Newgate on January 9 last, and the rest of them since; and Hamond and Travis endeavour by Habeas Corpus to be enlarged.

1629, July 3, Order of Council.* On complaint of the French merchants and the Company of Vintners of London, of the large quantities of French wines now remaining on their hands, it is thought fit that a proclamation be published to prohibit further importation until February next, and that no importation of wines be permitted in any other than English bottoms.

1629, July 13. Certificate of the warden of the Vintners' Company and others,† appointed by the same Company to view a house in Seacole lane, which Nicholas Banaster intends for a tavern, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. They find the same unfit to be tolerated, in regard to the situation thereof, being near certain alleys, in a back place, and having a bowling alley and pair of butts, where poor people will spend their thrift and cause brawls.

1630. Petition of Gregory Jenner, baymaker in Colchester, to the King.‡ Abuse is committed by vintners in selling sugar to be druuk with wine in the taverns, as in a paper annexed is expressed, with a remedy. Prays for sole right of applying the remedy for such term and at such rent as the King may think fit.

The paper above mentioned. The abuse is that vintners buy the sugar they sell to be drunk with wine vended in taverns at 18*d.* or 19*d.* the pound, which they make up into 18, 19, or 20 several papers, and selling each for 2*d.* a paper, make of each pound 3*s.* and upwards, whereby the King is hindered in his customs, in respect that less sugar is spent with wine than would usually be if sold at a reasonable rate. The remedy proposed is for the grocer to divide the pound into 16-ounce packets, for which he is to charge 2*s.* per lb., out of which he is to pay 3*d.* per lb. to the King, while the vintner, paying 2*s*, is to sell his 16 packets at 2*d.* each.

1634-5, February 21. Notes by Sec. Windebank of proceedings this

* State Papers, Domestic, 1629-31, p. 3. † Ibid. p. 10.
‡ Ibid. p. 443-4.

day at the Committee for Trade, the King being present. Proposals were made by the Company of Vintners, that upon permission to dress meat, to sell tobacco, to buy wines freely, and that the number of licences should be diminished, they would pay the King 6,000*l.* presently, and hereafter would pay what should be thought fitting. It was resolved that the money should be taken, with some engagement on the part of the Company for such future payments as should be thought fitting.*

1635, April 17. Petition† of the Master and Wardens of the Company of Vintners of the City of London to the Council. His Majesty having restored the Vintners' liberty to sell victual, from which they were restrained by a decree in the Star Chamber, whereupon 6,000*l.* is lately paid into the Exchequer, a great part whereof is not yet collected by Petitioners, by reason that sundry free vintners refuse to make payment of their rateable parts. Pray the Lords to cause the defaulters to make present payment.

Answer of the Council. The Lords think this Petition should be presented to the Commissioners of Trade, with the names of the persons complained of. Star Chamber, 17th April 1635.‡

1635, July. Petition of the Company of Vintners to the Council. It pleased the Lords (in respect 40*s.* parcel of the 3*l.* a tun imposed on wines last year, is taken off,) to order that the price of French wines should be abated from 7*d.* to 6*d.* the quart; the Vintners caused the retailers of wines to be summoned to their hall, and declared to them the order for the said price, and the Masters and Wardens having sold their own wines at 6*d* the quart accordingly; but the taking off that 40*s.* a tun has brought no benefit to the retailers, who have paid as dear for their wines this year as in the year last past, so that if they sell the wines remaining on their hands at 6*d.* a quart, many retailers shall be utterly disabled to maintain their families and pay their debts. Beseech relief.§

1635, December 9. Petition of the Company of Vintners of London to the King. Pray liberty to dress and sell victuals and beer in their houses (with the exception of pheasants and partridges); also that they may sell tobacco; and also that "machanick cowpers" and other intruders may be restrained, and that no licence for retailing be granted within London or three miles thereof.‖

* State Papers, Domestic, 1634-5, p. 520-1.
† State Papers, Domestic, 1635, p. 30. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. pp. 306-7.
‖ Ibid. p. 545.

A curious tract was published in 1641, entitled "A true Discovery of the Projectors of the Wine project, out of the Vintners' own orders made at their Common Hall, whereby it clearely appeares that this project was contrived at *Vintners' Hall by the drawing vintners of London*, and for their only advantage, to suppresse the Coopers, and monopolise the sole benefit of retailing wines throughout this kingdom. This was followed by the "Reply to a most untrue relation made and set forth in Print, by certain Vintners in excuse of their wine project, 1641." Another tract was entitled The late discourse betwixt Master Abel and Master Richard Kilvert, interrupted at first by an ancient and angry Gentlewoman." These were published against the monopolising then very grievously felt in trade; and in this same year was issued a caricature of Alderman Abell, wine monopoliser.

1643, November 7. The Lords and Commons* having been informed that the Vintners of the City of London and Westminster and ten miles compasse, as also throughout the country, have, notwithstanding the favourable provision made for them, by the severall ordinances of Excise, first of October, delayed to pay the half excise, thereby limited and appointed to be paid by the said vintners for such wines as were upon their hands, at or before the eleventh of September last,

It is hereby ordained by the said Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, That if any Vintner shall delay or neglect, without further warning, to bring in all such sums of money as shall be due for excise of wines upon their hands, at or before the eleventh of September last, into such office of excise, under which their habitation is comprehended, within ten dayes after publication hereof, within the respective places, That then every such vintner shall, after expiration of the said ten dayes, be lyable to pay whole excise for all such wines as the merchant and cooper by the said ordinance is injoyned. And in default thereof, by delay, or not payment of the said whole excise, every such vintner shall be proceeded against without delay, by distresse, or otherwise, according to the ordinance of excise.

In 1645 an ordinance was passed by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for freeing and discharging the vintners from any demand for, or concerning any delinquencie, concerning

* Tract.

the imposition of 40s. per *tunne* on wines, or anything concerning the same.*

In conclusion, I beg to record my thanks to Frederick Woodthorpe, Esq. the learned Town-Clerk, for the facilities so generously given for making the various extracts from the Corporation archives. To George Lomas, Esq., Clerk of the Vintners' Company, for permitting me to inspect the interesting and valuable records of the Company; to Thomas Milbourn, Esq. Hon. Secretary of the Society, for bringing to my notice the ancient and interesting Book of Accounts preserved in the British Museum, and for the several extracts from the same, and to J. E. Price, Esq. the Director of the Evening Meetings of the Society, to whom I am indebted for many valuable suggestions.

* Tract.

THE MUNIMENTS OF THE VINTNERS' COMPANY.

BY JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.
VICE-PRESIDENT.

AT the request of the Council of the London and Middlesex Society, I have undertaken to inspect the Charters and other Muniments of the Company of Vintners, and I now proceed to give such account of a portion of them as the time I have had to devote to the task enables me to do.

I am happy to say that they appear to have been preserved from the earliest days of the Company in an unusually complete series, though some have partially suffered from damp and other causes of decay. I shall first notice in order of time the

ROYAL CHARTERS.

1. EDWARD III. Letters Patent, in French, dated at Westminster 15th July, 38th Edw. III. (1364). The great seal in green wax is attached.

The object of this charter was to regulate the trade for wine with Gascony. After stating that by a recent act of parliament the merchants of England had been limited to traffic in one line of trade only, that in Gascoigne there was no other trade but for wine only, and that Englishmen could not purchase wines on favourable terms for want of facilities for vending other wares, it ordains that the trade of wines should be confined to such only, —to wit, in London those only who were free of the craft of Vintry (*mestiere de vinetrie*), and in other cities, boroughs, and towns those that were skilful and cunning of the same craft; to whom it should be permitted to purchase wines there and bring them to England, and to sell their own wines wholesale or retail to lords and others as they should see most for their profit, at a reasonable price and gain. And also that the merchants of Gascoigne, and other strangers and foreigners which should bring wines into England, should sell only in gross by tonnels and pipes, and not by retail nor in small parcels, to the lords and to other people of the commons for their store and consumption in their own houses, and to the said merchants vinters (*sic*) who

would buy them. No wine when once brought into England was to be carried out again without the King's special leave. The said merchants of the craft of the merchandise of wines were to elect every year four persons of the most sufficient, most loyal, and most cunning of the said craft, not keeping a tavern, and present them to the mayor of the city of London, or the mayors of the other cities, boroughs, and towns where such craft was used, or to the bailiff or president where there was no mayor, which four men should then be sworn to survey that all kinds of wines were sold in taverns at a reasonable price for such a wine and of such quality as they were known and named. And that the taverners should be ruled by the said four persons, who should have power to correct and amend any defaults found, and to award due punishment.

Further, in order that less money should pass out of the kingdom, the merchant vinters of England were empowered to buy cloths, and the merchants of Gascoigne bringing wines into England to buy the dry fish of the counties of Cornwall and Devon, herrings, and cloths throughout England, and carry them to Gascoigne and elsewhere for their profit, and of the monies thence arising to buy wines there and bring them into England; provided they did not sell cloths, fish, or herrings in England. Nor shall the Gascon or other foreigners sell wines in England by retail, nor by less parcels in wholesale than tonnels and pipes. All wines coming to London were to be discharged and landed above the bridge, towards the west, and towards the Vintry, so that the King's butler, his guager, and searchers might have view and knowledge of the places where they should be warehoused (*herbergéz*), and take the customs and prises,* and do that which to their offices belongs. No merchant nor other denizen or foreigner of any condition was to sell or buy wines, cloths, fish, or herring in other manner under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of the goods.

11. HENRY VI. Letters patent in Latin confirming by Inspeximus the charter of Edward the Third. Dated at Westminster

* The *prises* were tolls in kind taken like that for the Lieutenant of the Tower, mentioned in p. 339.

8th Nov. 6th Hen. VI. (1427). The great seal in green wax is attached.

III. SECOND CHARTER OF HENRY VI. dated at Kenilworth 23rd Aug. 16 Hen. VI. (1437).

This was the Charter by which the Vintners were first incorporated, to be a Company, have a common seal, and enabled to purchase lands, tenements, and rents within the city of London and suburbs to the value of 20*l.*

The document consists of fourteen long lines only. The initial ℣ is prettily drawn in pen and ink, and upon it is the motto Sit soli deo honor ī euū (*i. e.* in evum).

The great seal is beautifully perfect. Attached is also a writ from the privy council dictating the terms of the charter.

IV. HENRY VII. 30th Sept. 1 Hen. VII. (1485).

This is merely a confirmation by Inspeximus of the preceding charter of 15th Hen. VI.

On the initial ℌ is inscribed SIT SOLI DEO HONOR.

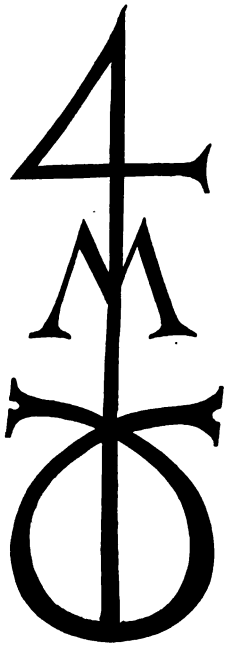
The great seal is in green wax, much broken.

V. MARY, 22nd May 1554. This charter, which is in English, is one merely of a temporary character. An act of parliament had been passed in 7th Edw. VI. prohibiting persons to keep a tavern and sell wine by retail, except such as should be duly approved and assigned according to the tenor of such act. On the petition of the Vintners, the licence of the taverns was extended from 30th Sept. 1553 to 30th June, 1555. The great seal in yellow wax is perfect, representing Mary alone: under her effigy on both sides is the motto TEMPORIS FILIA VERITAS.

VI. PHILIP AND MARY, in their 5th and 6th year, 30th July 1558. This recites the Inspeximus of Henry VII. confirming the charter of Henry VI. It is granted to John Shelley, Alexander Carlelle, Thomas Derlove, and Richard Smythe, now masters or wardens of the Company. Henceforward there is to be only one master (who has previously been warden), and three wardens.

The Company is permitted to purchase lands to the value of 40*l.* a year (so that the same be not held *in capite*, or by knight's

service), as well of Stephen Mason of Weveringstrete, in the county of Kent, citizen and vintner, as of any other persons. Mason, whose name is written in illuminated characters, was no doubt the feoffee or trustee of the estates which the Company already possessed.



This charter is beautifully illuminated. A drawing of St. Martin dividing his coat to the beggar is placed before the initial P, in which the King and Queen are represented seated, the former carrying in his right hand a sword, the latter a sceptre, and both with orbs in their left hands. Above their heads, VIVANT REX ET REGINA. His motto, NEC SPE NEC METU; and hers, VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA, are on either side.

In the upper margin appear their arms, impaled, within the garter: a lion and a dragon sejant, each holding a blue banner charged with a fleur de lis; badges of the rose, fleur de lis, and pomegranate; and in the margin are strawberries, roses, and other flowers. Also the arms of the City and of the Company; a scull with the motto NOSCE TE IPSVM; and the merchant's mark of Stephen Mason, of which a fac-simile is now engraved.

The impression of the great seal was remarkably sharp, but only a portion of it now remains.

VII. FIRST CHARTER OF ELIZABETH. In the first year of her reign (Nov. 6) Elizabeth confirms by Inspeximus the charter of Philip and Mary. In the initial is a drawing in pen and ink of the Queen seated, very young in appearance; in the hand the royal arms; and the lion and dragon bearing standards. It was passed for a fine of "liij^{s} viij^{d}" paid into the Exchequer, as attested by the signature of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

Ex^{r} per nos Ricardum Rede, Joannē Vaughan, } Clericos.

VIII. SECOND CHARTER OF ELIZABETH. Dated at St. Alban's 17th May, 9th Eliz. (1568).

This was a new charter. It did not increase the power of the Company to hold lands beyond 40*l.* per annum limited in the Charter of Philip and Mary; but, after confirming all privileges granted by any former charter, it added that, for the better support of the Freemen, and for the better maintaining of the Mariners of the Kingdom according to the intent of an act passed in the 5th year of the Queen's reign, every Freeman of the said mystery of Vintners, mentioning by name Thomas Leighe of Bedford, Peter Lilly of Canterbury, William Rolfe of Kingston-upon-Hull, William Southe of Louthe, John Briskyn of Battersey (in Surrey), William Close of St. Alban's, William Marston of Barnett, Christopher Pilbarowe of Romford, Arkenwolde Gittens of Uxbridge, John Ballage of Aylesbury, Benedict Billinge of Berwick, Mary Gosnell of Abingdon, and Thomas Hardware of Yarmouth; and all Freemen of the mystery of Vintners in London, and the suburbs thereof within three miles; and in all cities and port-towns and thorough-towns where the Queen's couriers commonly called Posts were placed between Dover and London, and London and Berwick, should have licence to keep a Wine Tavern notwithstanding the act of 7 Edw. VI. or any other act to the contrary, provided they did not exceed the number limited in the said act of Edw. VI. Provided also that the Queen might by letters patent prohibit or withdraw their licenses.

IX. There was another charter granted by Elizabeth, dated at Windsor 12 Oct. in her 19th year (1578), of which the original is not preserved; but a translation is in its place in the great book of Charters. It had the peculiarity of extending the privileges of Freemen (either acquired by birth or by seven years' apprenticeship) to their Widows—which privilege is still considered to exist by prescription.

X. THE FIRST CHARTER OF JAMES I. This charter, which is dated on the 1st March, 1 James I. (1603-4) is such a confirmation as had become usual at the commencement of a new reign: but it is remarkable that it confirmed the charter of the 9th Eliz., disregarding that of the 19th. It was passed for a fine

of 8*l.* paid into the Hanaper of the Exchequer, and has at its foot this memorandum in the autograph of the Lord Chancellor:—

Taxatur finis ad viij^{li}.
T. Ellesmere, Canc.

Ex^{r} per nos Thomã Legge & Joh'em Tyndell } Cl'icos.

XI. THE SECOND CHARTER OF JAMES I. On the 2nd Feb. 9 James I. (1611-12) the Vintners' Company received an entirely new charter.

As this is the Charter by which the Company is now governed, I append the following particulars of its most important contents. By this charter, the freemen of the mystery of the Vintners of London and the suburbs of the same are incorporated into one perpetual Company, by the name of the Master, Wardens, and Freemen and commonalty of the Mystery of Vintners of the City of London, with perpetual name and succession, and by that name to plead and be impleaded in all the courts, have a common seal, and make orders for the good ruling of the said Company; inflict punishments and penalties on all delinquents, and have and levy such fines and amercements to their use, so that the same be reasonable and not contrary to law or the customs of the city of London. The Company are further impowered to have a Hall, and hold courts therein, to be composed of thirteen persons, of whom the Master or his deputy and one Warden shall be two. They are yearly to choose one Master and three Wardens. To possess lands not exceeding 200*l.* a year, and not held of the Crown *in capite* or by knight's service. The charter further gives license to all Freemen of the Company dwelling in the city of London, and in its suburbs within three miles of its walls and gates, and also in all Post towns, and in all Thorough-fare towns where the King's couriers called Posts were set up, between Dover and London, and between London and Berwick, that they should keep wine-taverns to sell wine by retail and wholesale, provided this did not exceed the number of taverns limited by the act of 7 Edw. VI. The Company were to have the overseeing and correcting of all wines, and of men "oylageing" or

filling up wines, selling wines, or keeping taverns within London and three miles thereof.

XII. THE THIRD CHARTER OF JAMES I. This charter, which is dated on the 25th Aug. 17 James I. (1619), was granted in order to confirm the title of the Company to their estates: all of which it enumerates and describes. On part of their own ground in the Vintry was the hall of the Company of Plumbers, as is also mentioned by Stowe.

XIII. FIRST CHARTER OF JAMES II. This is dated in the 1st year of his reign, 4th April 1685. A portion of the great seal remains attached, and there is an engraved portrait of the King in the initial letter. It bears the autograph of the Lord Keeper, *Guilford, C. S.*

Pro fine in Hanaperio vj^{li}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

XIV. SECOND CHARTER OF JAMES II. Dated 22 Nov. 4 James II. The great seal is attached, and there is a portrait of the King in the initial letter.

In the former of these charters the King assumed that arbitrary power of nominating and dismissing the officers and members of the Company at his pleasure, which he endeavoured to impose upon all corporations. In the latter he restored the Company to all its former privileges. Both charters were cancelled by the act of parliament 2 Will. and Mary, cap. 8, entitled An act for reversing a judgment in Quo Warranto against the City of London, and for restoring the City of London to its ancient rights and privileges.

The former Charter of the 9th James I. then again became the governing charter of the Company, and so it has ever since continued.

BYE-LAWS.

By an Act of Parliament of 19 Hen. VII. it was made law that no Masters or Wardens of Guilds should make any orders unless the same were first approved by the Chancellor, Treasurer, and two Chief Justices, on pain of 40*l.* The Vintners shortly after proceeded to revise their code of Bye-laws, and submitted them

to the great officers above mentioned, from whom they received the ratification now described.

I. 23 Hen. VII. 4 Dec. 1507. These Bye-laws are engrossed upon four large skins of vellum. The first has an illuminated initial of Saint Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar, and is further decorated with the royal arms, supported by a lion and dragon, two shields of the city, three portcullises, and several roses, and two rebuses of vines growing out of tuns. At the end are these signatures, wholly in the autographs of Archbishop Warham, then Chancellor; the Earl of Surrey,* then Treasurer; and the two Chief Justices. The clerical errors made by the two former are as here shown:

Wiłłm⁹ Cantuar̃ Angle Cancellarj⁹.
T. Surrey, Theserarius Anglie.
Joħes ffyneux Miles capitał Just̃ de banco dñi Regę.
Robtus Rede Miles capitłis Justic̃ dñi Regę de Cõi Banco.

There are cords for three seals, but none seem to have been attached.

II. 36 Eliz. 3 June 1594. Other Bye-laws bear this date. They are engrossed on large skins of vellum. The Queen is drawn in the initial T: and other decorations are—the royal arms supported by lion and dragon, the City arms, and those of the Company, with grapes and flowers. The document is certified by the signatures and seals of Lord Keeper Puckering, Lord Treasurer Burghley, and the two Chief Justices Sir John Popham and Sir Edmund Anderson. The Lord Keeper signs *Jo. Puckering*, and his seal of arms is quarterly of six with a crest. The Lord Treasurer signs *W. Burghley;* his seal is quarterly of six, within a garter. The Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench signs *J. Popham*, with a seal of arms, quarterly. The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas signs *Ed. Anderson;* with a seal of arms, quarterly, and a crest.

* Thomas Howard, created Earl of Surrey in his father's lifetime, 1483, attainted 1485, restored to the earldom of Surrey 1489, and to his father's rank as Duke of Norfolk 1514.

Other bye-laws were confirmed by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, 22nd March 1607, in pursuance of the Charter of 19 Eliz.

Bye-laws are still sanctioned by the Lord Chancellor and two Chief Justices. The last instance in the Vintners' Company is dated 12th March 1829, and bears the signatures of Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Tenterden, and Chief Justice Tindal.

PARDON.

Another document, under the great seal, preserved with the Company's charters, is a special pardon dated 11th July, 16 Car. II. and granted to Thomas Cox, Edmund Waters, and 150 other Vintners in and about London, whose names are set forth, remitting such penalties as they might have incurred from infraction of the statutes regarding the vending of wines. There is a good engraved portrait of the King in the initial letter: and the impression of the great seal is perfect in red wax.

ANCIENT DEEDS.

Several parcels of ancient deeds regarding the estates of the Company are also preserved, having many interesting seals attached to them. I have had time only to examine the parcel which relates to the property upon which the Hall itself stands; of which I beg to present the following account.

But first let us review the description which old Stowe has left us of the locality. Taking the lanes that ran up from the river side, westward from the boundary of the ward of Dowgate, he thus rehearses their names:—

Now on the Thames side, west from Grantham lane, have ye *Herber lane*, or *Brikles lane*, so called of John Brikles sometimes owner thereof.

Then is *Simpson's lane*, of one Simpson; or *Emperour's head lane*, of such a signe.

Then the *Three Cranes lane*, so called, not only of a signe of Three Cranes at a taverne doore, but rather of three strong cranes of timber, placed on the Vintrie wharf by the Thames side, to crane up wines there. This lane was of old time, to wit the 9. of Richard the Second, called the *Painted tavern lane*, of the taverne being painted.

Then, next over against Saint Martin's church, is a large house builded of stone and timber, with vaults for the stowage of wines, and

is called *the Vintrie.** There dwelled John Gisors, vintner,† Maior of London [1311 and 1314], and Constable of the Tower; and then was [it afterwards the residence of] Henry Picard, vintner, Maior [1356]. In this house Henry Picard feasted foure Kings in one day [in 1363].

Then next is *Vannar's lane*, so called of one Vannar ‡ that was owner thereof. It is now called *Church lane*, of the comming up from the wharf to St. Martin's church.

Next is *Broad lane*, for that the same is broader for the passage of carts from the Vintrie Wharfe than be the other lanes. At the north-west corner of this lane is the Parish Clerks Hall, lately by them purchased, since they lost their old hall in Bishopsgate street.

Next is *Spittle lane*, of old time so called §; since *Stodies lane*, of the owner thereof named Stodie. Sir John Stodie, vintner, maior in the yeare 1357, gave it with all the quadrant wherein Vintners' Hall now standeth, with the tenements round about, to the Vintners: the Vintners builded for themselves a faire Hall, and also thirteen Almes-houses there, for 13 poore people, which are kept of charity, rent free.

How far the estate upon which Vintners' Hall was erected was the gift of Sir John Stody, as thus stated by Stowe, is not established by his will (hereafter quoted by Mr. Milbourn), nor does it appear from the deeds I now proceed to describe. It will be seen that the estate certainly passed through his hands and those of his heirs; but it is not improbable that Stody merely acted as trustee for his fraternity, before they were empowered to hold lands as a corporate body.

1. Edmund de Sutton, son of Hamo de Sutton of Suffolk, grants to John de Stodeye citizen and vintner of London all his tenements, with houses, cellars, solars, rents, quay, and appurtenances in the parishes of St. Martin in the Vintry and St. James of Garlekhithe, which he lately recovered from Walter Turk by writ of novel disseisin, situated between two lanes, having towards the east the tenements of the abbess of the blessed Mary of the order of St. Clare in Aldgate and that late of John Hardell, and towards the west that of John Cressyngham, from the high street north to the Thames south. Dated at London, 12 April

* This paragraph shows that the ancient "Vintry" was at some distance from the spot where Vintners' Hall was afterwards erected.

† Gisors is not generally classed as a Vintner, but as a Pepperer.

‡ Henry Vanner (living in 1394), hereafter mentioned.

§ It may be suspected that Spittle lane was the modern rather than the old name, and that it referred to the almshouses built there, to which the term *hospital* or *spital* would be applied.

26 Edw. III. (1352), Andrew Aubrey being then mayor, John Wrothe and Gilbert Steyndrop sheriffs, and Walter Turke alderman of the ward. Witnesses, Henry Pycard, John of Rothyng, Henry atte Strete, Henry Vanner, Henry Palmer, John of Wendover, John Chaucer, Thomas of York, and others. (Enrolled in Court of Hustings.)

Seal, a chevron, and on a chief three mullets pierced. Legend, S. EDMVNDI DE SVTTON.

2. Henry Vannere citizen of London, and Margery his wife, grant to Adam Bamme, John Frenyngham of Kent, William Clovyle, John Doget, John Cornewaleys, Thomas Colred, and Robert Whybet clerk, all their lands and tenements in the parishes of St. Martin and St. James of Garlekhithe in the ward of Vintry, lying between Stodyeslane to the east, and Cressyngham lane to the west; the high street to the north, and the tenements and wharf of Baldwyn Berford knt. and Idonea his wife toward the south. Also land and tenements in the parish of the blessed Mary Magdalen near Oldfisshe strette, between Peteris lane towards the west, and the tenement of the prioress and nuns of St. Elena towards the east, and the high street towards the north. Also the tenements in the parishes of the blessed Mary Matfelon without Aldgate and Stebenhethe, late those of John Stodeye father of Margery. Witnesses, Richard Litlyngton, John Tilney, Thomas Say, William Durant, John Tryge, Robert Aston, John Gosburn, (*blank*) Messynger, and many others. Dated at London, 18 July, 18 Ric. II. (1394).

Two very small seals, probably from finger-rings:—1. A dragon within a quatrefoil. 2. An animal, with some letters.

3. The feoffees named in No. 2 convey the property in the Vintry in moieties to the other coheirs of John Stodeye, viz. one moiety to his daughter Margaret who was wife of Sir John Philipot, knt. and the other moiety to Thomasia wife of John Hadlee, Margaret wife of John Seint Jermyn, and Idonia wife of Thomas Grey, daughters and heirs of Joane who was wife of Thomas Goodlake, another of the daughters and heirs of the aforesaid John Stodeye. John Heende being mayor, William de Lowthe and Stephen Spelman sheriffs, William Venour then alderman of that ward. Witnesses, Robert Chichely, John Nicholl, Robert Sherwyne, John Bysshop, William Leuegood, Thomas Clyfton, Henry Michel, John Newmarket, &c. Dated at London, 14 Dec. 6 Hen. IV. (1404).

Both parts of this indenture are preserved. Each bore the seals of the five feoffees: but on both documents the seals of Cornewaleis and Whybet are alone preserved. The former is a curious device, from a finger-ring,

apparently a bell and a broken clapper, with the English inscription hob nob. Whybet's is a crowned R.

4. John Seint Jermayn citizen and grocer of London, and Margaret his wife, daughter and one of the heirs of Joan wife of Thomas Goodlake, after reciting No. 3, grant to Sir John Gardener rector of the church of St. Martin Oterwyche London, John Corneweleys, Thomas Colred, William Traynell, and Robert Upgate, all their tenement, in length from the stone gavell (*gabellum*) annexed to the tenement and wharf late belonging to William Neyor parson of the church of Haddenham and his fellows, on the south, and the high street called the Vyntrie on the north, and in breadth from Stodeyes lane on the east, to Cressingham lane to the west. John Wodecoke being then mayor, William Crowmere and Henry Barton sheriffs, William Venour alderman of the ward. Witnesses, Robert Chichele, John Nichol, John Bisshop, William Leuegood, Thomas Clyfton, Henry Michel, Simon Bodham, John Newmarket, &c. Dated at London, 29 May, 7 Hen. IV. (1406).

Seals: 1. small square, from a ring, a shield of arms, apparently Ermine, a saltire engrailed. 2. broken.

5. To the same purport as the last, on the part of Margaret late wife of Sir John Philipot. The witnesses are some of those last named. Dated 26 March, 7 Hen. IV. (1406).

To this is attached a fine impression of the seal of Lady Philipot. A shield within tracery, a bend ermine, impaling, Ermine, a saltire engrailed. Sigill' margarete philipot.

6. Indenture between Thomas Gray and Idonia his wife, and John Micol citizen and vintner, leasing their third part of the estate. Dated at London, 1 June, 7 Hen. IV. (1406).

Seals: 1. A merchant's mark formed of the initials T and G.

2. Hexagonal, from a ring, apparently the cypher of J and M, with a legend, SIGILLVM SECRETVM.

6 b. Indenture of lease. The five feoffees, John Gardyner, &c. lease from Michaelmas ensuing for ten years at a rent of fifty shillings, to be paid at the four principal feasts in equal portions, keeping the same in good and sufficient repair. Dated at London, 1 June, 7 Hen. IV. (1406).

6 b repeated. Being another indenture of lease of the same date from John Gardyner and his co-feoffees of their part of the estate to the same John Micol for the same term at the rent of ten pounds.

The five seals all remain, all from rings, or of that size. 1. A shield of arms. Fretty, on a canton a fleur-de-lis, S. JOHIS STRAVGE. (Straunge.) 2. The letter M. 3. A dog under a tree. 4. A leopard's head, in a square border. 5. R and M interlaced.

7. An indenture in French whereby Lady Philipot sells to John Micoll all her moiety in the estate that descended to her after the death of John Birlyngham and Thomas Birlyngham, and in which Sir John Gardener, &c. were enfeoffed. For this Micoll agrees to pay her the sum of 220 marks sterling, and one pipe of wine of the price of ten marks, as part of which he had already paid 120 marks and a pipe of wine of the value of five marks; arrangements are made for payment of the remainder. After a recital that Lady Philipot had bought of John Seint Germayn and Margaret his wife all their property herein for the sum of 40 pounds sterling, assurance is made accordingly. Dated at London, 1 Dec. 7 Hen. IV. (1405).

Very small round seal, from a ring, the sun in splendour.

The indenture is indorsed with memoranda of five sundry payments: 1. of 40 l. 19th March; 2. five marks, the 24th June; 3. vj li. viij s. iiij d. the 16th July, anno 8; 4. the like on the 8th Oct. anno 9; and 5. xiij li. vj s. viij d. the 23d Dec. anno 9, in full payment. They were all paid by John Micoll into the hands of Robert Upgate, the esquire of Lady Philipot.

8. John Hadle, citizen and grocer, and Thomasia his wife, daughter and one of the heirs of Joan wife of Thomas Goodlake, one the daughters and heirs of John Stody, recite 1. Vanner's enfeoffment (No. 2); 2. the feoffees' release to Lady Philipot (not preserved), which was dated 14 Dec. 6 Hen. IV.; 3. their release to Thomasia, Margaret, and Idonia (No. 3); 4. the grant of John Seint Jermeyn and Margaret (No. 4.); 5. a charter of their own (John Hadle and Thomasia,) enrolled in the hustings court on Monday next after the feast of St. John *ante portam Latinam*, 9 Hen. IV. granting to John Micol, Richard Merivale, William Burdon, and William Benett, a third part of the moiety. They give by their present charter to Robert Malton, Henry Jolypace, William Burdon, John Chaumberleyn clerks, William Haysarm esquire, Robert Louthe, and William Grove, all the third part reserved and by the death of the aforesaid Idonia lately accruing by virtue of the conjoint feoffment of John Frenyngham, &c. William Staundon being mayor, Henry Halton and Henry Pountfreit sheriffs, Robert Chichele alderman of the ward. Witnesses, Simon Bodham, Lewis John, John Bisshop, Edmund Grymmestone, Robert Luton, Thomas Lincoln, Richard Hille, &c. Dated London, 9 June 9 Hen. IV. (1408).

Seals. 1. Ihs. 2. from a ring in a hexagon border an eagle's head erased, with a motto, font m.

9. The same parties release to Robert Malton, &c. Same witnesses as the last. Dated 15 June 9 Hen. IV. (1408). With the same seals.

10. John Micol, Richard Merivale, and William Beneit release to Robert Malton, &c. all their title. Witnesses nearly as the last, with John Wydmere. Dated 26 June 9 Hen. IV. (1408).

Three seals: 1. broken away; 2. a crowned I and in the margin Schild. 3. a merchant's mark w ♁ h.

11. General release of all claims from Lady Philipot to John Micoll, 27 Oct. 9 Hen. IV. On a long narrow slip of parchment. Sealed with signet of the sun as before.

12. John Gardener and his co-feoffees to Robert Malton, &c. Witnessed by Micol, Luton, Bodham, Grymmeston, and Bishop before mentioned. Dated 1 Nov. 9 Hen. IV. (1407).

All the five seals remain, three of them as to the second No. 6 *b*. The second, instead of the M., is the same Cornwaleys seal as to No. 3, and the fourth is a cypher (I h) crowned, with a small heart between the letters.

13. Lady Philipot quitclaims to Robert Malton, &c. Witnesses as before. Dated 11 Nov. 9 Hen. IV. (1407). Seal of arms as No. 5.

14. William Haysarm esquire quitclaims to Malton, &c. Nicholas Wotton being mayor, William Cambrigge and Alan Everard sheriffs, Robert Chichele alderman of the ward. Witnesses, Edward Grymston, Richard Merivale, Thomas Walsyngham, Thomas Gwyn, William Reynolds, &c. Dated at London, 15 Feb. 3 Hen. V. (1416).

Seal (round, from a ring) a lion sejant guardant.

15. William Grove releases to Robert Malton, &c. Dated 22 July 2 Hen. VI. (1424). Seal ihc within a corded border.

16. Indenture of Robert Malton, Henry Jolypace, and William Burdon, clerks, demising the estate to Joan widow of John Micoll, for her life, and after her death to Alexander Sprot, John Killyk, and John Grove, the executors of the will of John Micoll. William Crowemer then being mayor, Thomas Wandesford and Nicholas Jones the sheriffs. Witnesses, Thomas Walsyngham, William Reynolds, Thomas Ewyn, William Hampstede, Richard Rowe, &c. Dated at London, 5 Aug. 2 Hen. VI. (1424).

Seals: 1. broken; 2. the rood between Mary and John, with a legend. 3. a rude W.

17. William Abraham and Thomas Acton citizens and vintners, con-

stituting Laurence Wilkynson and John Blakbourne citizens and vintners their attornies to deliver to John Daunt chaplain, John Beeston chaplain, and John Stodeley citizen of London, full seizin, &c. of all the lands, &c. of which they together with Guy Shuldam and William de Lunes citizen and vintner now deceased, lately had of the grant of John Killyk citizen and vintner, executor of the will of John Micoll. Dated 26 Jan. 36 Hen. VI. (1458). Two seals, defaced.

18. Daunt, Beeston, and Stodeley appoint Thomas Graunt and John Colte their attornies to deliver to William Stafford, Robert Mildenhale, John Boway, Thomas Waryn, William Nele, Andrew Body, and John Gegge, citizens of London, full seizin. 13 March, 36 Hen. VI. (1458). Seals: 1. a leaf; 2. a leaf; 3. a hawk on a bird.

The estate appears to have finally vested in the Company in accordance with the will of Guy Shuldham, dated 7 Nov. 1446;§ and it is to that member that posterity has accorded the credit of the foundation of the thirteen Almshouses mentioned by Stowe, and which were removed, after the Fire of 1666, to the Mile-End Road; where they still remain, with a Chapel, having been rebuilt at the commencement of the present century, after receiving a large accession to their support from the will of Benjamin Kenton, esq. who died in 1802.

There is a copy of Guy Shuldham's will * in the volume of the Company's archives containing the wills of benefactors, &c. It appears from that document that he (together with William Lunes) had acquired the estate from John Killicke, citizen and vintner, one of the executors of the will of John Micoll (mentioned in the deed No. 16), and its boundaries are specified as in No. 4 of the foregoing deeds. The buildings are described as consisting of "the great Hall, with the Kitchen and howse for coles to be put in, and a Pantre, and a Buttre, and a void place of land called the Yard, with well in the same, and all the apparell to the same well belonginge, and also a Parlor above, leaded, and a howse called the Counting howse to the said parlor annexed, and two chambers above the said howse called the comptinge howse."

On the whole, it seems very uncertain how far the property was

* Extracts from Shuldham's will are given in Herbert's *City Companies*, ii. 636; and in *The Endowed Charities of London*, 1829, p. 449.

originally acquired from the bounty of Sir John Stody, or how far increased by the generosity of Guy Shuldham. Probably, however, the latter may properly be regarded as the founder of the Almshouses. These questions might be elucidated by further researches, but I must for the present leave them undecided.

THE COMPANY'S SEAL.

The above Seal of the Company of Vintners is of excellent workmanship, and was probably made upon their receiving their first charter of incorporation in 1437, when they were empowered "to have a common seal," as already noticed in p. 434. It represents Saint Martin sharing his cloak with the Beggar (as related hereafter in p. 487), and is surrounded with this legend—

Sigillum comune mistere vinetariorum ciuitatis london.

From an impression dependent to the Bye-Laws of 1507 it appears that there was a counter-seal of somewhat less diameter, but evidently of the same age and workmanship. It bore the same legend; but its device was simply a tun.

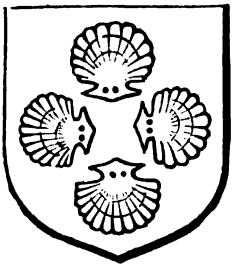
This counter-seal is not now used, and is either lost or mislaid.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF SOME EMINENT MEMBERS OF THE VINTNERS' COMPANY.

BY THOMAS MILBOURN, ARCHITECT,
Honorary Secretary.

[Read at the Vintners' Hall, 27th April 1868.]

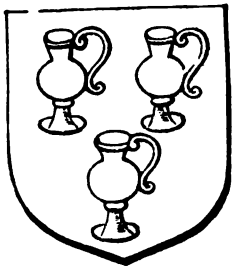
THE design of our Society being to recover from the obscurity of the past matters of historical interest, and to print them in a form acceptable to the general reader as well as the archæologist, it will be admitted that one of the best ways of accomplishing this intention is, by collecting and placing on record the names and actions of those who—whilst cultivating commerce to their own personal advantage—have materially assisted in promoting the welfare of their native land. I have therefore ventured to arrange some biographical particulars of the more prominent members of the Vintners' Company, who have by careful industry and perseverance risen to wealth and position.



JOHN ADRIAN is the first Vintner recorded to have become Mayor of the City of London; which office he held two years consecutively, in 1270 and 1271, having previously filled that of Sheriff in the years 1258, 1259, and 1267; and though the early chroniclers of London afford but scant information respecting him, still the fact of his repeated election as sheriff, and his occupation of the civic chair for two years, prove him to have possessed the confidence, respect, and esteem of his fellow-citizens.

ARMS: *Sable, four escallops meeting in cross argent.**

* Arms of Lord Mayors and Sheriffs, by William Smith, Rouge Dragon, a MS. in the possession of John Gough Nichols, esq. F.S.A.

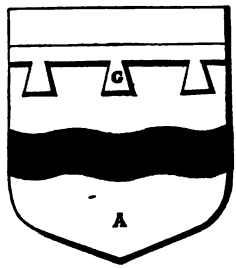


REGINALD DE CONDUCTU (or atte Conduyt), Vintner, was Mayor in 1334, having previously, in 1320, served the office of Sheriff. He represented the city in six parliaments in 6, 15, and 20 Edw. II. and 4, 7, and 11 Edw. III.

He is said by Stowe* to have served the office of Mayor two years, and to have impaired his estate so much thereby that the King gave him a yearly rent of houses in London; but this, like many other of that chronicler's assertions, requires confirmation. In 13 Edw. I. A.D. 1285, he (or his father of the same name) appears to have paid two marks as his rate towards a twelfth granted by the City. His arms might be taken to allude to his trade as vintner, but they more probably refer to his name, derived from residence near some great Conduit.

In his will, dated 1344,† he desires to be buried in the Church of the Blessed Mary of "Fancherche;" and, among divers bequests, he leaves to his daughter Lucy a tenement, with appurtenances, in the parish of "Fancherch," called "Scot o' the hop" [or hoop]. He also mentions Letice his wife, John, Reginald, and William his sons, and Alice his daughter, a nun of Clerkenwell.

ARMS: *Sable, three flagons argent.*



JOHN DE OXENFORD, who is described by Stowe‡ as the keeper of a tavern,—served the office of Sheriff in 1323, and that of Mayor in 1341; but dying early in his mayoralty, he was succeeded in that office, for the remainder of the year, by Simon Francis.§ He was a benefactor to the Priory of the Holy Trinity, London;

* *Strype's* edition, 1720, vol. ii. b. 5, p. 110.

† Enrolled in the Hustings Court, Guildhall, roll 74, memb. 18.

‡ *Strype's* edition, 1720, vol. ii. b. 5, p. 198.

§ *The Citizens of London and their Rulers*, p. 214.

to which house he gave, in his life-time (1 Edw. III.), two tofts of land, one mill, fifty acres of land, and two acres of wood, with their appurtenances, in Kentish Town, of the yearly value of 20*s.* 3*d.**

By his will, dated 1 May, 1340, and enrolled in the Court of Hustings, Guildhall,† he desires to be buried in the church of St. James, Garlickhithe, or wherever else his executors might ordain; and directs 100*l.*, or more, to be expended on his funeral, and 100*l.* to be distributed to the poor of London on the day of his burial. Also 50*l.* to be distributed within one month after his death; and 20*l.* to be distributed among the blind and lame men dwelling in London and elsewhere to the number of 400, viz. 12*d.* a piece; also 10*l.* to be distributed in like manner among 200 lepers of London and elsewhere. To the high altar of the church of St. James, Garlickhithe, he bequeaths for tithes and offerings forgotten, 100 shillings; to the fabric of the same church, 10*l.*; and 100 shillings to provide a candle of 50*lb.* wax to be renewed twice a year, and to burn before the altar of the Blessed Mary in the same church during celebration of mass. He leaves to the fabric of St. Paul's church 40*l.*, to that of St. Thomas of Acon 100*s.*, and to that of Iseldon (Islington) 20*s.*, and bequests to some other churches. To Philip chaplain in St. James Garlickhithe 20*s.* and to each chaplain of the said church half a mark each to celebrate divine service on the day of his death, to have in special memory his soul, and the souls of Adam his father, Cristina his mother, Ralph and Gilbert his brothers, William de Combemartin, Richard de Clare, and all the faithful deceased. Among many other bequests to religious houses, fraternities, &c. there are several of either one pipe of red wine price 30*s.* or one tun (*doleum*) of red wine price 60*s.* To the fabric of London bridge he leaves five marks; to that of the great bridge of Oxford 40*s.* and to that of the lesser bridge of Oxford 20*s.* To Alice his wife he leaves 50*l.* or her just dowry from his goods moveable and immoveable at her pleasure, and besides her "whole chamber" entirely. To each of his three sons, John, William and Thomas,

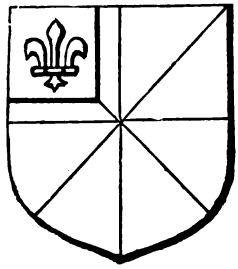
* *Strype's* edition, 1720, vol. i. b. 3, p. 10.

† Roll 69, memb. 10.

and to each of his three daughters, Katharine, Joan, and Margaret, 100*l.*; and to each of his three sons a silver cup with cover, a piece of silver of the value of 30*s.*, and 12 silver spoons of the value of 18*s.*; and to each of his three daughters, a cup of silver with cover, of the value of 40*s.*, a piece of silver of the value of 26*s.* 8*d.*, and 12 silver spoons of the value of 16*s.* Then follows a distribution to his sons of several tenements in London.

This will is very interesting, and from the amount of real and personal property devised and bequeathed, he must have been one of the most opulent citizens of his time.

ARMS: *Argent, a fess wavy sable, a label throughout of three points gules.**



HENRY PYCARD, Vintner, Alderman of Dowgate Ward, served the office of Sheriff in 1348, and was Mayor in 1356. In 13 Edw. III. he subscribed 200*l.* towards the loan of 20,000 marks lent by the City to the King. In the 30th year of the same reign he was summoned by the King to a conference with the Council.†

According to Stowe, he resided in a large house over against St. Martin's church, built of stone and timber, with vaults for the stowage of wine, which was called the Vintry. Stowe further describes it as having been the residence of John Gisors, Mayor of London, and Constable of the Tower. In this house Pycard is recorded to have entertained five Kings.‡

This grand and sumptuous entertainment took place in the year 1363, and is thus referred to by Barnes in his *History of Edward III.*§:—"The City of London was at that time so flourishing, that not only the Lord Mayor, but most of the Aldermen in their turns, had the generosity and ability to invite and entertain all these Great Kings and Potentates, singly and to-

* MS. Vincent in Coll. Arm. 155, fol. 73. Stowe gives him two pales, and on a chief a lion passant guardant.

† Public Record Office, rot. claus. 30 Edw. III., m. 14 *dorso*.

‡ *Strype's* edition, 1720, vol. i. b. 3, p. 2.

§ Book 3, chap. x. p. 35.

gether, as occasion served. Particularly Sir Henry Picard, a Merchant Vintner of Gascogne, who some years before had been Lord Mayor of London, one day made a splendid feast at his own house now called the Vintry, over against St. Martin's Church;" at which were present Edward III., King of England, David, King of Scotland, John, King of France, the King of Denmark, and the King of Cipres, the Duke of Bavaria, the chief hostages of France, and the King's sons (except Edward the Black Prince, who was then in Aquitaine), and many other nobles and chief nobility of England. And after the banquet Sir Henry Picard kept his hall for all comers that were willing to play at dice and hazard. In like manner the Lady Margaret his wife kept her chamber to the same intent, for the entertainment of the princesses and ladies. "The King of Cipres, playing Henry Picard," "did winne of him fifty markes; but Henry beeing very skilfull in that art, altering his hand, did after winne of the same King the same fifty marks and fifty marks more; which when the same King began to take in ill parte, although hee dissembled the same, Henry said unto him, 'My Lord and King, be not agreeved, I covet not your gold, but your play; for I have not bidde you hither that I might grieve you, but that amongst other things I might try your play,' and gave him his money againe, plentifully bestowing of his owne amongst the retinue: besides, he gave many rich gifts to the King, and other Nobles and Knights which dined with him, to the great glory of the Cittizens of London in those days."*

Lady Margaret, his wife, was granddaughter to Sir John Gisors. His will, as briefly recorded † in 1339, is a single item of a document which was probably very much longer. It states that he had bequeathed to John called the Pycard senior and John called the Pycard junior, all his tenements in the city of London which he and William Doget purchased together of the heirs or executors of Henry Symond, and directs that on failure of heirs of their bodies they should be sold, and the money expended for his soul,

* *Stowe's Annales*, with continuation by Howes, 1631, p. 264.

† Proved in the Hustings court by John de Stodye and Robert de la More, two of the executors, on Monday next after St. James the Apostle, 39 Edw. III. (Roll 93, m. 13 dorso).

&c. His executors were, Margaret his wife, John Stodeye, Sir John de Cudyngton clerk, John Pyel, and Robert de la More: and his will was dated 3 July 1361.

ARMS: *Gyronny of eight argent and azure, on a canton gules a fleur de lis of the first.**

SIR JOHN DE STODEYE, Knight, Alderman of the Ward of Vintry, is the next Vintner who occupied the civic chair. He served the office of Sheriff in 1352, and that of Mayor in 1357, the year following the mayoralty of Henry Picard, and, like him, had married a granddaughter of Sir John Gisors.

He was one of the members for the city in the parliaments of 29 and 31 Edw. III., and in the 30 Edw. III. he was summoned by the King to a conference with the Council.†

By his will, dated the 22nd March, 1375,‡ he desires his body to be buried in his vault in the church of St. Martin in the Vintry, in a new chapel on the north side of the church before the altar of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary and the Apostles John the Evangelist and John the Baptist. He also founds a chantry in the said church, to which he bequeaths twenty-two marks annual rent for ever to pray for his soul, the soul of his wife Joan, and those of Lawrence Hardel and Margaret his wife, James Beaufloure and Emma his wife, to whom the estates assigned for the maintenance of the chantry had once belonged. He leaves to William son of William Stodeye his brother all his tenement in Vanchurch, at which Thomas Chaloner then dwelt. His other estates within the liberties of the City not bequeathed he left in four parts, between his daughters and their husbands, viz.,—1. Nicholas Brembre and Ydonea his wife; 2. John Philipot and Margaret his wife; 3. Henry Vannere and Margarie his wife; 4. Joan, then unmarried.§ His executors

* MS. of William Smith, Rouge Dragon.

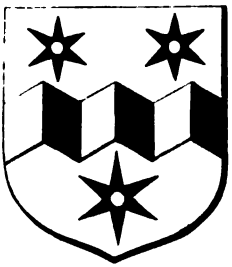
† In Public Record Office, rot. claus. 30 Edw. III. m. 14, *dorso*.

‡ Enrolled in the Hustings Court, Guildhall, roll 104, m. 16, *dorso*.

§ Afterwards the wife of Thomas Goodlake: see before, p. 442.

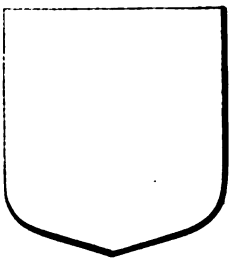
were Nicholas Brembre, John Philipot,* Henry Vannere, Richard Aylesbury, sir John Kelleseys, chaplain, and Paul Gyssor; and the overseers sir John Ludham, rector of Tring, and John Peyl, alderman of London.

ARMS: *Ermine, on a saltire engrailed gules, a leopard's face or.*†



SIR WILLIAM MORE, Knight, Vintner, from whom descended the family of More of Bicester in the county of Oxford, served the office of Sheriff in 1386, and that of Mayor in 1395. He was one of the members for the City in the parliament of 13 Rich. II. He was buried in the church of St. James, Garlickhithe.

ARMS: *Argent, a fesse dancettée paly of six gules and sable between three mullets of the third pierced of the field.*‡



SIR JOHN LEWYS, Vintner, though he did not fill either the office of Sheriff or Mayor, was evidently a man of mark in the reign of Henry IV.§; for he then entertained Prince Henry, Thomas Duke of Clarence, John Duke of Bedford, and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the King's four sons, to a supper amongst the merchants of London, at his house in the Vintry, when Henry Skogan, the well-known poet, sent them a ballad‖ commencing—

My noble sonnes and eke my lords dere,
I your father called vnwoorthely,
Send vnto you this litle treatise here,
Written with mine owne hand full rudely,

---

* Philipot and Brembre were both eminent citizens and both Grocers. Sir John Philipot was Mayor in 1379. Sir Nicholas Brembre for three years in succession, 1384, 1385, and 1386. The overseer John Pyel was a Mercer, and Mayor in 1373. (According to Harl. MS. 1585, fol. 16, Sir John Philipot, son of the Mayor, married a grand-daughter of Stody.)

† MS. of William Smith, Rouge Dragon. ‡ Ibid.

§ *Strype's* edition, 1720, b. 3, p. 2.

‖ *Chaucer*, fol. edit 1602, ff. 318, 319.

Although it be that I not reuerently
Haue written to your estates, I you pray
Mine vnconning taketh benignely
For Gods sake, and herken what I say.

Then follow twenty-three staves in like metre, containing, as it is quaintly set forth, "a pursuasion from looseing of time foolishly in lust and vice, but to spend the time in virtue and godlines."

ARMS: (None recorded).

SIR JAMES SPENCER, Knight, Master of the Company 1516-1519, was son of Robert Spencer, of Congleton, in the county of Chester. He was Alderman of Bridge Ward, and served the office of Sheriff 1518, and that of Mayor in the year 1527.

The 30th August, 1523, he was appointed by letters patent one of the Commissioners to collect in London the subsidy granted to the King for four years.†

The year of his mayoralty was calamitous from the dearness of corn and the prevalence of the sweating sickness, on which account the festivity of setting the watch at Midsummer was not celebrated.‡

By his will, dated 24 Jan. 1543,§ and proved in London 21st June, 1544, he desires his body to be buried before the image of St. James, within the parish church of St. James at Garlickhithe, "as nyghe vnto the grave there where the boddy of Dame Elener," his "late wief, lieth buryed, as may conuenyently be." To the high altar of the said church he bequeaths 6*s.* 8*d.* for tithes and oblations forgotten or negligently withholden, if any such be. And among other bequests, he desires his executors immediately after his death to cause "Sir Hughe Moretoune," or "Sir Thomas Grene," priests, or such other as they shall think fit, to sing and say mass and other divine service within the parish church of "Astebury," in the county of Chester, or within the "over or neyther Chappell of Congleton," in the county of Chester, at the

* In Public Record Office, pat. roll, 15 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 3 to 20 *dorso*.
† *Fabyan's Chronicle*, by Ellis, p. 699. ‡ Pynning 10.

pleasure of his said executors, for the space of ten years next ensuing after his decease, and the priest to have for his salary 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* He also gives and bequeaths towards the marriage of maidens his next of kin, 100 marks sterling, to be delivered and paid by the discretion of his executors; and to the men-servants, maid-servants, women, and apprentices, in service with him at his decease, he bequeaths 10*l.*, and 40*s.* amongst the poor householders and poor people of the town of Congleton. To the Brotherhood of Jesus founded in the "Crowdes" in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London, he bequeaths 5*l.* To his niece Ellen Spencer, "if she come to her lawfull age to be maried, and of good name, fame, and like rule and ordre," 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and he directs that his "Beame with the Awngellꝭ and Candlestickꝭ, hangyng yn his hall at London, shalbe hangged and sett before the blessed Sacrament of the Awltar yn the over chappell at Congleton, and the heddes of" his "two Cubboordes, beyng in" his "said hall and Perlour, and" his "three Candlestickkꝭ in" his "hall shalbe sett vppon the Aulter of the saide over chappell of Congleton aforesaide. And there to contynnew to the honour of God and our lady as longe as they will endure." He also bequeaths 40*s.* for the maintenance of a light before the blessed sacrament in the said "over chapel," to be set in the said Beame, and to burn there as long as the 40*s.* would maintain the same. To the Fraternity or Brotherhood of St. Magnus, in London, to attend his funeral and pray for his soul, he bequeaths 10*s.*, and a like sum of 10*s.* to each of the Brotherhood of Pappey and the Brotherhood of Clerks. He also directs his executors to expend 16*l.* "vppon a Toombe, withe a Resurreccon to be made and sett vppon" his "sepulture over the place where" his "boddy shalbe buryed, and where the boddy of the saide Dame Elenor" his "wief lieth buryed." To Sir Alexander Lacye, his chaplain, he bequeathed 5*l.* or 20*s.* yearly during his natural life.

In a codicil attached to the will, and dated the 5th Feb. 1543, he gives to "James Staveley," one of the wardens of the vintners, and to "Dauyd Gittons," vintner, to the use of their hall, "A cuppe namyd the James, whiche was woorth twenty mᵃcꝭ sterling." He also bequeathed to Elizabeth Robertes "one gilte cupp wᵗ a coouer, waying xxvijᵗⁱ. ouncꝭ di." and to Margaret Juett "one

gillt goblett waying seventene ounce quarter;" and to the church of St. James, "two Crwette parcell gyllte, waying vj. ounce di.;" to "Jh's Colledge a Dyaper table cloth and a doosen napkynnes;" and to "Robert Wyncott a wood knyffe," etc.

ARMS: *Per pale argent and sable, a fesse nebulée between three griffin's heads erased, within a bordure engrailed, all counterchanged.**

SIR CUTHBERT BUCKLE, Alderman of Bridge Ward, afterwards of the Ward of Bassishaw, was born at Brough,† in the county of York, close to the borders of Westmerland, and was the son of Christopher Buckle of the same place. He probably resided in Mark Lane, as he mentions his mansion-house there in his will.

On the death of John Haydon, Sheriff, he succeeded him in that office for the remainder of the year (1582); and he was elected to the office of Mayor in 1593, but dying in his mayoralty, July 1, 1594, he was buried in the church of St. Mary-at-Hill.‡

By his will, dated 28 June, 1594,§ in which he describes himself as diseased in body, he desires to be buried in the parish church of St. Mary-at-Hill, of which he was a parishioner, in the same place where his son John lay; and after all his debts etc. paid, he directs the residue of his goods, &c., to be divided into three parts, according to the custom of the City of London, ‖

* MS. of William Smith, Rouge Dragon; who adds this note: "Of hym discended Thomas Spencer of Chester, who now geveth the armes thus:

† MS. Lord Mayors, in the Corporation Library at Guildhall, p. 134.

‡ *Strype's* edition, 1720, vol. ii. b. 5, p. 198.

§ Enrolled in the Hustings Court, Guildhall, roll 275, m. 1.

‖ By the custom of London (subsequently abolished by Act of Parliament) a testator who left a wife and child could only dispose of one-third of his clear personal estate; the widow being entitled to one-third, and the child or children to the other third. The third of which he could dispose was called the dead man's part.—*Law of Testaments and Last Wills*, 1744.

that is to say, one-third to his loving wife, Dame Elizabeth, one-third to his loving son, Christopher Buckle, and the remaining third he reserved to pay legacies, &c. Among the many bequests which follow, are to 60 poor men to attend his funeral, to each a "gowne of newcolour, allowing three yardes ꝛ a quarter of clothe to a peece," and "to thirteene poore almes people of the almes house of the Companie of vinteners, to each of them six shillinges ꝛ eight pence." He also bequeathed to the poor children of Christ's Hospital in London, 20 marks; to the poor of St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark, 20 marks; to each of the several gaols of London, viz., the two Compters, Newgate, Ludgate, The Fleet, The White Lion, The King's Bench, and The Marshalsea, towards the relief of the poor prisoners there, 53*s.* 4*d.*; to twenty poor maidens, born and dwelling in the parish of Brough under Stainmore, in the county of Westmerland, where he states he was born, 20*s.* each, to be paid them on the day of their marriage by the discretion of Mr. Shawe, vicar, and eight of the ancient parishioners, two of whom to be his cousins "Peter Brunskell" and "Henrye vbanck," and also the Churchwardens there for the time being. He further bequeathed 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to be bestowed on a dinner for the parishioners of Brough within three months after his decease; and after numerous other bequests to his friends and relations, "vnto the Master, Wardens, Freemen, ꝛ Cominaltie of the misterie of Vinteners, ꝛ to their Successors for euer, one Standing Cuppe wth a Cover, all guilte, ꝛ Chassed with" his "marke on the same, weighing three skore eight ounces, or theraboutes"; and, further, he gives "vnto the said Companie, to bee bestowed on a dynner at their pleasures," the sum of 10*l.* He also bequeathed "to ꝛ amongst the poore people dwelling and inhabiting wthin the pishe of St Poulchers* in London ffive poundes, to ꝛ amongst the poore dwelling in the parishe of S^{t} leonardes in Eastcheape ffiftie Shillinges, ꝛ to and amongst the poore dwelling wthin this parish of St Marye at Hill ffower poundes;" and 8*l.* per annum issuing out of a messuage called the "Spittle on Staynmor," and lands and rents, to twelve ancient parishioners of the parish of Brough, for and towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster to teach in a school to be built on

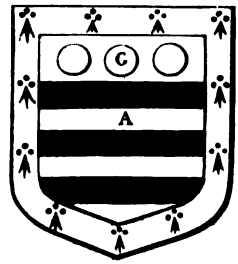
* St. Sepulchre's

Stainmore, in the said parish of Brough. He also gives unto the Company of Vintners, after the decease of his wife and son, all his lands and tenements, &c., in the parishes of St. Mary-at-Hill and St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, subject to the payment thereout, yearly, of a rent-charge of 40*l.*, and certain other yearly sums, to the poor of the parishes named; but the Company do not appear to have at any time possessed property of the description set forth in the will, and not being called upon to pay any such yearly sums, we may infer that the Company did not accept the devise in consequence of the heavy liability of 40*l.* annual rent with which it was encumbered.*

I also find that the annuity of £8 to the School at Stainmore was the source of a Chancery suit for non-payment during the minority of the son.

During the life-time of Sir Cuthbert he appears to have been a liberal benefactor to his native place. He erected a bridge upon Stainmore, still known by the name of Buckle's Bridge.

ARMS: *Sable, a chevron between three chaplets argent.* †



SIR THOMAS BLUDWORTH, the son of an opulent Turkey merchant, descended from a Derbyshire family. He served the office of Sheriff in 1662, at which period he was probably knighted. In the year 1665 he was Master of the Company of Vintners, and on the 9th of November in the same year was sworn in Lord Mayor of London. He was Mayor during the eventful period of the Great Fire in 1666. Pepys, in his *Diary*,‡ gives some curious, but far from flattering, information respecting him. He says, under date June the 30th, "Mightily troubled all this morning with going to my Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Bludworth, a silly man, I think, and other places, about getting shipped some men that they have these two last nights pressed in the City out of the houses: the persons wholly unfit for sea, and many of them

* *Reports of Charity Commissioners*, viii. 383.

† MS. of William Smith, Rouge Dragon.

‡ *Pepys' Diary*, by Lord Braybrooke, 4 edit. 1854, vol. ii. pp. 405-6.

people of very good fashion." "But to see how the King's business is done, my Lord Mayor himself did scruple, at this time of extremity, to do this thing, because he had not money to pay the pressed-money to the men." "I did, out of my own purse, disburse 15*l.* to pay for their pressing, and diet last night and this morning; which is a thing worth record of my Lord Mayor."

And, again, under date July 2nd,* "Up betimes, forced to go to my Lord Mayor's, about the business of the pressed men; and, indeed, I find him a mean man of understanding and dispatch of any publick business. Thence, out of curiosity, to Bridewell, to see the pressed men, where there are about 300; but so unruly that I durst not go among them:"

And under date September the 2nd,† the Great Fire then raging, Pepys, being sent by the King to the Lord Mayor to command him not to spare any of the houses, but to pull down before the fire in every direction, says, "At last met my Lord Mayor in Canning Street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message he cried, like a fainting woman, 'Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it; that he needed no more soldiers; and that, for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night. So he left me, and I him, and walked home."

Again, under Dec. 1st,‡ Pepys writes: "Walking to the Old Swan, I did see a cellar in Tower Streete in a very fresh fire, the late great winds having blown it up.§ It seemed to be only of log-wood, that hath kept the fire all this while in it. Going further, I met my late Lord Mayor Bludworth, under whom the City was burned. But, Lord! the silly talk that this silly fellow had, only how ready he would be to part with all his estate in these difficult times to advocate the King's service, and com-

* *Pepys' Diary*, by Lord Braybrooke, 4 edit. 1854, vol. ii. p. 407.

† *Ibid.* p. 441.

‡ *Ibid* vol. iii. pp. 21, 22.

§ "The fire continued to burn in some of the cellars of the ruins for four months, although in October it rained without ceasing for ten days." —*Rugge's Diurnal.*

plaining that now, as everybody did lately in the fire, everybody endeavours to save himself, and let the whole perish: but a very weak man he seems to be."

It is also clear from a letter of Sir Thomas Bludworth to Williamson, the editor of the *Gazette*, dated 29th September, 1666,* preserved in the State Paper Office, that much dissatisfaction was caused by his singular want of spirit and ability; for he complains to Williamson in this letter that mention had been made in the *Gazette* as if neglect had caused the flames to increase, and that he had been prejudiced thereby, and at the election of a successor was forced to vindicate himself, and wishes at the publication of his successor to have the character given him of being Williamson's "friend or servant," so as to assure distant friends that he was not out of favour till something is made out against him; and further states that he lives not by popular applause, yet wishes some esteem in the government, and needs some support, having had the misfortune to serve in the severest year that ever man did.

Sir Thomas gave £100 towards rebuilding the Hall of the Vintners' Company after the fire. He lived and died in Camden House, Maiden Lane.

By his will, dated the 24th November, 1680,† and proved in London the 10th July, 1682, he directs his body to be buried without pomp, in "some evening," in the parish church where he shall fall or have his last residence, "it having pleased God to lessen" him in his "estate by that dreadfull Fire of London in the yeare 1667." He also mentions his wife and his two sons, Thomas and Charles, and his daughters Ann, the wife of Sir George Jefferys, and Mary, whom he describes as afflicted; and he earnestly desires his executors and overseers to obtain that one-third part of his personal estate may be taken in leases of the Drapers' and Goldsmiths' Companies; those of the Drapers he believes to be the best rents. He also mentions the mansion-house in which he then lived in Maiden Lane, and bequeaths to the Company of Vintners his "Two silver Bowles and Covers" as a token of his "respects to them, having not beene wanting to

* Vol. clxxiii. No. 82, *Domestic Series, Charles II.*

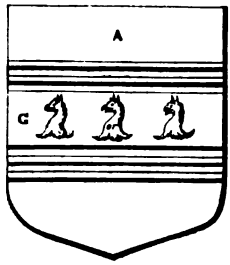
† Principal Registry, Cottle 82.

them in the like kind while" he "liv'd."* And to their almspeople he bequeathed "twenty shillings apiece, to be laid out as the Master and Wardens shall thinke fit." He also says: "I give and bequeath To the Feild Officers and Captaines of my Regiment (if I dye in Comisson of one) each one a Ring of the value of Twenty shillings. And to my Capt Leivt and my Ensigne the same."

To the poor of the parish of St. John Zachary, and of the parish of Leatherhead, in the county of Surrey, he bequeaths £5 each, to be distributed at the discretion of the minister, churchwardens, and overseers; and appoints (Maria) his wife and Thomas his son executors of his will, and his friends Sir William Turner, Knt. and alderman, and Sir George Jefferyes, overseers, to which overseers he bequeaths the sum of £10 each.

I have not been able to ascertain his place of burial; possibly it may have taken place at Letherhead, where he possessed a residence.† Sir George Jefferys, the husband of his daughter Anne, became Lord High Chancellor of England. She died 25th September, 1703.

ARMS: *Argent, three bars sable, in chief three torteaux, all within a bordure ermine.* ‡



SIR SAMUEL DASHWOOD was the next member of the Company who became Lord Mayor. He was son and heir of Francis Dashwood, citizen of London, a Turkey merchant of good repute, descended from the Dashwoods of Powdon, in Stoke Gomer, in the county of Somerset.§

Sir Samuel was Master of the Company in 1684, elected alderman of Aldgate Ward in 1688,‖ served the office of Sheriff in 1683, was elected

* For this gift, see description of plate at p. 482.

† *Manning & Bray's Surrey*, i. 462.

‡ These arms are assigned to him in *Strype's Stowe*, London 1720, vol. ii. b. 5, p. 147. They are also engraved on the plate presented by Sir Thomas to the Vintners' Company in 1682; but no grant of the same is registered in the Coll. of Arms.

§ MS. Lord Mayors in the Corporation Library, Guildhall, f. 218.

‖ *Noorthouck's London*, Addenda, p. 894.

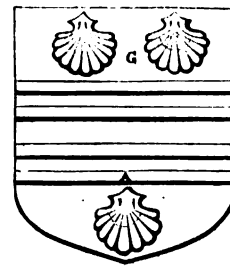
Lord Mayor in 1702, and was president of Bethlehem Hospital in 1703. He was also M.P. for the city in 1686.

He married Anne, the daughter of John Smith, of Tidworth, and had issue several children. By the marriage of his daughter Sarah with Fulke Greville, fifth Lord Brooke, he became ancestor of the Earls of Warwick, and many other illustrious noblemen.*

The Vintners, on the occasion of his inauguration, on the 9th of November, 1702, displayed a highly classical pageant in his honour, one of the principal and most conspicuous personages being St. Martin, the patron saint, mounted "on a stately white steed, richly plumed and caparisoned," the saint splendidly armed *cap-à-pie*, having a large mantle or scarf of scarlet, followed by several cripples and beggars supplicating for his charity; and on arriving in St. Paul's Churchyard, making a stand to prevent the cries of the mendicants, the saint severed his scarf with his sword, and distributed it among them.†

Sir Samuel died the 14th September, 1705, aged sixty-three; and was buried in St. Botolph's Church, Bishopsgate.‡ He bequeathed a charity to the parish of Mortlake, in the county of Surrey, for paying widows' rents and apprenticing poor children.§

ARMS: *Argent, on a fesse double cotised gules three griffin's heads erased or.*‖



SIR THOMAS RAWLINSON, Knight, Master of the Vintners' Company in 1687, and again in 1696, of whom a portrait is preserved at the Hall.¶

He was the son of Daniel Rawlinson, of London, Vintner, who gave £50 towards rebuilding the Hall of the Company after the Great Fire, and who was descended

* *MS. Milbourniana*, in the possession of the author.

† *Herbert's History of the Twelve Companies*, i. 207.

‡ *Malcolm's Londinium Redivivum*, vol. i. p 347.

§ *Reports of Charity Commissioners*, xiv. 592.

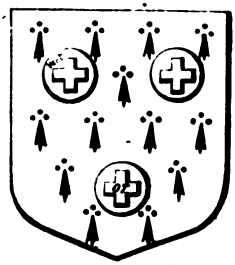
‖ Registered in Coll. of Arms to his father, Francis Dashwood, in 1662.

¶ For his gift of plate to the Company see p. 482.

from an ancient family formerly seated at Gronsdale, in Lancashire.*

Sir Thomas was elected Alderman of Castle Baynard Ward in 1696,† having previously served the office of Sheriff in 1686; and was elected Lord Mayor of London in 1705; was President of Bridewell in the same year,‡ and in 1705 became President of Bethlehem Hospital.§

ARMS: *Gules, two bars gemelles between three escallops argent.*‖



SIR GILBERT HEATHCOTE, Knight and Baronet,—the eldest of the seven sons of Gilbert Heathcote, alderman of Chesterfield, in the county of Derby (who died in 1690), and descended of a family long seated in that county, by his wife Anne, daughter of Thomas Dickins, Esq. of Chesterfield,—was Master of the Vintners' Company in 1700.¶ He resided in St. Swithin's Lane, and was elected Alderman of the Ward of Walbrook in 1702 (having been for some years previous a member of the Common Council for the same ward), but afterwards removed to the Ward of Bridge Without,** as father of the City, in 1725. He served the office of Sheriff in 1703, and was elected Lord Mayor in 1710. Sir Gilbert, who had received the honour of knighthood from Queen Anne, was created a Baronet by King George II. the 17th January, 1732-3.

He represented the City of London in four successive Par-

* *Strype's* edition, 1720, vol. ii. b. 5, p. 152.

† *Noorthouck's London*, Addenda, p. 895.

‡ *Allen's London*, vol. iii. p. 672.

§ *Reports of Charity Commissioners*, xxxii. part 6, p. 480.

‖ These arms are engraved on the silver standing-cup presented by Sir Thomas to the Vintners' Company in 1687, with the addition of a crest,—on a knight's helmet a sterne, or duck, holding an escallop in its beak; but they rightly belong to the family of Rawlinson, of Lancashire, from whom there is no proof that Sir Thomas Rawlinson is descended, and, further, there is no registration of the arms to Sir Thomas or his family in the College of Arms.

¶ For his gift of plate to the Company see p. 485.

** *Noorthouck's London*, Addenda, p. 896.

liaments from 1700 to 1708. In 1714 was chosen to serve in Parliament for Helston, in the county of Cornwall; in 1722 for Lymington, in the county of Hampshire; and in 1727 for St. German's, in the county of Cornwall. He was a director and one of the projectors of the Bank of England, and was Colonel of the Blue Regiment of the Trained Bands. His is a name long to be remembered by the merchants of London for his bold and intrepid conduct in appearing at the bar of the House of Commons, and asserting the right to trade wherever he pleased until restrained by Act of Parliament.

Sir Gilbert was the last Mayor who rode to Westminster on horseback on Lord Mayor's Day.

He is said to be the Sir Andrew Freeport of the *Spectator*, and is mentioned by Pope in his *Imitations of Horace*,* as follows:—

> Heathcote himself and such large-acred men,
> Lords of fat E'sham, or of Lincoln-fen,
> Buy every stick of wood that lends them heat,
> Buy every pullet they afford to eat.

He is also mentioned by Dyer in his poem called *The Fleece*,

> ——— and such the clover'd lawns
> And sunny mounts of beauteous Normanton,
> Health's cheerful haunt, and the selected walk
> Of Heathcote's leisure.

Dyer is said to have had every reason to remember him with gratitude, Sir Gilbert having presented him to the rectory of Conington.

Sir Gilbert married Hester, the daughter of Christopher Rayner, Esq. by whom he had issue one son, Sir John Heathcote, his successor, and two daughters, viz. Anne, the wife of Sir Jacob Jacobson, Knight, and Elizabeth, wife to Sigismond Trafford, Esq. of Dunston Hall, in the county of Lincoln.

He died the 25th of January, 1732-3, aged 82, and was buried at Normanton, his seat in the county of Rutland, where a handsome monument by Rysbrach was erected to his memory, the inscription on the same setting forth that amongst his other virtues

* Book ii. epist. 2.

he was "a kind landlord, a steady friend, an affectionate relation, and in his character unblemished."*

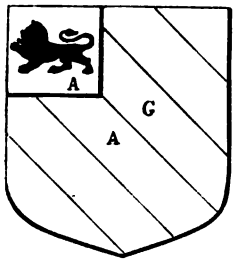
His property at his decease is said to have amounted to about half a million.

In the council-room of St. Thomas's Hospital, previous to being pulled down, was a fine portrait of this memorable citizen, in which he was represented habited in the civic scarlet furred gown, with a brown long-flapped coat, square-toed shoes, and a large wig, his right hand directing attention to a book on a marble table, behind which the City sword and mace.†

Another fine three-quarter full-length portrait, in his robes of office, was also hanging in the dining-room of Conington Castle, in the county of Huntingdon, a few years since.

From Sir Gilbert descends the present Lord Aveland.

ARMS: *Ermine, three pomeis vert, each charged with a cross or.*‡



SIR JOHN THOMPSON, Knight, elected Alderman of the Ward of Candlewick in 1726, but afterwards removed to the Ward of Bridge Without,§ served the office of Sheriff for the latter part of the year 1725, on the death of Sir Jeremiah Murden in his shrievalty, and was elected Lord Mayor in 1736. Died in the year 1750, aged 79, and was buried in the church of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane,‖ on the south side of which, previous to its demolition for the approaches to new London Bridge, was a neat marble tablet to his memory.

ARMS: *Bendy of six argent and gules, on a canton of the first a lion passant sable.*¶

* *Betham's Baronetage*, iii. 220.

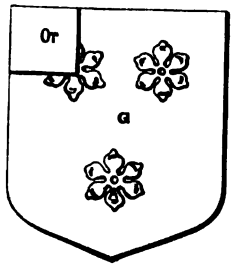
† *Manning & Bray's Surrey*, iii. 618.

‡ Registered in the College of Arms in 1708; also engraved on plate presented by Sir Gilbert Heathcote to the Vintners' Company in 1700.

§ *Noorthouck's London*, Addenda, p. 895.

‖ *Allen's History of London*, iii. p 266.

¶ Assigned to him in *Burke's Armory*, also in Robson; but no grant registered in the College of Arms.



Sir DANIEL LAMBERT, elected Alderman of the Ward of Tower 1736,* served the office of Sheriff in 1733, and was sworn in Lord Mayor at the Tower the 26th of March, 1741, in room of Humphrey Parsons, who died in his Mayoralty,† and Sir Daniel was the same year elected to serve in Parliament as one of the four representatives of the City.‡

Sir Daniel died the 13th of May, 1750, aged 65, of the gaol distemper, caught at the Old Bailey Sessions in the previous April;§ in consequence of which, and to prevent any danger in future, every part of the court and the gaol of Newgate was cleansed and washed with vinegar, and the prisoners also ordered to be washed with vinegar before being brought up for trial, and the number to be brought up at any one time not to exceed fifteen.‖

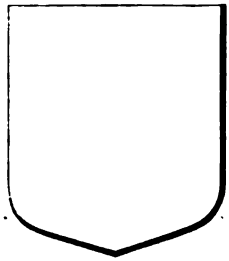
He was buried at Banstead, in the county of Surrey, where he possessed the manor of Perrotts, at which he occasionally resided; and he gave, at his decease, to the parish of Banstead, as also to the parish of St. Olave, Hart Street, a bequest for charitable purpurposes.¶

On the south wall of Banstead church is a tablet to his memory, which describes him as a man "in public trusts, of assiduous application and unshaken integrity; ever attentive to the duties of his station, and the good of the community."

He married Mary, the eldest daughter of Mr. John Wilmot, who survived him, and died 14 May, 1770, aged 85 years.**

ARMS: *Gules, three narcissus flowers argent, and a canton or.*††

* *Noorthouck's London*, Addenda, p. 896.
† MS. Lord Mayors in the Corporation Library, Guildhall, p. 377.
‡ *Manning & Bray's Surrey*, ii. 593.
§ MS. Lord Mayors in Corporation Library, Guildhall, p. 377.
‖ *Gentleman's Magazine*, xx. 235.
¶ *Reports of Charity Commissioners*, xiii. 471, and xx. 248.
** *Manning & Bray's Surrey*, ii. 593.
†† Registered in College of Arms in 1737.



BRACKLEY KENNETT, esquire, was chosen Alderman of the Ward of Cornhill in 1767,* having previously served the office of Sheriff in 1765; was president of Bridewell and Bethlehem Hospitals in 1777, and one of the Burgesses of Westminster,† and in 1779 was elected Lord Mayor.

He was one of those ministerial aldermen who were passed over for mayor during the ten years of Wilkes's popularity, but when the City returned to the old custom of choosing mayors by rotation, he was elected.

His conduct and inactivity during the unfortunate Gordon Riots, which occurred during his mayoralty, permitted them to rise to a dreadful height;‡ and, although it must be allowed that no public magistrate had ever before been placed in circumstances of greater difficulty, called down the severest censure on his head for being wanting in spirit and firmness, and gave rise to the following *jeu d'esprit*, entitled "*The Lord Mayor's Dilemma*":—§

The Riot quite confus'd the May'r;
But where's the wonder, when it
Was such a critical affair;
His lordship could not '*Ken-it.*'

Having related at a dinner of the Common Council‖ that the Earl of Effingham was killed among the rioters, shot in Fleet Market, and giving Lord Amherst as his authority, Lord Effingham waited upon Lord Amherst, who denied it; whereupon Lord Effingham commenced an action of *Scandalum Magnum* against him. At the same time other actions at law were commenced against him for losses sustained by the riots through his inactivity; but before verdicts could be obtained he committed suicide on the 12th day of May, 1782, aged 68 years, and was buried in the north aisle of Putney church, where his wife,

* *Noorthouck's London*, Addenda, p. 895.

† *Gentleman's Magazine*, lii. 263.

‡ MS. Lord Mayors in the Corporation Library, Guildhall, p. 368.

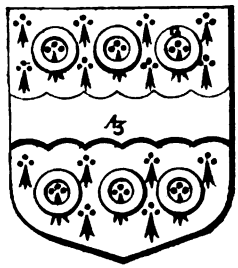
§ *Notes and Queries*, 2 S. ix. 292.

‖ City Biography in the Corporation Library, Guildhall, pp. 139, 140, 141.

Frances Kennett, who died the 24th day of December, 1761, in the 46th year of her age, also lieth buried.*

By his will he gave 52*l.* 10*s.* to the Vintners' Company upon condition of their paying annually the sum of 2*l.* to their poor almswomen.†

ARMS.‡



MATTHIAS PRIME LUCAS, esquire, Master of the Vintners' Company in 1817, and again in 1838, of whom a fair portrait (by Simpson) is preserved in the Court Room of the Company, was first of the Common Council, afterwards Alderman of the Ward of Tower, and President of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He served the office of Sheriff in 1822, and was elected Lord Mayor in 1827.

His pageant is stated to have been far more gorgeous and splendid than any that preceded it for many years, but the pleasures of the civic feast on the day of his election were marred by an alarming accident which occurred just after dinner. A board, covered with variegated lamps, hanging over his head, became detached, and fell with a heavy crash. The Lady Mayoress escaped with only a fright, but the Lord Mayor was much cut about the head by the broken glass, and the Duke of Clarence and several others were more or less injured in dress or person.§

ARMS: *Ermine, a fesse engrailed azure between six annulets gules.*‖

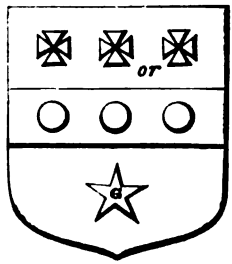
* *Manning & Bray's Surrey*, iii. 293.

† *Reports of Charity Commissioners*, viii. 381.

‡ *Burke* gives for arms of Kennett, Lord Mayor, Quarterly or and gules, in chief a label of three points sable, each point charged with three bezants in pale, with crest, out of a ducal coronet or, an arm embowed in armour ppr., the hand in gauntlet holding an esquire's helmet ppr.; but if assumed by Kennett, it was evidently without authority, as these arms belong to the family of Coxhow, in the county of Durham, and there is no registration of arms to him in the College of Arms.

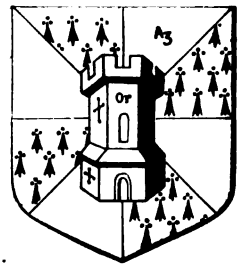
§ *Gentleman's Magazine*, XCVII. ii. 457, 458.

‖ These arms are engraved on the plate presented by him to the Vint-



CHARLES FAREBROTHER, esquire, the celebrated auctioneer, of whom a portrait is preserved in the Court Room, was three times Master of the Vintners' Company, viz. in 1835, 1852, and 1856. He was Alderman of the Ward of Lime Street, served the office of Sheriff in 1826, and was elected Lord Mayor in 1833. He died at his residence at Stockwell Common the 20th day of March, 1858, aged 75 years.

ARMS: *Or, on a fesse between three crosses pattée in chief and a mullet in base gules, as many bezants.* CREST, *a greyhound's head couped or.**



JOHN KINNERSLEY HOOPER, esquire, of whom a portrait is also preserved in the Court Room, is the last member of the Company who has attained the elevated position of chief magistrate of the city of London. He was Master of the Company in 1849. He carried on the business of a foreign wine merchant, in which his father and grandfather had preceded him; and was successively chosen, first common councilman, then deputy, and finally Alderman of his ward of Queenhithe, where he continued to reside for many years. He served the office of Sheriff in 1842, and was elected Lord Mayor in 1847.

ARMS.†

I have, in conclusion, to express my sincere thanks to George Edward Adams, Esq., M.A. F.S.A., *Rouge Dragon*, for the

ners' Company in 1827, with the addition of this crest,—On a coronet a dragon's head azure, gorged with a collar charged with three annulets or; and were registered to him in the College of Arms in 1832.

* These arms are assigned to him in *Burke's Armory*; but no arms are registered to him in the College of Arms.

† No arms are registered to him; but he appears, from the arms on his shield hanging in the hall of the Company, to have borne—Gyronny of eight ermine and azure, a castle or.

information he has kindly furnished respecting the several coats of arms. Also to John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., for many kind suggestions, and for the loan of the first seven blocks of arms which illustrate this paper, engraved from the MS. in his possession compiled by William Smith, Rouge Dragon, in 1603.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE AND TAPESTRY OF THE VINTNERS' COMPANY.

By George Russell French.

All the Livery Companies of London have lost many of the fine specimens of plate which formerly used to decorate their tables and sideboards. The strong hand of power often required, under the specious title of "benevolences," large sums of money from the wealthy and even poorer Corporations, and to meet these exactions they were obliged to sell or pawn their much-prized vessels of gold and silver. Their records show not only the great quantity of such articles once in their possession, but also the mournful details of their loss, and it is very sad to read the account of the painful sacrifices to which the loyal citizens submitted, in order to comply with the Sovereign's demands. An extract from the History of the Ironmongers' Company, by Mr. John Nicholl, F.S.A. (2d. edit. 1866, p. 51,) will serve to illustrate the position of all the Companies.

"1523. Kyng Harey the viijth in the xiijth yere off hys rayn borowd off the site (City) of London xx M li. off the whyche som off money he comandyd to have all the money and platt that was belonging to every hawlle or craft in London, to the ententt that the money myght be lentt wth the more esse, at the whyche commandementt he hade all oure money belonging to oure hawlle, that was the sm^{e} of xxv li. xiiij d. and also was solde at thatt tyme theys passell off platt here aftyr foloyng —"

An inventory of the plate which had to be sold is then given, and also the names of such members of the Company "off the valewe namyd off xx li. and above, lentt to the kyng the same tyme, as here aftyr folowyth," &c.

Were it not that it was a serious matter for the contributors to these forced loans, one would be inclined to smile at the

misplaced terms "borrowed," and "lent," in these transactions, for the royal Henry was evidently of the opinion held by the famous swaggerer Pistol, "Base is the slave that pays," a feeling also entertained by Sir John Falstaff—"I do not like that paying back, 'tis a double labour."

In 1558 King Henry's eldest daughter, Queen Mary, raised a large sum of money from the City Corporations, and Mr. Herbert, in his History of the Livery Companies, observes:—"From this period the extracting of money from the trading Corporations became a regular source of supply to Government, and was prosecuted during Elizabeth's and succeeding reigns with a greediness and injustice that scarcely left those societies time to breathe."*

We can judge, to some extent, of the loss which archæology has suffered in the sacrifices of plate, by the specimens which still remain. In the inventories of the various Companies there is mention of vast quantities of vessels of all kinds; there we are told of mazer-bowls, with their quaint devices, and black letter inscriptions, the most interesting of all mediæval relics; the "standing nuts," with their curious mountings in gold or silver; the "salers," or salts, which were so important a feature at all feasts; the "parcel-gilt goblets," such as Dame Quickly mentions; the tall "loving cups," inscribed with the affectionate language of living or deceased members to their fraternities; the capacious tankards, and mighty wassail bowls; the spoons, adorned with figures of the Apostles, or the busts of maidens; the basins and ewers, embossed or chased with an infinite variety of graceful design and admirable workmanship; and all parted with for the price of the mere metal, and nearly all of them consigned to the furnace. Some few, however, were sold to private purchasers, as every now and then a specimen of old plate, once belonging to a Livery Company, makes its appearance.

The Vintners' Company did not escape the common fate of the civic bodies, and therefore they do not retain many early examples of plate.

By a fortunate discovery made by Mr. Thomas Milbourn, *Honorary Secretary*, of a Book of Accounts of the Masters and

* Vol. i. p. 119.

Wardens of the Company from 23 Henry VII. to the 14 Henry VIII.* a document which prior to the meeting of this Society was quite unknown to the Company of Vintners, the following extracts from which he has placed at my entire disposal, I am thus enabled to lay before the reader a most interesting account of the plate belonging to the Company at that early period, and further to show how the greater part of it was disposed of.

The first mention of plate worthy of notice occurs in a very long list of the accounts of John Scrace, James Spencer, Richard Gyttons, and Richard Hilton, masters and wardens for three years, viz. from 11 November 1513 to 11 November 1516, and is as follows:—

fol. 36b. Item, paid to Xp̃ofer Terry, goldsmyth, for the making of two gilte saltes weying iiij^{xx}. xvij. vnces di. at xx d. the vnce making and gilding. Summa viij li. ij s. vj d. Wherof paid in one vnce and di. that he had more than we receyved v s.
And so paid to hym in argent . . vij li. xvij s. vj d.

The next entry occurs in the accounts of Robert Scras, Henry Pedyll, Robert Barker, and Rychard Eddys, masters and wardens, being their accounts for three years, viz. from the 11 November 1519 to 11 November 1522.

fol. 70b. Item, paid to m^{r} Cawntons seruant the xi. day of Nouembre anno xvcxxj for his labour for bryngyng of the cupp to our hall that my lady Thurstone gaue vs xij d.

At the end of the book occurs the following account or inventory of the plate:—

fol. 73. Here ffolowythe the parsellys and weyght of all suche plate, gylt and parsellys gylt, as belongythe to the ffelyshyp of Vyntners gevyn by dyvers of the same ffelyshyp:

Fyrst a standyng gylt cup with a cover with a maydyn hed in the bothom weying . . . xxiij oz. j q^{t}.

 [Sold in 1548.]

* Egerton MS. Brit. Mus. No. 1143.

Item, a standyng gylt cup with a cover chasyd skaldwyse, weyng . . . . . xxxj oz. di.
(d) [Sold in 1548.]

Item, a Reynyshe ffatt gylt, with a cover weyng xxxiiij oz. di. q^{t}.
(d) [Sold in 1545.]

Item, a standyng gylt cup with a cover with the hand and perlys hangyng abowt the cover, weyng . lix oz. di.
(d) [Sold in 1545.]

Item, a fflat gylt cup with a cover, the cover graven, weyng . . . . . xiij oz. 3 q^{t}.
(c) [Sold for £2 14s.]

Item, a standyng gylt cup with a cover, playne, weyng . . . . . xxv oz. di.
(a) [Sold for £5.]

Item a standyng gylt cup with a cover, and a colombynde in the top chasyd rosewyse, weyng . xxij oz. di.
(d) [Sold in 1548.]

Item, a standyng gylt cup with a cover, and a George on the top, weyng . . . . . xlj oz. di.
(d) [Sold, no date given.]

Item, a standyng gylt cup with a cover, with a grene garlond in the bothom, weyng . . . . xxv oz.
(a) [Sold for £5 1s. 6d.]

Item, a standyng gylt cup with a cover, and a marchantes marke in the bothom, weyng . . xxxiiij oz. j q^{t}.
(d) [Sold in 1548]

Item, a powder box gylt, weyng . . . xiij oz. j q^{t}.
(d) [Sold in 1548.]

Item, vj. gylt spones with grapys on the knoppys, weyng . . . . . ix oz.
(d) [Sold in 1545.]

Item, a box gylt and enameld to put in money, weyng liiij oz. di.
(a) [Sold for £10 17s.]

Item, a gret gylt bolle with a cover, chasyd, with a shephard in the bothom, weyng . . . . lxx oz.
(d) [Sold, no date given.]

Item, iij gylt saltys with oon cover weying . clix oz. di.
[Sold, no date given.]

Item, a standing gylt cup with a cover, chasyd with fflowrys, weyng . . . . . xxix oz. di.
(c) [Sold for £6 7s. 10 d.]

Item, a standyng gylt cup with a cover, chasyd and and enameld in the bothom, weyng . . xxx oz.
(d) [Sold, no date given.]

Item, a standyng gylt cup, with a cover, and m^r John Kyrkby's mark in the bothom, weyng . . xlj oz.
(d) [Sold, no date given.]

Item, a lytyll standyng gylt cup with a cover, weyng xiij oz.
(a) [Sold for £2 13s. 0d.]

Summa of ounces vijcxxx di and di. q^t at iij s. viij d. . . cxxxiij li. xviij s. x̧j ob.

Here ffolowythe the plat parsellys gylt.

Fyrst, a standyng cup, with a cover, with m^r Kyrkby's mark in the bothom, weyng . . . xxxviij oz.
(b) [Sold for £6 19s. 4d.]

Item, a standyng cup, with a cover, wrythyn, weyng xxv oz.
(c) [Sold for £4 11s. 8d.]

Item, a standyng cup, with a cover, standyng upon lyons, weyng . . . . . xxxiiij oz.
(b) [Sold for £6 4s. 8d.]

Item, a parys pece without a cover, weyng . xvj oz. di. q^t.
(b) [Sold for £2 19s. 1d.]

Item, vj bollys with a cover, and the Vyntners' armys in the bothom, weyng . . . . lxxiiij oz. di.
(d) [Sold in 1545.]

Item, vj bollys, with a cover, with a marchantes mark in the bothom, weyng . . . . iiij^xx vij oz.
(d [Sold in 1545.]

Item, an hy goblet, with a cover, standyng apon lyons, weyng . . . . . xiiij oz.
(c) [Sold for £2 11s. 4d.]

Item, oon dossen spones weyng . . . . . xij oz.
(b) [Sold for £2 4s. 5d.]
Summa of oz. iij c. di. and
di q^t. at iij s. iiij d. . l li. ij s. j d.

fol. 73^b.

Here ffolowythe Nottys.

Fyrst a Nott of Mothur of perylle, gylt, with a cover,
weyng . . . . . xxvj oz. iij q^t d.
(d) [Sold in 1548.]
Item, a paynted Nott gylt, with a cover, weyng . xvj oz.
(c) [Sold for £2. 2s. 8d.]
Item, a black Nott, gylt, with a cover, weyng xxxij oz.
(c) [Sold for £4 5s. 4d.]
Summa of oz. lxxiiij iij q^t.
and di. at ij s. viij d. . ix li. xix s. viij d.

Here ffolowythe Masers.

Fyrst a standyng maser, gylt, with a cover, and the
Trenyte in the bothom, weyng . . . . xli oz.
(d) [Sold in 1548.]
Item, a standyng maser gylt, with a paynted cover,
weying . . . . . xiij oz.
(d) [Sold in 1548.]
Summa of oz. liiij.
at ijs. . . v li. viij s.
Summa that owre plate
amontythe to . c iiij^xx xix li. viij s. viij d. ob.
Item, the redy money that was in our Hall at that tyme
was . . . . . xxxv li. xj s. vij d.
Summa of bothe plate
and redy money . ij c xxxv li. iij d. ob.

Thys plat and money was rated and valuyd after the rate above wretyn ffor the payment of the Kinges money for the gret lone that the Kyng had of the Cetye. In July anno xv c xxij. Then beyng Mayre of London Maystur Mylborne.*

After which follows an account of how the payments were made to "Edmond Pekham," which payments amounted to the sum of

* For an account of Sir John Milbourne, Lord Mayor, see pp. 138-152 of this volume.

£224 2*s*. 4*d*. Part of this sum appears to have been borrowed on the plate, viz.—

Of "Mr. Sandell" on plate	£46	6	4
Of "John Scras" on plate	90	0	0
And of "Rychard Eddys" do.	12	0	0

fol. 74. Of which plate beforementioned those articles marked (a) were sold to Thomas Calton, goldsmith, and the sum received for same amounted to £23 11*s*, 6*d*.

The plate parcel gilt was also sold, see those items marked (b), and produced £21 10*s*. 8*d*., in which amount is included the following item, which appears in the list of plate for the first time: "a broken cup with a cover, that was George Gyrlys, weyng xvij oz. j q^{t}. at iij s. viij d." which sold for £3 3*s*. 2*d*.; the other items, marked (c), were sold for £22 12*s*. 10*d*. The total amount sold being £67 15*s*. 2*d*.

After which is entered:

Here ffolowythe plate lately bought, and plate that hathe been gevyn to the plase sythe the plate to-fore was valuyd, to paye the Kyng.

fol. 74^{b}. Plate Bought.

Bought of John Palterton, goldsmythe, in Aprell anno xvcxxvij. Item, j dossen spones with lyons on the knoppys, gylt, weyng xv oz. j q^{t}. at iiij s. iiij d. le oz.
Summa iij li. vj s. j d.

(d) [Sold, no date given.]

Item, j dossen spones with maydyn heydys on the knoppys, gylt, weyng xiij oz. di. at iiij s. iiij d. le oz.

(d) [Sold, no date given.]

Summa ij li. xviij s. vj d.

Summa vj li. iiij s. vij d.

Bought of Raufe Lathom, goldsmythe, the same tyme, a gylt pott with a cover, to drink ale in, weyng ix oz. iij q^{t} at v s. iiij d. le oz. . . Summa ij li. xij s.

(d) [Sold in 1545.]

Bought of Thomas Calton, goldsmythe, the same tyme, xix potts to drynk ale in, weyng all iiij^{xx} xvj. oz. j q^{t}. at iiij s. j d. . . . . Summa xix li. xiij s.

(d) [Sold, no date given.]

The total of plate bought being £28 9*s.* 7*d.*, and the amount sold £67 15*s.* 2*d.*, of which was paid "m^r^ John Sandell" for redeeming of the plate that was in his hands, £40, the Company in consequence paying 14*s.* 5*d.* more than received.

After this follows an "account of the plate given by Mr. John Scras," the 17 day of April, anno 1526.

Item, ij saltys gylt, with oon cover, weyng xxxvij oz. xxiiij oz. Summa of bothe lx oz. at
(d) [Sold, no date given.]

Item, a Not of Jasper, gylt, with a cover, weyng xxv oz. at
(d) [Sold in 1545.]

Item, a standyng gylt cup with a cover, and on the cover a tone lying in a garden among grapys, the whyche was gevyn by m^r^ John hatfyld and hys wyf, weyng xxx oz. j q^t^.
(d) [Sold, no date given.]

fol. 75.

Then follows a list of plate in the Hall in April 1527, which comprised all those articles marked (d) in the foregoing lists.

In fol. 75^b^ and 76 occurs a list of plate sold in the year 1545, and also in 1548, which it will be seen that I have marked as sold in the foregoing lists to avoid occupying the space of these pages needlessly.

The two items following are in the list of plate marked as sold, and I have noted them, as they do not appear before in any part of the account.

Item, a standyng gilt cupp with a cover, and a ffawcon on the topp, of the gyfte of m^r^ Richard Hilton, weyng* xxix oz. di. fol. 76.
[Sold in 1548.]

Item, a payr of Lotting tables, garneshid with sylver, and apen of sylver, of the gyft of m^r^ Kyrbye*.

And, in conclusion, on fol. 76, is set forth that there remained no more of all the parcels of plate, before particularly described, except thirteen ale pots, parcel gilt, weighing 66 oz. as it ap-

* In a different handwriting from that of the other portions of the list.

peared in the last account. And all such plate as the wardens received in their time at the hands of the Renter-warden, are described to have been employed in buying of lands for the use of the Vintners' Hall, as it appears in their account in November 1548.

Of the very considerable quantity of plate represented in the foregoing lists, nothing has been preserved, and the two earliest specimens in the present collection belong to the sixteenth century.

The first of these is a COCOA-NUT CUP, of the date 1518; it is 7½ inches high and 4 inches in diameter, on a circular foot. It is mounted in silver gilt; round the Nut are gothic vertical bands connecting the lip with the foot, divided into small panels, ornamented with pine-apples, a dolphin, a mermaid, and cross-keys. The lower part of the foot has a battlement, and small Gothic tracery. The plate mark is the Lombardic capital A for the year 1518, like that on a salt belonging to the Ironmongers' Company, and the character of the two articles is similar.

The next example, in point of date, is a DELFT TANKARD, 7½ inches high, globular in form, with an upright neck; it is mounted in silver-gilt; a narrow silver collar round the lower part of the neck is connected with the foot by three vertical bands; the handle is engraved with foliage, and on the square part, at the top, in capital letters, THINK AND THANK, with the date 1563; a broad collar round the neck is engraved with sixteenth-century panels, and inscribed, THANK DAVID GITTING FOR $\frac{IS}{Y}$; the cover is embossed with fruit, and on a circular boss on the top is a shield, enamelled with the arms of the Vintners' Company, viz. Sable, a chevron between three tuns argent, impaling a merchant's mark, D. G. The purchase knob is formed of two melons, with the stalks twisted together. The plate mark is the small black letter *e* of the year 1562.

The next examples belong to the seventeenth century. A circular SILVER BEAKER, 7 inches high, and 4 inches diameter, standing on a round foot, ornamented with a gadroon border; this vessel is engraved with seventeenth-century scrolls and flowers, and is inscribed, "C. R M. R. *The gift of Anthonie Pawle, marchant, to his Maiesties Wine Porters*, 1638."

A plain round SILVER WINE CUP, 5½ inches high, 3½ inches

THE MILKMAID CUP.

diameter; the bowl is of very taper form, on a baluster stem, and inscribed—"C. R. *The Gift of m^r Antony Palle, marchant, to his Majesties Wine Portters,* 1638." The plate mark is the small Italic letter *q* of the year 1633, which date is on the cup.

A very similar CUP, of SILVER, but rather larger; it bears the same inscription, and is marked with the Court-hand letter *a* of the year 1638, which date is on the cup.

The next specimen is a most interesting example of the quaint fashions which were sometimes adopted for drinking vessels, and in this instance no doubt much merriment has resounded through the banqueting room from its use. It is called "THE MILKMAID CUP," and it consists of a small WINE CUP, silver-gilt, in the shape of a female, whose petticoat forms the cup; she wears an apron with an enriched border, and an under-skirt, which is pounced over to represent embroidery; also an outer robe, open in front, thrown back, and fastened behind with a clasp; a tight-laced bodice, tight-fitting sleeves with deep ruffs, and her hair dressed in the style of the period. This female holds above her head a small vessel in form of a pail, on the underside of which is a Tudor rose; this pail is hung on pivots let into scrolls from the hands of the figure. The whole forms a double cup, and is a trick, for, on the figure being inverted, both the cups are filled with wine, and care must be taken, when a person is drinking off the contents of the larger vessel, not to spill any wine from the smaller one. Every new member, on his admission to the Company, is expected to prove his skill by drinking from this Cup successfully. There is no plate mark, but it belongs to the seventeenth century, when such vessels were not uncommon.

A very good example of "the double cup," similar to "the Milkmaid Cup," is in the possession of Lady Sophia Des Vœux. In this example, on the small cup is inscribed:—

> "When riches faile, friends groe scant;
> No cut to unkindness, no woe to want."

And on the larger vessel are the following lines:—

> "Hands of, I pray you, handle not me,
> For I am blind, and you can see.
> If you love me lend me not;
> For fear of breaking, bend me not."

There is also a cup of this description, closely resembling the Vintners', represented in Du Sommerard's *Arts au Moyen Age*, chap xv. plate 1, fig. 1.

TWO LOVING CUPS and COVERS, of silver-gilt, each 17 inches high, and 6¼ inches in diameter, on baluster stem, and round foot, and finished with a frosted surface. Each cup is inscribed round the lip,—"*The Guift of Sr Thomas Bloodworth, Knt. and Ald. of ye Citty of London, to ye Worshipfull Company of Vintners*, 1682." Each cup weighs 49 oz. 18 dwts. The plate marks on the cover are the lion passant, and leopard's head, and the Court-hand letter *Q* of the year 1653. On one cup is a Roman capital H, with the head of George III., looking to the right, the lion passant, and small leopard's head; it would appear therefore, that this cup was, from some cause, re-stamped in the year 1803-4. The front of the bowl is engraved with a shield of two coats of arms, viz.:—Barry of six *argent* and *sable*, in chief three *torteauxes* within a bordure *ermine* for BLOODWORTH; impaling— . . . . . a chevron *ermine* between three lions passant guardant *or*, for . . . . . and on the opposite side is the crest of Bloodworth, viz.:—On a wreath a naked arm guttée de sang holding a wreath of laurel leaves. Sir Thomas Bloodworth, who was Lord Mayor in 1665, was one of the persons who were to be created by Charles the Second Knights of a new Order, to be called "The Royal Oak," but the idea was given up.

A tall STANDING CUP and COVER, silver gilt, 24 inches high, 6½ inches in diameter. The bowl, foot, and cover are ornamented in repoussé work of pomegranates, tuns, and foliage. The cover terminates in a pierced obelisk, resting on four griffins and scrolls; on the apex, probably older than the rest of the cup, is an equestrian figure in armour, intended either for St. George, or for the Patron Saint of the Company, St. Martin. The stem is a baluster, with four griffin-scrolls attached, and standing on a tall bell-shaped foot. The bowl of the cup is inscribed—"*The Gift of Sr Thomas Rawlinson, Kt. and Alderman, Sherive of London and Middlesex, Master of ye Worshipfull Company of Vintners, Ann Dom.* 1687." On the bowl two coats of arms are engraved, one of the Company, and the other belongs to RAWLINSON, viz.—

SALT.

Gules, two bars gemelles between three escallops *argent;* and his crest, On a knight's helmet a sterne, or duck, holding an escallop in its beak. Weight of cup 64 oz. 13 dwts.

The next article is a good specimen. It is a Square SALT, silver-gilt, with cover, and is 12 inches high, 4½ inches square; on the panels, at the sides, are four female figures, in bold relief, representing Virtues:—1, JUSTICE, with the sword and scales; 2, FORTITUDE, holding in one hand a blazing heart, and in the other a dart, the scales at her feet; 3, TEMPERANCE, pouring from a vessel into a cup; 4, CHASTITY, with a lamb at her feet—all are in landscapes, and at the angles are therm figures. The cornice and foot are boldly moulded and richly embossed. The pedestal rests on four crowned sphinxes, and above the arch of each panel is an escallop. The cover is surmounted by a female figure, standing on a richly-embossed vase, a serpent is coiled round her, and she holds a shield whereon are the Arms of the Company. Underneath is inscribed, —"*Y^e^ gift of Mr. John Powel, Master of the Worp^ll^ Company of Vintners, Anno Dom.* 1702." The plate mark is the small black letter m of the year 1689.

In former times when the different grades of society were more clearly marked than in the present day, the Salt-cellar occupied a prominent place at banquet tables, and its position indicated the relative rank of those who were guests. In early manuscript illuminations the Saler is seen upon the board, and its appearance there is often alluded to by our poets. In the old metrical romance, *King Richard Cœur de Lion*, that chivalrous monarch is present at a banquet given by the King of Almain:—

> "The King at meat sat on des (dais),
> With dukes and earlès proud in press,
> The saler on the table stood."

To "sit below the salt" denoted an inferior position; thus in an old ballad a haughty person addresses one whom he deemed beneath him in rank—

> "Thou art a carle of mean degree,
> The Salt it doth stand between me and thee."

So also in many other poetical works we find such allusions; as in Decker, 1604, Massinger, 1632 (*City Madam*), and Cartwright—

> "Where you are best esteem'd,
> You only pass under the favourite name
> Of humble cousins that sit beneath the salt."—*Love's Convert.*

A Pair of FLAGONS, SILVER; each is 13¾ inches high, tapering, 5 inches in diameter at bottom, bow handles, and holding exactly four quarts, the old measure of the wine-gallon. The inscription, in Italics, is:—"*The Gift of Sr Samuel Dashwood, Knt. and Alderman, Sherive of London and Midlesex, and Master of ye Worshipf^l^ Company of Vintners, Anno Dom.* 1684." The arms of the Company are engraved on each flagon, and those of DASHWOOD, namely, *Argent*, on a fesse double cotised *gules* three griffin's heads erased *or*. The weight of one flagon is 77 oz. 2 dwts., and of the other 75 oz. 19 dwts.

A SILVER TANKARD, 7¾ inches high, 5½ inches in diameter, inscribed—"*The Gift of Mr. Tho. Cox, Master of ye Worpf^l^ Company of Vintners, Anno Dom.* 1706. Upon it are the arms of the Company, and those of Cox, viz. *Or*, three bars *azure*, on a canton *gules* a lion's head erased *argent*. This tankard is much older than the date of the gift, for the plate-mark, the small black letter *e*, answers to the year 1682. The weight is 48 oz. 10 dwts.

A small MONTEITH, SILVER, 8 inches high, 12 inches in diameter, with lion-handles, escalloped edges, fluted body, and gadrooned foot. It has the arms of the Company, and a coat, *Sable*, three horse's heads erased *ermine*, ascribed to the name of WILLIAMS of Shropshire, and the vessel was "*The gift of Edward Williams, upper Warden of the Worpf^l^ Company of Vintners, Anno Dom.* 1698." The weight is 60 oz. 11 dwts.

TWO SILVER SALVERS, each 14 inches in diameter and 5 inches high, with gadrooned edges, and inscribed,—"*The Gift of Sr Bartholomew Gracedieu, Sherive of London and Middlesex, M^r^ of ye Worpf^l^ Com. of Vintners, Anno Dom.* 1698." There are two coats of arms, one of the Company, and the other, Barry of ten, *argent* and *gules*; these are not the arms of Gracedieu, but are ascribed by Glover to THORNELL. The plate-mark, a

Court-hand *b*, answers to the year 1698. Weight of each salver, 40 oz.

The next articles of plate belong to the eighteenth century.

A large MONTEITH, SILVER, 11 inches high, 14 inches in diameter, with lion-handles, escalloped edges, fluted body, and gadrooned foot; underneath is inscribed in Italics,—"*The Gift of Sr Charles Duncomb Knt. and Alderman An^o Dom.* 1702." The weight is 123oz. 3dwts. There are two coats of arms; one of the Company, and the other is—Per chevron engrailed *gules* and *argent*, three talbot's heads erased counterchanged; and a crest,—On a coronet a horse's hind leg *sable*, hoof upwards, shod *argent*, being the arms and crest of DUNCOMB.

Another large MONTEITH, SILVER, 10¾ inches high, and 15 inches in diameter; it is vase-shaped, with leopard-handles and escalloped edges, and weighs 136oz. It is inscribed,—"*The Gift of Sr Gilbert Heathcote Kt. and Alderman, Sheriff of London and Middlesex, and Master of ye Worshipfull Company of Vintners Ann. Dom'ni* 1700." There are two coats of arms, vizt. of the Company, and of HEATHCOTE, being—*Ermine*, three pomeis, each charged with a cross *or*.

A two-handled CUP and COVER, SILVER, 11½ inches high, 7¼ inches in diameter. Round the rim is inscribed,—"*The Gift of Mr. Edwd Cook, Master of ye Worp^ll Company of Vintners Anno Dom'ni* 1706;" and a coat of arms, on one side,—viz. *Gules*, three crescents and a canton *or*, for COOKE. On the opposite side are the Arms of the Company, and repeated on the cover.

A SILVER TANKARD, weighing 52oz. 5dwts. with a plate mark the Roman capital letter V, which stands for the year 1735.

Another TANKARD, SILVER, weighing 41oz. 16dwts., and inscribed,—"*The Gift of John Emson Servant to the Worshipful Comp^y of Vintners*, 1737."

The remaining pieces of Plate belong to the present century, and were the gifts of two respected members to their Company.

FOUR VASES, or Wine-coolers, silver gilt, each 13 inches high and 9½ inches in diameter, the body much enriched with

foliage, fruit, and birds, in repoussé work. There are two coats of arms, viz. one of the Company, and the motto, Vinum exhilarat animam, and the Arms of Kay,—*Argent*, two bendlets *sable*, and his Crest, —a griffin's head erased holding a key in its beak, with the singular motto,—KYND KYNN KNAWEN KEPPE, and the inscription,—"Presented to the Worshipful Company of Vintners by John Tanner Kay, Esquire, a Member of the Court of Assistants, 1842." The same arms, crest, and motto, are borne by the family of Kaye-Lister, Baronets.

A ROSE-WATER DISH and EWER, the gift of Mr. Kay to H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, whose arms are on the vessels; after the Duke's death they were purchased by Mr. Kay, and by him presented to his Company, October 26th, 1843.

Another ROSE-WATER DISH and EWER, which once belonged to H.R.H. the Duke of York, whose arms are on the vessels. They were purchased by Alderman Lucas, and presented by him to the Company, as recorded by the inscription:—"*The Gift of Matthias Prime Lucas, Esquire, Alderman, to the Master, Wardens, and Livery of the Worshipful Company of Vintners*, 1827," in which year he was Lord Mayor. There are the arms, supporters, and crest of the Company, and the arms of Alderman Lucas, viz. *Ermine*, a fesse engrailed *azure* between six annulets *gules*; and his crest, On a coronet a dragon's head *azure* gorged with a collar charged with three annulets *or*.

A ROSE-WATER DISH, Silver-gilt, 22½ inches in diameter, inscribed,—"Presented to the Worshipful Company of Vintners by Alderman Lucas, the Father of the Company, 1844." The centre boss is much raised, and the whole is enriched with repoussé work. It has for marks, AF. $\frac{\text{CAL}}{\text{DERON.}}$

One article yet remains to be noticed, for, although not plate, it no doubt takes its place as an ornament of the buffet. It is a TUN, of CHELSEA CHINA, ornamented with fruit and grapes painted and in relief; on the top is a seated figure of Bacchus, holding a bunch of grapes; the barrel is supported on a short fluted column, resting on a square pedestal, whereon are figures of Fauns and Satyrs.

Ancient Tapestry.

The Vintners' Company possess a piece of ancient tapestry, which is one of the greatest curiosities of its kind existing in this country; for, whether manufactured at home or abroad, it was certainly made for an English church in the year 1466.

It has been noticed by the Very Rev. Dr. Rock in his account of Textiles, Embroideries, &c. exhibited in the Loan Collection, A.D. 1862, at the South Kensington Museum;* and he describes it as the Reredos of an altar.† It is now framed and glazed, and measures (within the frame) 6 feet 7 inches in breadth by 3 feet 7 inches in height. It is divided into two compartments or pictures, of equal dimensions; of which, that to the left represents Saint Martin on horseback cutting in two his cloak with his sword to share it with a beggar-man;‡ and that to the right is Saint Dunstan, saying mass, and listening in ecstacy to an

* See the Introduction to the Catalogue, p. cxi.

† A similar "reredos" is explained by Dr. Rock, as an "embroidered hanging for that part of the wall immediately behind an altar, for some church or chantry chapel." Catalogue, p. 255.

‡ The legend of Saint Martin is this: At the age of fifteen he took service with his father, a Knight of the Empire; but, whilst pursuing his military vocation, he was accosted one winter's day, at the gate of the city of Amiens, by a shivering beggar, and with deep commiseration he divided his cloak with him. It was revealed to him in a vision that it was Our Lord himself whom he had thus unwittingly assisted; and he was consequently induced to leave the army for the Church, in which he distinguished himself by his piety, and in the year 374 was consecrated bishop of Tours. He died in 397 at the age of eighty-one. His feast day is November the 11th.

Both scenes of the legend are represented on the two sides of the large circular seal of the priory of St. Martin at Dover. On one side is Saint Martin dividing his cloak to the beggar who stands under the gate of the city; on the reverse St. Martin is lying on his couch, raising his hands in adoration to the vision of his Lord; who, having his right hand in the attitude of benediction, declares, in the words of the inscription placed in the margin

MARTINI VESTE SVM TECTVS PAVPERE TESTE

See engravings in Hasted's History of Kent, fol. 1799, iv. 107; and in the new edition of the Monasticon, Seals of Monasteries of the Benedictine Order, plate xxvi.

angel-choir singing the Kyrie, with additional words, and to an air before unknown. The notation is held on a scroll by two angels dressed in albs, and is no doubt the music to which it used to be sung, and which is still to be found by the name of St. Dunstan's *Kyrie* in the ancient *Missale ad usum Sarum*. Behind the Saint stands a monk clad in an alb, and holding the archbishop's primatial cross. The people in attendance are standing in surprise at the long pause in the service.

From the mention of Ware and Hertford in the inscription attached, Dr. Rock was led to think that the abbey church of St. Alban's might have been that to which this reredos belonged; and that it was actually wrought within the walls of that abbey. But the probability, as will be seen, is that it was made for the cathedral church of Canterbury. The inscription is as follows:*

Orate p animab⁹ Johis bate et Johe uxoris sue vill d Ware et p dōpno Waltero hertford filio erūdē Monacho hui⁹ ecclie año dñi M°cccclxvj.

The date is worked in colours, now not easily discernible, above the other two lines, on the right.

Now, Walter Hertford is known to have been a monk of Christchurch, Canterbury. He became so about the year 1427, and he died about the year 1475, being at his death sub-prior.† His name occurs with that of John Goldwell, as deputed by Thomas the prior and his chapter on the 8th April 1454 to present a petition to the King's council praying for a *congé d'elire* to fill the vacant see upon the death of archbishop Kempe.‡

* The inscription is of course in the ordinary black-letter text of the period; but, for want of contractions in that character, we represent it best as above given. The date is worked in just above the previous portion of the inscription, in colours not at first easily discernible.

† These dates are derived from a list of monks, contained in a MS. of the church of Canterbury (Todd's Catalogue D. 12); the title Walterus Hertford *supprior* occurring in the obituary. I am indebted for these particulars to the Rev. J. C. Robertson, Canon of Canterbury. (J. G. N.)

‡ Cotton MSS. Titus E. VI. 274. This is the original act of council, and bears the autograph signatures of eight spiritual and fourteen temporal lords. It is edited by Nicolas, Proceedings of the Privy Council, vi. 170.

The name of his father John Bate is also upon record. He was Clerk of the Parliament, enjoying a yearly annuity of 40*l.* per annum;* and he appears to have held that office from 1436 to 1450, for his name occurs as one of the triers of petitions for the Commons throughout that period.† As one of the clerks of the Chancery he was present in the priory at Coventry on the 11th Oct. 1456, when William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, received the great seals from his sovereign after they had been surrendered by archbishop Bourchier;‡ and the seals were placed in their bags, which were sealed up with the new Chancellor's signet, by the same John Bate.

Though the parents of Walter Hertford were living at Ware when the tapestry was made, it is probable they had removed thither from the county-town, from which, as the place of his birth, the monk Walter took his surname, as was then customary with ecclesiastics.

The conjunction of pictures of the two saints, Martin of Tours and Dunstan of Canterbury, in a reredos made for the cathedral church of the latter city, is readily accounted for. A little church in the outskirts of Canterbury, which is dedicated to Saint Martin, is reputed to have been the first Christian church founded in this kingdom. There was also an altar dedicated to Saint Martin in the cathedral church, as well as one dedicated to Saint Dunstan.

The figures forming the congregation at Saint Dunstan's mass are (as Dr. Rock has observed) "not only of large proportions, but remarkably well drawn;" and they exhibit excellent examples of civil costume in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Dr. Rock has further added the following remarks:

"As a piece of English wrought tapestry this reredos may fairly challenge for itself the place next to that beautiful production of English hands, but of a somewhat later period, to this day seen covering one end of St. Mary's Hall, Coventry. That the monks

* Rotuli Parl. vol. v. p. 317.

† Ibid. iii. 401; iv. 3, 66, 128, 141, 171, 210.

‡ Rymer, Fœdera, &c. xi. 384; Nicolas, Proc. Privy Council, vi. 360.

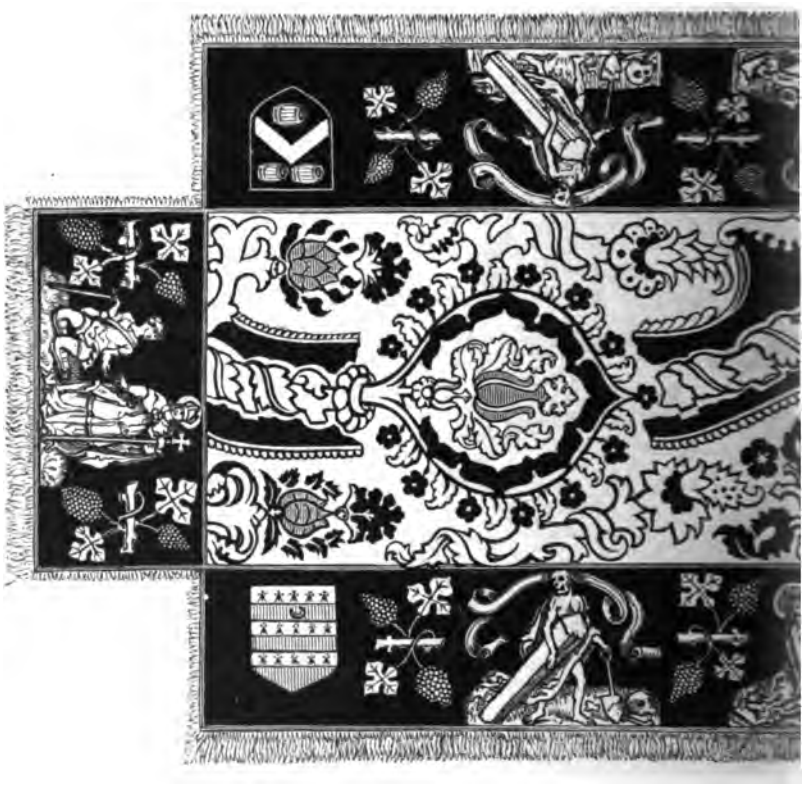
in England followed, among other decorative arts, that of 'imbrothering,' we know from the record we have already given of Wolstrope monastery. Doubtless the word as then understood was a wide one, and meant tapestry, though done by weaving, as well as needle-work. As the Coventry tapestry was in all likelihood wrought in that city itself, and by the monks or nuns there, so this piece may have come from the workshops of the great monastery of Saint Alban's, always celebrated for its schools of art. One of the finest and largest pieces of old tapestry* now in France, in the cathedral of Aix en Provence, was carried thither from this country, and was originally made for and used to be hung around the choir of Canterbury cathedral, and there is every reason for believing it was worked in England."

On such a question the opinion of Dr. Rock must have great weight. Otherwise it might be supposed that so fine a work as this at Vintners' Hall had proceeded from the looms of Arras or Tournay, or some other of the manufactories of Flanders. However, its interest as a dated work made for an English church is but little impaired by these considerations.

It has not been ascertained at what time this piece of tapestry came into the possession of the Vintners' Company; though it is obvious that it did so owing to its representing their patron Saint Martin performing the act by which he is chiefly commemorated.

A small engraving of it, by J. Royce, was published in the Gentleman's Magazine for June 1783, which affords a general idea of its design, and of its perfect state of preservation, but none whatever of its merits as a work of art, which are very considerable. JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.

* The tapestry to which Dr. Rock alludes consists of as many as twenty-six pieces, or pictures, nine of which have been published by M. Achille Jubinal in *Les Anciennes Tapisseries Historiées*, Paris, 1838. They are identified as having been the same as once hung in the choir of Canterbury from their not only answering the description preserved by Somner in his *Antiquities of Canterbury*, but also from the date of 1511 inscribed upon them, which Somner likewise records. It is a singular coincidence that two relics of the ornaments of Canterbury Cathedral, similar in character, yet distinct in themselves, should be thus preserved, one at Aix in Provence, and the other at Vintners' Hall.



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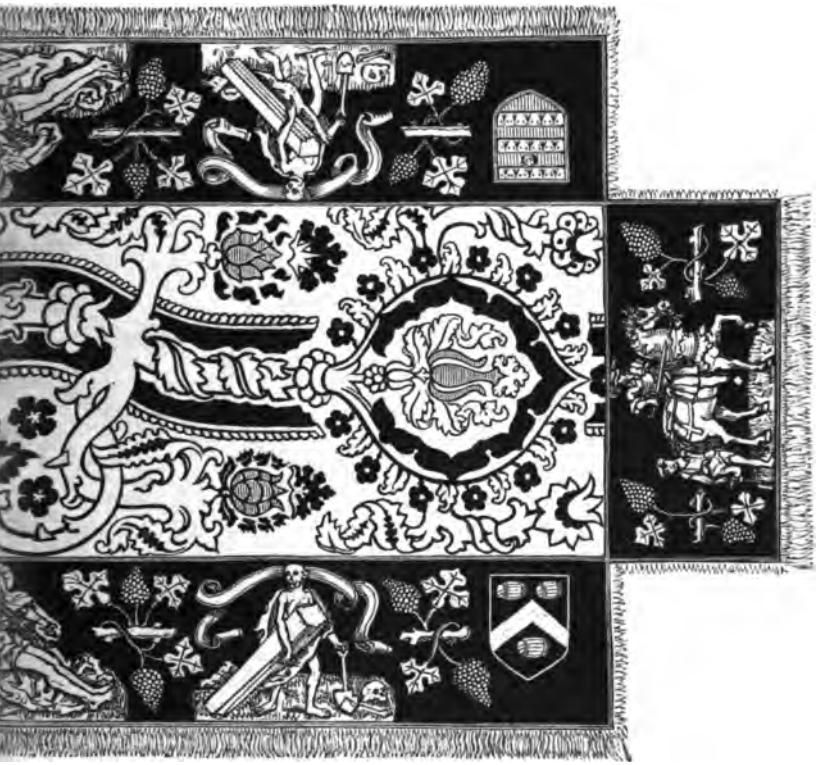

VINTNERS' COMPANY.

The HERSE CLOTH, or Funeral State Pall, of the Vintners' Company, is of cloth of gold with purple velvet pile, the centre piece being 6 feet 6 inches long, and 22 inches wide, with borders 10½ inches wide.

At one end is represented, in embroidery, St. Martin, as a soldier, dividing his cloak with the beggar, who has lost his right foot, the leg being supported by a kind of cradle, and he has a crutch. On the opposite end the Saint is seen in his pontifical vestments, with his crozier as Bishop of Tours, in the act of relieving a beggar, who in this case has lost both his feet, but is able by the aid of his crutch to move about in cradles attached to his legs; a capacious wallet is suspended from his shoulder. In the centre of each of the side borders is represented the Blessed Virgin Mary, as "Our Lady of Pity," seated, with the dead body of the Saviour in her lap. To the right and left are figures of DEATH, represented as skeletons, sustaining by one hand a coffin, and in the other a spade. Above are labels with these mottoes:

1. **Morere bt biuas:**
   So die that you may live (for ever).
2. **Mors P'catoru' Pessima,**
   The death of sinners is most wretched.
3. **Moriri disce Quia Morieris,**
   Learn to die because thou shalt die.
4. **Mors Iustoru' Vita aiaru',**
   The death of the just is the life of souls.

On each side are the Arms of the Company, and a coat,—Barry of six *ermine* and *gules*, a crescent *or* for difference. Glover ascribes Barry of six *ermine* and *gules* to HUSEE. The centre-piece is worked in cloth of gold in a stiff pattern, and the borders are filled in with vine-fruit and leaves, and are edged with purple and gold fringe.

The Society is indebted to the kind liberality of the Master and Wardens of the Vintners' Company for the admirable engraving of this fine Hearse Cloth: and to Mr. G. R. French for the loan of the wood-blocks of the Milkmaid Cup and Salt.

NOTES ON ROMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED IN LONDON AND MIDDLESEX.

BY JOHN EDWARD PRICE.

Director of Evening Meetings.

In continuation of my remarks on Roman Interments, published in the last part of our *Transactions*, I propose, with some further observations on the subject generally, to offer a description of the objects figured in the accompanying Plate, which were exhibited at one of the Evening Meetings of the Society by Mr. John Walker Baily, and who with his usual kindness has sanctioned their illustration in these pages.

As a series they comprise one of the most complete examples of burial by cremation that has been discovered in the metropolis. They were met with during excavations in Blomfield Street, Moorfields; and it may be desirable before entering into details regarding them to refer briefly to a few historical facts connected with the locality. The site may be said to be that of a religious house known as a Priory of Canons, founded in 1246 by Simon Fitzmary, sheriff of London, who by deed of gift * confirms "to God and the church of St. Mary of Bethlehem all my lands which I have in the parish of St. Buttolph without Bishopsgate of London, that is to say, whatsoever I there now have or had, or in time to come may have, in houses, gardens, pools, ponds, ditches, and pits, and all their appurtenances as they are closed in by their bounds; which now extend in length from the King's high street east, to the great ditch in the west, the which is called Deep Ditch; and in breadth to the lands of Ralph Downing in the north, and to the land of the church of St. Buttolph in the south; to have and to hold to the aforesaid church of Bethlehem in free and perpetual alms; and also to make there a priory, and to ordain a prior and canons, brothers and also sisters, when Jesus Christ shall enlarge his grace upon it." At the general dissolution the buildings and gardens were granted by Henry VIII.

* Howel's *Londinopolis*, edit. 1657, p. 65.

to the city of London, and the hospital became converted into a house for the lunatic and insane. It stood on the east side of Moorfields, from which it was divided by a ditch;* and over this in recent times was erected the thoroughfare known as Brokers' Row, and now Blomfield Street.

The details given in the charter of Simon Fitzmary confirm our ideas as to the nature of the land adjoining the hospital, for the pools, ponds, and ditches indicate the locality to have been literally a district of fens and moors intersected by sundry streams and water-courses which converged near the city wall, and flowed as the Wallbrook through the city to the Thames.

The moor extended from London Wall to Hoxton; and it is doubtless to the overflow of the many streams and ponds that Fitzstephen alludes when he speaks of "the great fen or moor which watered the walls of the city on the north side" as being frozen over, and "the young men going out in crowds to divert themselves upon the ice."† It was partly drained by Thomas Falconer, mayor in 1414, a work continued by William Hampton, mayor 1472, and Roger Acheley, mayor in 1511, who had bridges and dykes constructed. It was still further improved and drained in 1527, but must have retained its boggy character, for Ben Jonson refers to individuals as crossing "dry foot" from Moorfields into London. And Stowe, in his reference to the locality, speaks of the fields as being a "moorish rotten ground, impassable but for causeys purposely made to that intent;" and another chronicler mentions it as "for many years environed and crossed with deep stinking ditches and noisome common shewers, and was in former times ever held impossible to be reformed."‡

That this was not always its condition is tolerably certain. We can imagine it in primitive times as literally a "moor" and

* Stowe thus refers to this ditch: "From Bishopsgate, under a part of which is the City ditch, they pass along by Petty France into Moorfields; under the wall and causey thereof towards Bethlem there did run a ditch, and from the north part of the said fields still doth, so far as Hog Lane, which is at the upper end of the garden alley, close to which ditch the parish extends all along the inside, and takes in one side of Hog Lane."

† Stephanides, *Descriptio Nobilissimæ Civitatis Londinæ.*

‡ Howe's edit. 1615, p. 945.

"fields," an open site bounded by woods and forests, and intersected by brooks and streams which had perhaps pursued their course for centuries; and as altogether a spot offering advantages to the Roman settlers, though it is a noteworthy circumstance that the growth of the city was slower in this than in other quarters. A locality, however, mostly under water would not have been selected by the Romans either as a place for sepulture or any other purpose. The boggy fenny character of the district is rather the result of excavation in later days for the purpose of procuring clay for brickmaking. At this spot bricks were manufactured at a very early period. In the 17th year of Edward IV. an Act of Parliament was passed directing the time for digging earth for brick and tile making; and it is further recorded, "that Moorfields was searched for clay, and bricks were made and burnt there." This may have been the case even in Roman times; at any rate, after the occupation had ceased, it is evident that the whole district became much changed, and that places once high and dry subsequently became fens and bogs. In speaking of Blomfield Street in 1841 Mr. Roach Smith mentions that portions of the soil seemed to have been partly drained or filled in by the Romans, as towards Eldon Street many well-preserved urns were found, probably deposited for funeral purposes; and he refers to the discovery in Liverpool Street of the circular piece of thin brass on which was represented the story of Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf beneath the fig tree.* Further excavations in 1843 revealed a quantity of Samian ware, and a coin of Aurelian from the same site.† And as recently as 1861 I observed, while watching diggings which were then progressing, that at a short distance from the surface level there occurred a thin stratum of blackish earth, which on examination was found to contain innumerable specimens of land and fresh water shells, such as the Lymnea and Paludinæ of our ponds and ditches, and that beneath this Roman remains were thrown up. I obtained an urn of black pottery from here, quantities of Samian ware, and other fragments, discoveries which indicate a marked alteration in the condition of the soil. In the seventeenth century

* Vide *Archæologia*, vol. xxix. † *Gent. Mag.* May 1843.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED AT MOORFIELDS.

IN THE POSSESSION OF F WALKER DAILY ESQ

the whole district was levelled and laid out in walks with trees and gravel paths, and became a favourite place of recreation for the citizens.

The interment under consideration is both *in situ* and complete. As before observed, it is one after cremation, there being no evidence of human bones entire; most of the vessels contained fragments, but all bore evidences of fire. The wooden box or cist, fig. 1, is extremely curious. It is of oak and of a cubical form. It measures about 18 inches on each side, and resembles in design and size the tile tombs that have been so frequently discovered, one of which was found but a short time since at Windsor, and with its contents presented by Her Majesty the Queen to the British Museum.

Cists of wood are not often found. One containing human bones entire was exhumed a few years since in West Smithfield, and has been referred to in our journal; but so perishable a material would in the lapse of centuries naturally become decayed, though the presence of the numerous iron nails so often found in Roman graves are evidence of the fact that coffins or cists of wood were in extensive use. It was the practice after placing the remains within the cist to cover up the whole with a flat tile or stone, and in this case we might imagine that the simplest plan would have been to cover the cinerary urns with a lid of the same material as the cist; but here a singular covering has been adopted, and one which may or may not have had some special significance. It is shown in fig. 2, and is a domed covering formed of earthenware and of considerable thickness; it may have been constructed for the purpose, or may be portion only of an amphora or dolium so broken as to adapt it to the cist. Its widest diameter is 21 inches; but, having a tapering form, it would be fractured at such dimensions as to enable it to rest securely on the wooden edges of the tomb. The appropriation of such earthenware vessels to sepulchral purposes is by no means uncommon; examples are recorded as being intentionally fractured for the purpose of inclosing the charred remains and again restored. In the excavations at Colchester* in 1844 one was

* Vide *British Archæological Association Journal*, vol. i. p. 239.

found thus broken at the neck and handles. It contained a lachrymatory and lamp, a cinerary urn, and a coin of Faustina, with other objects; and the upper portion had been clearly reinstated by the depositors after the contents had been incased. Fig. 5 represents a vessel of light-coloured earthenware which was found in the vicinity of the tomb. It was much broken, but Mr. Baily has succeeded in so restoring it as sufficiently to indicate its form. It stood nearly 22 inches high, with a diameter at its greatest width of 15 inches, and affords another example of vessels in ordinary household use accompanying interments.*

The glass bottle, fig. 3, was partially filled with calcined bones, and its mouth covered by the small cup or patera shown by fig. 4 in the illustration. The bottle stands 14¼ inches high by 7 to 8 inches square; it is of the familiar bright green glass, and was perfect when first discovered. It is of the type usually found in graves. Colchester, Hartlip, and other places have produced numerous examples, but perfect specimens have not been often recorded in London discoveries. The two urns figs. 7 and 8 are of rough pottery, doubtless of the Upchurch manufacture. The larger measures 8⅝ inches high by 8¼ wide, the other 8¼ inches high by 7¼ wide; the latter was inclosed by one of the most interesting objects in the collection, and some remains of which are illustrated by fig. 6. It consists of a small wooden keg or tub, and at present I am unable to refer to any other example of the kind as occurring in our own country. It possibly once served its use in the household of the deceased, and was considered as a fitting covering for the contents of the urn. It is on a small scale, much on the model of the cupa mentioned by Pliny † and other authors as a cask or butt with wooden staves, and bound together by "circuli" or hoops of iron; sometimes it was of stone or earthenware, and was employed by the Romans for storing wine, vinegar, or other liquids, and in transporting them from

* The custom of entombing such vessels with the remains of the deceased was practised by other nations besides the Romans. See Nicolo de Coti on the customs of the Indian tribes, Belleforest's *Cosmography*, vol. ii. book iii. ch. 29. "The Moldavians, Caubees, and other people used the custom, and modern history tells us the Chinese and Peruvians adopt it."

† Pliny, H. N. xiv. 27.

place to place. Examples of the cupa may be seen among the numerous interesting objects illustrative of Roman life and manners which are sculptured on Trajan's column,* and it is singular to note how its form has remained unchanged to the present day.† Cupella as diminutive of cupa would refer to a similar vessel of smaller size, and may be applied to the object we have figured, which is made of pine-wood,‡ the material (especially in the time of Pliny) employed in their fabrication. Its connection with the interment is peculiar, and may be the result of an old custom or tradition. The old writers tell us that the cupa was sometimes employed in funeral customs, and cite its connection with amphoræ, ollas, and cineraria.§ There is also among the inscriptions preserved by Gruter one in which it is especially mentioned: IN HAC CVPA MATER ET FILIVS POSITI SVNT,‖ &c.

With the exception of the amphora, fig. 5, all the objects above described were contained in the wooden cist. No coins of any kind were discovered.

On reference to a map, it will be noticed that this interment, though at some distance from the main thoroughfare, occupied an isolated position on the ground adjoining the highway leading from Bishopsgate Street to Norton Folgate and Spitalfields by the site of one of the cemeteries of Roman London, an account of which, as given by Stowe, I have transcribed as applicable to the subject:—

On the east side of the churchyard lieth a large field, of old time called Lolesworth, now called Spittlefield, which about the year 1576 was broken

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* Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, book 3, vol. iv. p. 79.

† In the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv., is a paper by J. Y. Akerman, Esq., F.S.A, descriptive of some Roman Remains at Stone, Aylesbury, Bucks, in which reference is made to Pignorius de Servis, p. 266, edit. 1656, as containing a representation of an ancient sculpture in marble dug up at Augsburg in 1601, on which are seen the Vinitores stowing away casks formed like those used by the moderns.

‡ I am indebted to B. Clarke, Esq. F.R.C.S., for the information concerning the material of which both the coffin and this small vessel are composed. He kindly submitted fragments to the microscope, and was enabled to pronounce them as being oak and pine respectively.

§ Vide Nicolai Rigaltii *Observationes et Notæ Rei Agrariæ Auctores Legesque variæ*, 1674, p. 284. ‖ Gruter, *Inscriptiones*, i. p. 845.

up for clay to make brick, in the digging whereof many pots called urnæ were found full of ashes and burnt bones of men; to wit, of the Romans that inhabited there, for it was the custom of the Romans to burn their dead, to put their ashes in an urn, and then to bury the same with certain ceremonies in some field appointed for that purpose near unto their city. Each of these pots had in them with the ashes of the dead one piece of copper money with the inscription of the Emperor then reigning; some of them were of Claudius, some of Vespasian, some of Nero, of Antoninus Pius, of Trajanus, and others. Besides these urns many other pots were found in the same place, made of a white earth, with long necks and handles like to our stone jugs. These were empty, but seemed to have been buried full of some liquid matter long since consumed and soaked through, for there were found divers phials and other fashioned glasses, some most cunningly wrought such as I have not seen the like, and some of crystal, all which had water in them nothing differing in clearness, taste, or savour from common spring water, whatsoever it was at the first. Some of these glasses had oil in them very thick and earthy in savour: some were supposed to have balm in them, but had lost their virtue. Many of these pots and glasses were broken in cutting of the clay, so that few were taken up whole. There were also found divers dishes and cups of a fine red-coloured earth which showed outwardly such a shining smoothness as if they had been of coral: those had in the bottoms Roman letters printed. There were also lamps of white earth and red artificially wrought with divers antiques about them. Three or four images made of white earth about a span long each of them. One of them, I remember, was of Pallas, the rest I have forgotten. I myself have reserved amongst divers of those antiquities there found one urna with the ashes and bones, and one pot of white earth very small, not exceeding the quantity of a quarter of a wine pint made in the shape of a hare squatted upon her legs, and between her ears is the mouth of the pot. There have also been found in the same field divers coffins of stone containing the bones of men. These I suppose to be the burials of some special persons in the time of the Britons or Saxons after the Romans had left to govern here. Moreover there were also found the skulls and bones of men without coffins or rather whose coffins being of great timber were consumed. Divers great nails of iron were there found such as are used in the wheels of shod carts, being each of them as big as a man's finger, and a quarter of a yard long, and the heads two inches over. Those nails were more wondered at than the rest of things there found, and various were the opinions of men concerning them, namely, that the men there buried were murdered by driving those nails into their heads, a thing very unlikely, for a smaller nail would more readily serve so vile a purpose, and a more secret place would very probably be employed for their burial. But, to set down what I have observed concerning this matter: I there beheld the bones of a man lying, as I observed, the head north, the feet

south, and round about him, as over his head, along both sides, and over his feet, such nails were found. Wherefore I conjectured them to be the nails of his coffin which had been a trough cut out of some great tree, and the same covered with a plank of great thickness fastened with such nails, and therefore I caused some of the nails to be taken up, and I found, under the broad heads of them, the old wood almost turned into dust or earth, but still retaining both the grain and proper colour of these nails with the wood under the heads thereof. I reserved one, as also the under jaw-bone of the man, the teeth being very great, sound, and fast fixed, which amongst many other things there found I have yet to show, but the nails lying dry are by scaling greatly wasted.*

Such was the nature of one of the cemeteries on the north of the Roman settlement; and to indicate the situation of others which existed on the open sites adjacent to the city, such as West Smithfield, St. Paul's Churchyard, Minories, Whitechapel, Goodman's Fields, and other places, admits of but little difficulty; as also the position of many of the burials which lined the public roads from the metropolis to the country. For the poor there were probably, in addition to the cemeteries, *puticuli*, or gravepits, for the reception of the bodies of those who were in too humble a class of life to incur the expense of sepulture, or the more costly rites of cremation. Such are mentioned in the early texts as being on the waste and unappropriated public land. "Sunt in suburbanis loca publica inopum destinata funeribus, que loca culinas appellant."† They are referred to along with sites perhaps also assigned to the punishment of malefactors, and which, as vacant ground, were turned to various uses by the common people.‡ Where, however, we find a sepulchre possessing unusual characteristics, such as the interment just described, or as the marble sarcophagus at Upper Clapton, the stone coffin at Notting Hill, the interments at Eastham,§ or the tomb at Tinwell near Stamford,‖ together with records of sepulchral remains observed in

* Stowe, Strype's edit. vol. i. 428.

† *Aggeni Comment. in Frontin.* p. 60. *Rei Agrariæ Auctores, &c.* 1674.

‡ "Sunt et loca noxiorum pœnis destinata. Ex his locis cum sint suburbana sine ulla religione reverentia, solent privati aliquid usurpare, atque hortis suis applicare."

§ *Essex Arch. Transactions*, 1867.

‖ *Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. series 4, p. 482.

places hitherto unsuspected, and sometimes even within the limits assigned to the Roman city, the facts become of more than ordinary significance, and suggest the probability that the conditions under which such isolation has arisen are open to further explanation. The sarcophagus at Upper Clapton adjoined the course of an old footpath, and the stone coffin at Tinwell was in a similar position. Mr. Joseph Phillips, of Stamford, informs me that it was by the side of a footway which leads direct from the Roman road by Stamford town end to the village of Tinwell, and further that since its discovery a tessellated pavement has been exhumed some fifty yards south of the said path. The general character of this pavement, which was 7 feet long by 6 wide, and contained an ornamental centre about 3 feet by 3, formed in colours of white, blue, and red, was, together with portions of walls, ridge-tiles, and fragments of red stucco, sufficient to indicate the existence of an important villa residence in the vicinity of the tomb. A solitary coin was discovered, viz. a denarius of Valerian: the reverse, an altar with fire burning, and the legend CONSECRATIO. In London during the autumn of 1839 a skeleton was discovered in the middle of Bow Lane, at the depth of 15 feet, lying north and south in a kind of grave formed with the large drain tiles placed edgeways.* In its mouth was a second-brass coin, so much corroded as to be quite illegible and defaced; nearer Cheapside, at some distance from the skeleton, were abundant remains of pavements, walls, and frescoes.† In Paternoster Row Mr. Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A., records the discovery of a tessellated pavement of superior class, at the depth of 12 feet 6 inches from the surface. It extended at least 40 feet, and was of superb ornamentation and design. At a still greater depth from the roadway "was a skeleton in a tile tomb," deposited, of course, long anterior to the construction of the pavement.‡ In the summer of 1842, in the course of excavations for sewerage in Queen Street, Cheapside, numerous cinerary urns of a rude style of art were found; in one of them the remains of human bones adhered so

* *Arch.* vol. xxix., "Roman Remains," C. R. Smith, F.S.A.

† The skull, coin, and tiles are preserved in the Museum of the Corporation of London, at Guildhall.

‡ *Illustrations of Roman London*, C. R. Smith, F.S.A.

firmly as to have the appearance of being part and parcel of the vessel; for, as was chemically explained, the alkali in the bones (doubtless deposited before they were allowed to cool) had united with the silex in the clay. Among the remains when forcibly separated from the vessel was easily recognised a portion of the nasal bone. There were five of these jars, some containing only mud and charcoal. From these excavations there were also exhumed fragments of tessellated pavements, broken amphoræ, urns, mortaria, Samian pottery, boar's tusks, with other relics, also a second-brass coin of the Emperor Nero.* We have here examples of burial of both kinds occurring within the present city limits; and as, in obedience to the civil law, interments were forbidden within the walls, we may presume that they were the graves of some of the earliest settlers in the Roman colony, and interred long anterior to the extension of the city. It is true that under Roman legislation there were special privileges and protection accorded to land once used for burial; but if necessity required, as in the gradual growth of towns, it could by a special edict be alienated from its original possessors and devoted to the service of the state. To account for such discoveries, and those at Upper Clapton, Notting Hill, &c., with others that could be noted, we may have recourse to information given by some of the agrimensorian writers, which, thanks to the investigations of Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A. and Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A. are just now receiving some attention at the hands of archæologists. In my former paper I have mentioned that the possessors of estates were often buried within the limits of their own property, and have quoted a passage from one of these early treatises to show that in the assignation of estates which followed on the conquest of new territory sepulchres were frequently placed at the lines of demarcation to serve as boundaries or landmarks in the division and limitation of the land.† There are many details of interest concerning the appropriation of territory to be found among the agrarian laws which relate to such distribution. As the Romans extended their conquests in different quarters of the globe, they, in assuming their rights as victors, had the land carefully surveyed, founded colo-

* Vide paper by the late E. B. Price, F S.A., *Gent. Mag.* 1843.

† *Transactions of the London and Midd. Arch. Society*, part ix. p 197.

nies and cities, and parcelled out the available soil, with fixed and certain allotments to the new settlers, all upon a principle of limitation which is as wonderful as it is curious; and in this way the government, institutions, laws, and even the habits and customs of the people became permanently fixed on foreign soil. Sometimes the natives were allowed to retain possession of their lands, but these were exceptional cases.

In an interesting paper by Mr. Coote on Centurial Stones, he remarks, "that to the hardy and combative barbarian who could make out no claim to such a merit the doom was simple and unmitigated confiscation of the soil of his country;" and in applying his remarks to this country, he observes, "that it was a process through which each barbarian country subjected by Rome was compelled to pass, for, as the barbarians in all cases resisted their destiny, no favour was sought or could be obtained at the hand of Rome. That this was the lot of Britain history leaves no doubt, and it being so we can only conclude," says Mr. Coote, "that the soil of this country was confiscated and partitioned in the manner which I have described."* In a valuable communication just published in the Archæologia,† Mr. Coote describes the natural and artificial boundaries which are mentioned by the old writers, the various terminal stones, &c. which marked the divisions of estates, and quotes unequivocal instances of such termini as are described as having been often found in England, though their origin and use has hitherto been imperfectly understood. He also directs attention to the subterranean signs adopted by the surveyors "to supply the place of those which should be removed from the surface, or which from a scarcity of material might not have been put there." Among other things, mention is made of the "Arca finalis," a walled construction more or less sunk in the earth, and intended to define the site where the angles of adjoining possessions met. The arcæ were of various kinds, and contained objects differing in character, but each form having its significance as a terminal boundary.

In a subsequent essay‡ Mr. Coote gives a full account of the

* *Proceedings of Soc. Antiq. of London*, 2nd ser. vol. iv. No. 1.

† Vol. xlii. *Centuriation of Roman Britain*, H. C. Coote, F.S.A.

‡ *Proc. of Soc. Antiq. of London*, 2nd ser. vol. iv. No. 5.

arca, and illustrates his remarks by a discovery which occurred at Preston in Dorsetshire in the year 1843, and was described by Mr. C. Warne, F.S.A., in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.* The particulars of this discovery I am induced to quote, for the reason that, if satisfactory evidence can be given of the existence in our country of this particular class of sign among the many which are referred to by the agrimensores, we are justified in assuming that others to which they also refer may possess the same significance here as they did abroad; and so, among other things, we shall obtain the clue to the meaning which is intended by the position of many of the sepulchral deposits which from time to time have been discovered.

The dry summer of 1842 having shown in the then growing crops of corn in a field at Preston indications of extensive buildings, excavations were in the spring of the past year made, which soon brought to view the foundations of a massive wall, five feet in thickness, and forming a square of about 280 feet: within this quadrangle was the foundation of another building 35 feet square; the soil within this inner building was removed, and the few coins and fragments of pottery which were turned up clearly proved it to be of Roman origin. But the most singular discovery made was that of a shaft sunk in the south-east corner, which was about 4 feet by 2½ feet in diameter, and nearly 15 feet deep. The contents of this pit were of a very peculiar character; the sides had thin flat stones placed round, which, from holes in many of them, appeared to have been previously used for the covering (as at the present day) of a roof. On penetrating into the shaft a layer of charcoal and ashes was met with; then a double layer of the same description of flat stones covered the whole area of the shaft; between these stones was deposited a quantity of small (chiefly bird's) bones and thin brass coins of apparently the Lower Empire, but their condition was such that (with the exception of one of Theodosius) they could not be appropriated. Six or seven of these layers of charcoal and flat stones, with bones and coins, were continued in succession, when a straight sword, about 22 inches in length, and much corroded, was found. Under this were seven more continuous layers as before, which brought us to the bottom of the pit; here was a larger sword, 36 inches long, and straight as the other, with numerous fragments of iron, viz., spear-heads, rings, crooks, part of the handle of a bucket, of similar shape with that in use in the present time, and various other articles, all which appeared to have undergone the action of fire. With these were also fragments of coarse pottery, and two vessels of the same description of ware, which were

* *Gent. Mag.* vol. xxi. N.S. pp. 185, 186.

entire, and whose shape indicated their adaptation to domestic uses. The shaft was probed to its bottom; but as the land was about to be sown with corn, it was necessary that the excavations should here be discontinued; a circumstance to be regretted, as but a small portion of the ground in the space between the outer and inner walls was moved. The only interesting objects here discovered were the bases of two pillars of apparently the Doric order, both of which must have been displaced from their original position. The numerous fragments of Roman pottery strewn over the adjoining soil, as well as the circumstances of the finding in the same field, in 1812, an urn filled with Roman coins, chiefly of the tyrants from Gordian to Posthumus (many of which, in the finest condition, I have in my collection) establish the fact of extensive Roman occupation. I feel a diffidence in hazarding a conjecture on these singular discoveries, particularly as regards the shaft, further than that I think it is quite evident that its contents must have formed a series of sacrificial deposits. With reference to the building itself, I would merely suggest the probability of the interior portion having been used by the Romans as a *Pharos*, of which the outward wall was used as a protection. The substructure occupied a site most advantageously placed for such an object, being situated about a quarter of a mile from the shore, on an eminence commanding the whole of the beautiful bay of Weymouth, in addition to an extensive view of the channel. An ancient *via* which led from hence to the landing place on the shore is still easily traced.*

The remains of buildings referred to in the description are considered by Mr. Coote to be such as are mentioned in a treatise on the *Agrimensura*,† by Julius Frontinus, who says that it was the

* From a report of a meeting of the Ashmolean Society, at which the late Dr. Buckland read a paper on the above discoveries, we glean that between each pair of tiles was the skeleton of one bird with one small Roman coin, and above the upper tier of tiles another bed of ashes. Similar beds, each inclosing the bird and coin, were repeated sixteen times between the top and bottom of the well. The birds referred to were the raven, buzzard, crow, and starling; there were also bones of a hare. Vide vol. xxii. N.S. *Gent. Mag.* pp. 635, 636, quoted by Mr. Coote. Also report in the *Times* of 18 Nov. 1844.

† Sextus Julius Frontinus lived in the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, and was Proconsul in Britain A.D. 75-8. He was the author of several military works, and wrote besides the "De re Agraria de Limitibus," "De Aquæductibus Urbis Romæ," in two books, and the "Strategematicon," in four. Of the latter work Mr. Roach Smith informs me that a translation was made some years ago by the late Mr. Scott, of the Charter-house. Stewechius supposes him to be the same person mentioned by Tacitus, Hist. iv. 39, and again in the Life of Agricola, c. 17, where he gives him the character of an excellent officer. Vide *Military Institutions of Vegetius*, by Lieut. John Clarke, 1767.

practice of proprietors to build a temple upon the confines where the possessions of three or four of them met.

I am indebted to Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., for a reference to the important discovery of a shaft or pit which was found at Bekesbourn Hill, near Canterbury, and an account of which, by Mr. John Brent, Jun., F.S.A., is published in the second volume of the *Archæologia Cantiana*. It is there described as a sepulchral shaft, but the following particulars, taken from Mr. Brent's communication, for comparison with the above, will show that it may possess a more important significance, be placed in the same category, and afford another example of agrimensorial signs.

Oaken beams a foot square first appeared, and then the planking of a quadrilateral oaken shaft to the depth of six feet, then heavy cross-beams, then planking again terminated by four cross beams as at the top. These lay twenty-five feet below the surface. The cross-beams were 6 feet 6 inches in length, firmly mortised together. The planks were mortised or rabbeted together, and let into the beams, each plank being pierced by transverse ties, crossing the corners of the shaft inside, and giving to the entire structure the appearance of having a flight of steps or stays within. These ties projected two or three inches on the outside. There was no appearance of iron or any other metal having been used in the construction of the shaft, but the whole fabric was closely and skilfully knit together by the mortises and ties, while the weight of the materials themselves and the pressure of the soil around prevented any of the parts becoming displaced. The entire fabric was of oak; the cross-beams evidencing by their grain that they were the product of large trees. The wood had become jet black by age; but, although somewhat soft on the surface, was hard and compact at a short distance within. The interior quadrature of the shaft was 3 feet 3 inches, the cross-ties about a foot long, the beams 6 feet 6 inches and 12 inches square. The soil where the fabric was found was gravelly at the surface, lower down of sandy loam.

The beams and planks were probably all hewn by the axe, yet were as neatly fitted and as well proportioned as if done by a skilful artisan in the present day, each mortised plank exactly corresponding with the one above it. We have been thus minute in detail, as we know of no other example of carpentry ever having been found so perfect, of the undoubted antiquity of the fabric we have described. As it was cleared away from the soil, it loomed out against the dark earthen bed from which it had been excavated like a mysterious record of a past and unknown age, exhibiting in some respects features new and strange. The top of the shaft when found was covered with oaken planks, the structure being entirely filled with large flints: the workmen speedily broke down one side, and threw out the

stones. As they approached the base they came upon a single urn about 10 inches in height and formed of bluish black clay. It was protected by large flints in some manner arched over it. Beneath it was a layer of flints, then five urns, one central and one in each corner of the shaft. Among the latter was an urn with a large piece of baked clay placed over its mouth.

Mr. Brent goes on to say that he was present at the spot shortly after the contents were removed from the shaft, and found fragments in the soil taken out of it, and from the pieces he obtained he concluded that there were seven or eight urns within the entombment.

Nothing but a soft white clayey matter was found within the urns, and these were thought to be burnt bones in a deliquescent state. Some substance of a fibrous texture was found. This might have been yarn which went round the necks of the urns, or matting or woollen cloth laid over their mouths. Upon exposure to the air it speedily dissolved, as did for the most part some walnut or filbert shells. Beneath the last deposit of urns was a flat piece of stone over a concavity in the earth at the bottom of the shaft. It was kept in its place by six pegs apparently of chestnut-wood pinned around it. On the stone imbedded in the soil was arranged a circle of horses' teeth.

For comparison with this and the preceding extraordinary discovery I append the particulars of a construction of like character found in London about the year 1835, and which, from its local connection, is of especial value in our present investigations. The account is given in a paper by my esteemed friend Mr. Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A., and appears in vol. xxix. of the *Archæologia*.

But the most important discovery in the line of excavation from Lothbury to the Wall, was made on the Coleman Street side, near the public house called the Swan's Nest, where was laid open a pit or well containing a store of earthen vessels of various patterns and capacities. This well had been carefully planked over with thick boards, and at first exhibited no signs of containing anything besides the native gravelly soil, but at a considerable depth other contents were revealed. The vases were placed on their sides longitudinally, and presented the appearance of being regularly packed or embedded in the mud or sand, which had settled so closely round them that a great number were broken or damaged in being extricated; but those preserved entire, or nearly so, are of the same kind as the handles, necks, and pieces of the light brown coloured vessels met with in such profusion throughout the Roman level in London. Some are of a darker clay approaching to a bluish black, with borders of reticulated work running round the upper part, and one of a singularly elegant form is of a pale bluish colour with a broad black border at the bottom Some are

without handles, others have either one or two. Their capacity for liquids may be stated as varying from one quart to two gallons, though some that were broken were of much larger dimensions. A small Samian patera, with the ivy-leaf border, and a few figured pieces of the same were found near the bottom of this well, and also a small-brass coin of Allectus, with reverse of the galley, "Virtus Aug." and moreover two iron implements resembling a boathook and a bucket-handle; the latter of these carries such a homely and modern look, that, had I no further evidence of its history than the mere assurance of the excavators, I should have instantly rejected it from suspicion of its having been brought to the spot to be palmed off on the unwary, but the fact of these articles being disinterred in the presence of a trustworthy person in my employ disarms all doubt of their authenticity. The dimensions of the pit or well were about 2 feet 9 inches or 3 feet square, and it was boarded on each side with narrow planks about 2 feet long and 1½ to 2 inches thick placed upright, but which framework was discontinued towards the bottom of the pit which merged from a square into an oval form.

This deposit, which, from the presence of the coin of Allectus, is shown to be of comparatively late date, was, whatever its intention, probably near the bank of the ancient Wallbrook. The "Swan's Nest" public-house, near which it was discovered, still exists, and is situate in Great Swan Alley, Moorgate Street, at the back of Lothbury. The old watercourse, after leaving Broker's Row, fell into the town ditch by Allhallows in the Wall, leaving it at the top of Little Bell Alley, into which Swan Alley runs. It then took a sharp turn in its direction by St. Margaret's, Lothbury, where it crossed what is now Prince's Street, and pursued its course beneath Grocers' Hall and St. Mildred's Court.* It would be difficult now to affix the precise spot of the discovery, but anywhere in the vicinity of the "Swan's Nest" could not have been far from the natural boundary marked by the bank of the ancient stream.

I cannot but think that here we have an example of the same family, and a monument belonging to that class of discoveries which are now applied to Britain by Mr. Coote. Its location in

* I am indebted to Mr. Alfred White, F.S.A., F.L.S., for much assistance in tracing the precise course pursued by the ancient brook. We have in preparation a plan which will indicate its route from Hoxton to Dowgate, and show, as far as possible, the sites of the many discoveries of interest that have been made along its banks.

the metropolis invests it with peculiar interest. There is here the quadrangular shaft, differing only from that described by Mr. Warne in its being of wood in place of tile or stone. There is evidenced the same intentional care with which the pottery, both broken and entire, has been deposited, proving, as in the other cases, that its presence in the shaft was designed, and not accidental; and moreover, the coincidence in the finding of the crook and bucket-handle at both the Preston and London discoveries is so far striking as to make it worthy of remark. In both cases I imagine that the crook may be considered to have had its use in connection with the bucket-handle in the deposition of the contents of the pit, and that in each instance the woodwork of the bucket has naturally perished.

Since the foregoing was in type my attention has been directed to a discovery recorded in the last number of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and which, in all probability, is a further illustration of the "Arca finalis." The facts are interesting, and are thus described in a paper by Samuel Sharpe, Esq. F.S.A. F.G.S. entitled "Roman Coins found in Surface Soil, Ironstone Pits, Duston, near Northampton:" "Three grave-like excavations in the ironstone immediately below the surface soil were a short time ago discovered. These had a depth of some four feet in the rock, were arranged in a radiating position, and had a flooring covered with ashes, among which some burnt stones were found, and a nest of Romano-British minimi."* Coins are mentioned by the old authors as among the objects sometimes placed below termini—*sic.* "Quia de limitibus curavimus exponere, sub terminis qualia signa invenimus? aut calcem, aut gypsum, aut carbones, aut vitria fracta, aut cineres, aut testam tusam, aut *decanummos vel pentanummos.*"†

Sometimes the arca was connected with sepulchres, and had funereal monuments placed upon it:‡ "quia arca aliquoties circa sepulchrum sine dubio ponitur, et super ipsam arcam *memoriæ* constitutæ." This is termed the "arca consecrata in memoria,"

* *Num. Chron.* vol. ix. N.S. p. 169.

† *Expositio Limitum, &c. Var. Auctores*, p. 265.

‡ *Var. Auctor. de Limitib., Rei Agrariæ Auctores, &c.* p. 273.

"et quod sanctius videtur antiquitus nobis sic convenit mensura, ut in ipsa memoria consecrata arca finalis."

Among limitary signs the *botontoni*, or mounds and hillocks of earth, held a conspicuous position in the agrimensorian system. These artificial elevations and their contents possessed a peculiar meaning; and the proper elucidation of their significance is possibly more abstruse than anything else appertaining to the subject; yet, the fact of their existence in this country attracted the notice of a well-known writer of the last century. Gough in his edition of Camden remarks:* "The writers of boundaries say little hillocks of earth, called *botontines*, were placed on bounds, so that I am apt to think most of the *tumuli* and round hillocks we see scattered up and down the country were raised for that purpose, and that ashes, coals, potsherds, &c.† would be found under them if searched." "Silbury Hill," says Mr. Coote,‡ "is a grand example of the *botontinus*;" of this Gough says, "Major Drax, digging perpendicularly through this hill in 1777, found only a rotten post and a rusty knife." The post was an example of the *palus picatus*,§ referred to in the list of termini given by the old writers. Numerous other discoveries throughout England fully illustrate the observations of Gough, and show the supposition to be erroneous that would regard all those turf-covered elevations which are here and there dotted on our hills and downs as sepulchral barrows; many of them we know have, on examination, proved to be *tumuli* raised above the remnants of the dead; and with *these* the position may sometimes be illustrative of boundary or limit; but how frequently has observation shown, from the entire absence of human remains and the existence of such *débris* as is mentioned by Gough, that they could not possibly have had any connection with interments. It is a noteworthy circumstance that the meaning intended by such mounds as are not sepulchral has lately become a subject of interest to the antiquaries of France. In the course

* *Gough's Camden*, ii. 271.

† Objects usually selected by the Agrimensors to indicate the intention of the mound.

‡ *Centuriation of Roman Britain*, *Arch.* vol. xlii.

§ *Expositio Terminorum*, *&c. Var. Auctor. de Limitib.* p. 267.

of some recent correspondence, Mr. Coote very kindly calls my attention to a notice which appeared in a recent volume of the *Revue Archéologique*,* the which mentions that M. Thomas, after having examined two *tombelles* (*tumuli*) in the territory of Fruzon, and found nothing but paving stones, fragments of red pottery, pieces of charcoal, and bits of tiles, asks, "si ces tombelles ont du servir à des sepultures, l'absence de tous débris humains lui semblerait indiquer le contraire;" and further, that, in a later volume of the same work, M. Brunet de Presle is stated to have† "signalé à l'academie divers passages du recueil des agrimensores relatifs à l'habitude qu'avaient les anciens de marquer certaines limites à l'aide de tumulus artificiels; le mode de construction de ces tumulus est indiqué dans les textes en sorte qu'il ne sera pas impossible de decouvrir, parmi les nombreux tumulus signalés sur notre sol, et qui ne sont des tombeaux, ceux qui servaient de la limitation. Cette remarque est d'une grande importance, et nous comptons (says the writer) donner avec détails la communication de M. Brunet de Presle, qui a eu l'obligeance de nous promettre le relevé complet des textes auxquels il a fait allusion." M. B. de Presle fulfilled his promise, for in the same volume‡ is a communication from that gentleman, entitled "Sur la manière de marquer les limites territoriales à l'epoque Gallo-Romaine." He begins by remarking that there are factitious mounds, *monticules*, of earth in France which have been looked upon as tombs, although no traces of sepulture have been found in them, only ashes and fragments of earthen vases. He regrets that he has not the necessary elements to treat the subject with such development as it requires; but refers, however, to passages in the writings of Siculus Flaccus, which read, "Cùm terminos disponerent, ipsos quidem lapides in solidam terram conlocabant; proximè ea loca quibus fossis factis defixuri eos erant, unguento velaminibusque et coronis eos coronabant; in fossis autem quibus posituri

* *Extraits des Procès Verbaux des Séances de l'Année* 1864 *de la Société d'Emulation des Vosges*, referred to in vol. 12, N.S. pp. 317, 318, of the *Revue Archéologique*.

† *Bulletin Mensuel de l'Academie des Inscriptions* for June 1867, vol. xiv. N.S. of the *Revue Archéologique*, p. 73; see also *Mémoires de la Société Impériale des Antiquaires de France*, 3rd ser. vol. x.; *Extrait des Procès Verbaux des Séances*, p. 83-85.

‡ Pp. 210, 213.

eos erant sacrificio facto, hostiâque immaculatâ cæsâ, facibus ardentibus in fossâ cooperti sanguinem instillabant, eoque thura et fruges jactabant; favos quoque et vinum, aliaque quibus consuetudo est terminis sacrum fieri, in fossa adjiciebant, consumptisque omnibus dapibus igne, super calentes reliquias lapides conlocabant, atque ita diligenti curâ confirmabant: adjectis etiam quibusdam saxorum fragminibus conlocabant, quo firmius starent;* and in another place, "Quibusdam placet et videtur, uti sub omnibus signum invenire oporteat, quod ipsum voluntarium non necessarium est. Si enim essent certæ leges, aut consuetudines, aut observationes, semper simile signum sub omnibus inveniretur; nunc, quoniam voluntarium est, aliquibus terminis nihil subditum est, aliquibus vero aut cineres, aut carbones, aut testas, aut vitrea fracta, aut ossa subscensa, aut calcem, aut gypsum invenimus; quæ res tamen, ut supra diximus, voluntaria est. Carbo autem aut cinis quare inveniatur, una certa ratio quæ apud antiquos quidem observata est, postea vero neglecta."

On these quotations M. de Presle remarks as follows:—"Cependant, une partie de ces cérémonies dut souvent être negligée, et les sacrifices cessèrent avec le polythéisme; mais l'usage d'enterrer sous la borne qui devait servir de limite, de la cendre, des charbons, des fragments de poteries, ou d'autres matières incorruptibles, qui rappelaient l'ancien usage, et qui servaient de témoins pour distinguer les bornes d'autres pierres, ou pour empechêr quelles ne fussent déplacées, ou cet usage s'est conservé jusqu' à nos jours dans plusieurs parties de la France; les arpenteurs placent sous les bornes des charbons ou des tuiles brisées, dont les fragments peuvent être rapprochés, et servir des témoins." †

* See *Siculus Flaccus De Condit. Agror.* p. 5. M. De Presle quotes from the edition of Turnebus. Paris 1554.

† It should be observed that the word "témoins" is used by M. de Presle in the technical sense employed by French land surveyors. This sense is thus explained in the Dictionary of Laveaux: "On appelle témoins de petits morceaux de tuile, d'ardoise, &c. qu'on enterre sous les bornes d'un champ d'un heritage afin de connaître dans la suite si ces bornes n'ont point été deplacées; *on a trouvé les veritables bornes de ce champ par le moyen des témoins.*"

A passage from Fastus and Valerius is then given, "Per Gallias et per Africam, Dum per Africam assignaremus, circa Carthaginem in aliquibus locis terminos rariores constituimus, ut inter se habeant pedes II. CCCC. In limitibus autem ubi rariores terminos constituimus, monticellos plantavimus de terra, quos *botontinos* appellavimus. Et intra ipsos carbones et cineres et testâ tufâ cooperuimus. Trifinium quam maximè quando constituimus cum signis, id est cineribus aut carbonibus, et calce, ibidem construximus, et super toxam monticellum constituimus."*

In commenting on this extract, M. de Presle observes, "Il est etabli par ce passage que les monticules dans lesquels on trouve de la cendre, des charbons, et de la chaux, sont probablement d'anciennes limites. De semblables monticules ont pu servir non seulement à délimiter des heritages mais des territoires, des confins de *pagi*;† et comme à travers les revolutions qui ont passé sur notre pays, les anciennes délimitations civiles, municipales, ou religieuses paraissent avoir peu varié, ainsi qu'on l'a déjà constate pour de grandes divisions territoriales ceux des nombreux tumuli, dans lesquels on a vraiment cherché les objets qui accompagnent ordinairement les sepultures, pourraient offrir un interêt d'une autre genre," and concludes by recommending the subject to the "Commission de la Carte des Gaules."

At a meeting of the Society on the 18th December 1867, M. Devals, in calling attention to the village of Montbartier, mentioned in a map of the year 676, which is preserved among the archives of the department (*in Montemberterii quondam*) remarks on the numerous antiquities of interest which have there been discovered, and among other things he refers to "un oppidum gaulois situé a l'extremité meridionale du village," and that near this there is a large mound evidently constructed by the hands of man, but which cultivation has so injured as to render it difficult to say whether it was raised for funereal or military purposes. To the north of the *oppidum* is another mound, the base of which is defended by a large ditch. This in the map of 676 bears the name of *Vallum Euvaldi*, and belongs to the category of defensive

* *Var. Auctor. de Limitib. Rei Agrariæ Auctores*, p. 306.

† Lesser divisions of a territory.

mounds, and is nothing more than an advanced work, or, in other words, a detached fort. Discoveries have frequently been made of broken Gaulish pottery, but less ancient than that found in the immediate vicinity. To the east of the *vallum* was a third mound, but it has been destroyed within the last few years, when it was found to contain nothing but large quantities of coals, cinders, and fragments of bricks and pottery. In this M. Devals justly sees an illustration to the passage already quoted from Fastus and Valerius, and proceeds to notice how remarkable it is that at this particular spot there is shown in the chart of 676 a turn, "detourner à gauche pour descendre au ruisseau de Sandrune," (*pervenit usque . . . . in Montenbertii quondam usque in Stirpiniago et Vallum Euvaldi usque in media Saldruna,*) which indicates the limits of the possessions given to the Abbaye de Moissac by Niyergius and his wife Irmitrudis, and asks whether this mound could not have been raised at this early period, and served as a boundary to the abbey lands.* If so, it would indicate that the system described by the old writers was still in full vigour in France at the end of the seventh century.

These are facts which evidently show that the study of limitary monuments is now engaging the attention of antiquaries in France, and, as the early history of the continent is so materially interwoven with that of our own country, added to the illustrative benefit to be derived from a study of the antiquities which are so profusely scattered throughout Germany and Gaul, we may watch with interest the results of further investigations by our foreign neighbours in this most novel though important branch of archæology.

A sepulchre of itself would sometimes be so placed as to mark the boundary line of the possession. In an enumeration of objects so applied in different provinces, which is given by the old writers, we find † "Sepulchra finalia aut monumenta," sarcofaga, orcas, imbrices, laterculos, &c., and throughout the text we have ample evidence to the fact of interments sometimes possessing this signi-

* Vide *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1867, p. 179. 181.

† *Var. Auctor. &c.* p. 267. *Rei Agrariæ Auctores, &c.* 1674.

ficance,* "Aliquibus locis pro terminis monumenta sepulchrave veteranorum constituimus," "quoniam sepulchra in extremis finibus facere soliti sunt."† In some places where pools and ditches indicated natural limits there were signs signifying the intention evidenced by a sepulchre placed upon the marshy bank, "Signa quæ inveniuntur per sepulchra finali causâ diriguntur, plerisque super ripam paludis sacra paganorum inveniuntur."‡ But, while explaining the circumstance of sepulchres being final, the agrimensors are equally explicit in showing that all were not to be so considered: "Monumenta vero non omnia sunt finalia, nisi ea quæ in extremis finibus occurrunt," and they make reference to certain signs by which the intention may be proved: thus, "Fines sepulturarios sive cinerarios sic intelligis, quo vadant rigores inter possessiones, juxta sepulturam sunt buxus, sunt etiam cineres, aut cacabos invenis, aut orcas fractas, aut certè integras. Ut invenias si finalis est sepultura, quæris longe ab ea pedes quinque, aut aratro terram agis, et si inveneris ea signa, finalis est sepultura."§ This latter quotation appears among fragments of a lost work of the Agrimensor Dolabella; in being handed down (evidently for practical use) such fragments are somewhat corrupted in expression, but their meaning is perfectly evident.

The connection of box trees (buxus) with funeral customs has been fully illustrated by discoveries in this country. Among the Roman sepulchral relics at the Bartlow Hills described by John Gage, Esq. F.R.S.‖ leaves were found adhering to the cinerary urns found in the brick bustum, and these were described by Mr. Brown, F.R.S. as belonging to the box, *Buxus sempervirens;* and Professor Henslow records that among Roman remains at Chesterford box leaves lay loose in the soil.¶

The presence of pottery near the interment, *aut orcas fractas aut*

* *Var. Auctor. &c.* p. 254. † *Siculi Flacci de Condit. &c.* p. 4.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 274. § *Ibid.* p. 296. ‖ *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii.
¶ Mr. Gage further quotes from Wordsworth's poetical works the fact that in several parts of the North of England, when a funeral takes place, a bason full of sprigs of box-wood is placed at the door of the house from which the coffin is taken up, and each person who attends the funeral ordinarily takes a sprig of the box-wood and throws it into the grave of the

certe integras, fully answers to the conditions under which the discovery was made at Moorfields, which, taken with the fact of it being *in situ*, and on the margin of a watercourse or ditch, and thus on a natural terminus,* gives weight to the idea that it may have been intended as an additional evidence to mark the limit of the land. If this be so, we may imagine it as the family tomb of the proprietor of the soil; the urns all containing bones in addition to those so carefully preserved in the glass vessel, show that more than one individual was entombed. The peculiarity also of the earthen cover would seem to indicate that something was intended by its selection. Terminal marks of this nature were usually above ground; and this, of course, would be a burial below the surface; it may therefore have had some kind of monument or mound of earth raised above it for security and protection. It is here worthy of remark that among the diagrams given in the agrimensorian treatises there is a class of monument figured † as "Sepultura militaris in finem," which possesses a domed covering of the form I have described. To say, however, that this or any other of the interments we have investigated are of the order of *sepulchra finalia* would be idle; to say that they may be so is to suggest a possibility. They doubtless had belonged to the proprietors of the several lands on which they were found, and were not deposited in a public cemetery; but to assign the precise meaning attached to their position requires most accurate observation of the site and circumstances at the time of the discovery. "Omnia ergo" (says Siculus Flaccus) "diligenti curâ exquirenda erunt." There is of course evidence both for and against any supposition; and the facts I have ventured to put

deceased. Box-trees are indigenous to the South of England, and in Roman times may have frequently been connected with sepulchral rites. It is noticeable that the cypress, still an emblem of mourning, was placed both by the Greeks and Romans in their tombs, and to these facts we may attribute the origin of that custom which has placed yew-trees and evergreens in the churchyards of our own time.

* Blomfield Street marks the line of division between the parishes of St. Stephen Coleman Street, and St. Botolph Bishopsgate.

† Hyginus, 212, *Rei Agrariæ Auctores, &c.* See also fig. 275, Lachman's edition of the *Gromatici Veteres*, 2 vols. Berlin, 1848.

forward are but offered as suggestions for further study and reflection, and to indicate a source whence light may be gathered on much that has hitherto been obscure, as well as to point out the importance of minutely observing the smallest matters of detail when such discoveries are made. We know from written history that the systems which have been referred to were carried out in the Italian provinces,* and there can be few matters of research more valuable or interesting than tracing the extent to which the same plans were adopted in this country. It may be thought questionable as to how far the Italian forms of assignation prevailed in a province so remote as Britain, and consequently that principles familiar enough abroad must in their connection with us be accepted with some hesitation. On the other hand, we may inquire, Why should Britain form an exception to the general plan of conquest? It was situate at no greater distance from the seat of power than many places where these forms existed. It was no insignificant province; it attracted the personal attention of many of the emperors, several visited it, and others are known to have both lived and died upon its shores. The importance of its trade with other nations, the wealth of its native products, its insular security, and its proximity to the continent, all served to invest this country with influence in the councils of the Imperial city. With the Romans, too, unity of purpose was an essential characteristic. In whatever part of the world we may meet with the traces of their occupation, there is no difficulty in identifying them, they at once speak for themselves as the product of one and the same enterprising genius. "Ubicunque vicit Romanus habitat,"† was said by Seneca; and in applying the knowledge we possess of what was done in Rome we shall the better understand the course pursued, not only in this but other provinces of the empire.

* Also in Spain and Portugal, Gaul, Africa, Pannonia, Phrygia, Asia, Dalmatia, Constantinople, &c. Vide Lachman. Spain and Portugal, pp. 4, 22, 51, 171; Gaul, p. 353; Africa, pp. 53, 57, 87, 180, 307, 353; Pannonia, pp. 121, 205; Phrygia, p. 206; Asia, p. 206; Dalmatia, p. 240; Constantinople, p. 351. See also at p. 268 a rescript of Constantine upon a point of the Agrimensura, addressed "ad *universos* provinciales."

† Seneca, *Cons. ad Helv.* sect. vii.

The annexed wood-cut represents an object in Mr. Baily's museum, which was also found in the excavations in Blomfield Street. It is of iron, much corroded and encrusted with pebbles, indurated clay, and sand. It measures 8½ inches long, has what

Fig. 1.

may be termed a handle, elevated at a distance of 3½ inches from the base, the slanting form being due to the effects of time or accident, its original position having been doubtless perpendicular. The other end is terminated by a hook, and the sides are flanked by clips, the form of which, in spite of the encrustation, is distinctly shown in the engraving. Fig. 2 is an object of like

Fig. 2.

character. This was discovered while excavating for the Broad Street Station of the North London Railway in Liverpool Street. It differs somewhat from the preceding example: it measures at its base 7¼ inches long, and its handle in its original position is 4¾ inches high. It also has lateral clips, but four in place of two;

one appears on either side the anterior hook, two were originally in the centre, but one of them is unfortunately missing, having perished by decay.

Fig 3 is of smaller size, but an implement of like construction.

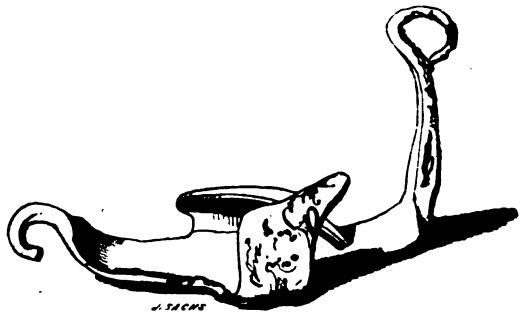


Fig. 3.

It measures but 6 inches on its under surface; its ring-formed handle is 3⅝ inches high, and on it also are the two lateral clips, and it has an anterior hook similar to that illustrated above. It was found in the spring of the present year while digging in London Wall, and with Fig. 2 is also preserved in Mr. Baily's collection.*

These illustrations are representative of a class of objects to which, until of late years, but little attention has been paid, although they must frequently have been met with while excavating Roman sites. Though varying more or less in form and size, they are nevertheless of a uniform character, and are now generally considered by antiquaries to represent "hipposandals" or horseshoes, and to have been fabricated for the use of mules or horses having feet that were tender or diseased, or for temporary employment on moist or boggy soils, and are presumed to have been attached to the hoof by straps or thongs. By some

* The examples we have figured were exhibited at the evening meeting held on 8th March, 1869. Mr. Baily has others in his museum, and it is curious to note the difference there is in detail, while the general character remains the same. Two of them are engraved in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for March 1867, and are specimens also found at Moorfields.

authors this appropriation has been questioned, and they have been described by some as stirrups, and by others as lamp-stands. To the latter use Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A., who was, I believe, the first to bring them into notice, at one time thought they could be applied; but he has since found reasons for a different opinion. In his valuable work, the "Illustrations of Roman London," while describing a specimen from his own collection, he writes, "The most reasonable explanation that has been suggested is, that they were used for temporary purposes for the feet of horses or oxen, either in case of disease or in journeys where the roads were particularly bad. Supposing they were so used, they were probably lined with leather or wool, and bound round the hoofs and legs with straps. When Catullus (xvii. 25) speaks of a mule leaving its iron *solea* or shoe in the mud,

> In gravi derelinquere cœno,
> Terream ut soleam tenaci in voragine mula,

it is certain he could not have meant a shoe fixed to the foot with nails, but a shoe not permanently bound on; and from the context one apparently used for soft or quaggy land."*

Among the *débris* of the Roman towns in France and Germany these objects have frequently been discovered. So early as 1758 one is mentioned as found in Switzerland, at Culm, near Avenches, and throughout the writings of foreign antiquaries various references to their discovery occur. Besides recording the discovery by M. Chevreaux in 1861 of a hipposandal at Abbaye wood, Canton St. Saens,† the Abbé Cochet mentions that they have been observed at Arques in the Roman establishment of Archelles;‡ others from the soil of Caudebec les Elbeuf (the ancient Uggate), and preserved at Louvrier; and also that analogous examples have been met with at Riviere Thibonville

* *Illustrations of Roman London*, C. R. Smith, p. 146.

† This specimen, illustrated in the Abbé's work *La Seine Inférieure*, differs from those we have figured in having two studs projecting from its under surface, and in place of the lateral clips, these appendages are carried up in a slanting position from the sides until they unite in a terminating ring of the same character as we have described.

‡ *Tombeau de Childeric; Abbé Cochet*, 1859, p. 152.

(Eure), at Vieux near Caen (the ancient Arægenus), at Vieil Evreux (Mediolanum), as well as at Chatelet, Dijon, Autun, and other places. The Abbé gives three illustrations for comparison; one described by M. de Widrange of Bar le Duc, and having an aperture in the centre of the plate, also a ring attached to the side clip in the same manner as that in the specimen found at Evreux, which is figured by Mr. Roach Smith in the third volume of his *Collectanea Antiqua*. The second had no rings, but hooked terminations and lateral clips; this M. de Widrange was informed had been discovered attached to the remains of the animal's limb; but the statement being unauthenticated, it was justly questioned by the abbé. The third example differs only in the number of its clips; it is preserved in the museum of Besançon, which is said to possess as many as thirty or more of these interesting but doubtful objects. They have also been met with among the *débris* at the Roman camp at Dalheim and Luxembourg,* accompanied too by specimens of the horseshoe similar to those in modern use. In excavations at the camp between the years 1851 and 1855 many were observed, and are described as "une nouvelle forme de hipposandale ou hippopodes pathologiques." Among them are specimens resembling those in Mr. Baily's series, as well as that figured by Mr. Roach Smith in his Catalogue of London Antiquities.

In Switzerland they have been found at Granges, Canton de Vaud, and it is mentioned by Abbé Cochet that M. de Troyon had directed his attention to the discovery, among Roman ruins at this place, of four which were said to have been found attached to the feet of a skeleton of either a horse or mule, a statement which, being authenticated by an authority such as M. de Troyon, would seem to settle at once the discussion as to the application of these instruments.

In a private letter recently received from Abbé Cochet, this eminent antiquary favours me with the following extract from the original information received by him from M. de Troyon. After corroborating the general views expressed by the abbé on the subject of "Hipposandals," in his "Tombeau de Childeric," it

* *Publication de la Société des Monuments, etc. de Luxembourg*, vol. xi.

reads: "Toutefois j'ajouterai, ce qui vous interessa peut-être, que nous avons retrouvé dans les ruines romaines de Granges (Canton de Vaud) un squelette de cheval qui avait encore à chaque pied l'une des *solea;* les deux destinées aux pieds de devant avaient l'anneaux posterieur destiné à la courroie plus relevé et plus plat qu'aux deux fers des pieds de dernière, evidemment pour empêcher que le cheval ne *forgeât.*" These facts tally with the description of the shoes found (now placed in the museum at Avenches and Bel Air) which is given by M. Bieler, and quoted at length in the excellent work on "Horse Shoes and Horse Shoeing," recently published by George Fleming, esq. Vet. Surg. R.E., F.R.G.S., &c., to whom I am much indebted for the permission to use the annexed wood-cut, which illustrates the object* referred to.

In England, the existence of many specimens is recorded. From Springhead, in Kent, Mr. Fleming engraves two in the collection of Mr. Sylvester. One possesses an oval-shaped sole, with a wide aperture in the centre; its length without the terminating hook is 5½ inches, and its width between the lateral clips is 4½ inches. The second is a much larger example, its length within the front and back hooks is 6½ inches, and the width

* Mr. Fleming's work abounds with information connected with the *pros* and *cons* of this interesting subject. It is fully illustrated with figures of every variety of the "Hipposandal," and an ingenious classification is given by which they are assorted into three divisions.

between the lateral clips 4½ inches, though the sole both before and behind is much narrower. These are the most clumsy in their construction of any of the varieties that have been found, and led Mr. Fleming more than any others to question the accuracy of their general application. In a private letter he informs me that in the course of his experiments as to whether they could be adapted to a horse's hoof, he was unable to find a single animal that they would fit, and that with many that he has represented "could they even be adjusted to the hoofs they would inevitably throw the horse down did he attempt to walk or trot in them." The second example described as from Springhead is similar to fig. 2 in Mr. Baily's examples, and a counterpart of one found some years since in the Thames near Westminster, and exhibited by Mr. C. Ainslie at a meeting of the Archæological Institute.*

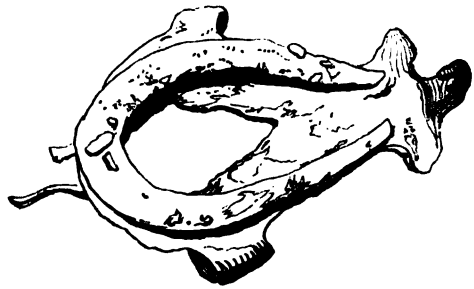
In the late Lord Londesborough's collection there was one from Stony Stratford; and a richly ornamented specimen was exhumed

during the rebuilding of Blackwater Bridge at Coggeshall in Essex, in conjunction with Roman remains. "It is decorated with beaded bands and impressed circles wrought with the hammer upon its under surface," and is best represented by the engraving,

* *Archæological Journal*, vol. xi. p. 416. This object is there described as probably an example of the *Lychnucus pensilis*, or lamp stand, but the appropriation can hardly be correct; the Lychnucus, so far from being a lamp-stand, was rather for the support of *many* lamps, and suspended as our chandeliers from the ceiling. Mr. Rich remarks that all the varieties possess this characteristic feature, and he engraves a pendant lamp-stand of marble, in the Villa Borghese, which carried *eight* lamps at least. Vide *Companion to the Latin Dictionary and Greek Lexicon*, p. 398.

copied from a careful etching by Mr. H. W. King, Hon. Sec. Essex Archæological Society, and published in the first volume of its Transactions.

By the kindness of A. W. Franks, Esq., F.S.A., &c., I have had the pleasure of inspecting several of these objects which are in the British Museum; among those of special interest is one discovered at the Bridge of Reignac (dep. of Indre et Loire); on its under surface are numerous incised lines running in various directions, apparently with some view to ornamentation, yet of utility in rendering the implement less liable to slip when used. A second has but one real lateral clip, the usual two being quite in front, where they are clumsily united to form a projecting hook. The sole is very narrow and much oxydized on the ground surface, and the ordinary hook-like termination at the end is present.*



There is also an example of great interest from the internal evidence which it appears to me to possess of its application as a horseshoe. It measures 6¾ inches long with a width between the side clips of 4¾ inches. It shows traces of wear, and has an aperture in the centre around which has been placed a strip of iron in form resembling the modern shoe. This has been fastened on to the original in a separate piece, possibly as a means of strengthening the plate, but in the design selected for this purpose there would appear to be something more than a coincidence. The peculiarity is indicated in the illustration executed from a drawing made by Mr. J. P. Emslie† by the permission of Mr. Franks.

* Figured in Mr. Fleming's work, p. 313.

† To Mr. Emslie we are indebted for the drawings of the various objects figured in these remarks.

With respect to the question as to whether we are correct in considering these curious objects as hipposandals it is difficult even to hazard an opinion, for the subject is of great perplexity. It is truly styled by Mr. Roach Smith "as one of those minor points in archæology so difficult to decide upon without some unquestionable evidence." For many years it was considered that the general testimony of antiquity was to the effect that the ancients did not possess the knowledge or practice of protecting a horse's hoof by nailing thereto a piece of iron; but recent discoveries have clearly indicated that this opinion is erroneous. Horse shoes of modern form have often in London as elsewhere been found among remains unquestionably Roman, and, as we have already seen, sometimes accompanied by these debated objects. In addition to this there is evidence of a powerful character adduced for the first time by Mr. C. Roach Smith, viz. the testimony of sculpture.*

In the museum of Avignon there is a monument discovered at Vaison which is covered with sculpture in a good style of art. Among the subjects is one representing a travelling scene comprising a four-wheeled vehicle drawn by two mules, and containing no less than four persons exclusive of the driver. Two of them are seated face to face in the inside, and two back to back on the roof. The passengers upon the top of the vehicle are all provided with hoods which fall down upon the back, and the driver wears the Gaulish *braccæ* or trousers. With some further descriptive remarks on so interesting a picture of the equipment and arrangement of a travelling party in Roman Gaul, one not to be found in all probability elsewhere, Mr. Smith describes "the indications of the nails to be so decidedly marked on the feet of the mules as to leave no doubt that the artist intended to show that they were shod, and that we may conclude that the shoeing of horses as well as very many more inventions of the useful arts commonly supposed of comparatively modern origin are really of remote antiquity." In addition, however, to the nailed shoe, there is undoubted evidence of the adaptation under certain conditions of moveable shoes, such as could

* *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi.

be taken off and replaced with ease when necessity required.* Vegetius speaks of the *solea spartea* as a covering for the hoof; this was made by platting together sprigs of the Spanish broom (*Sparteum Junceum*) and was for the purpose of protecting the feet of cattle and beasts of burden when tender or diseased. A contrivance of this kind exists in modern times; it is said by Mr. Rich still to be in use in Japan, where the inhabitants make a small basket to the shape of the animal's foot, on to which it is bound by a strap round the fetlock. Then there is the iron shoe, the *solea ferrea* already referred to by Mr. Smith in his quotation from Catullus, and described by Mr. Bracy Clark in connection with a passage from Vegetius † which refers to a sock of leather or similar material which enveloped the foot, and beneath which was a stouter leathern sole, pad, or *lemniscus*, and sometimes under this an iron shoe or *glans*, and Mr. Clark suggests the possibility of this referring to an iron plate being connected with the sock, and that probably on some occasion it was by accident or intention affixed to the hoof in place of the *lemniscus*, and so became the progenitor of the modern shoe. We have evidence also of the moveable nature of the shoes in the jocular story connected with Vespasian and his mule-driver.‡ That emperor, on one of his journeys, suspecting the driver who had alighted on the pretence of shoeing his mules—*mulas calceare*—had only done so in order to have the opportunity for allowing a person they met, and who was engaged in a law-suit, to speak to him, is reported to have

* Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. iv. pt. 1, p. 79. "Xenophon dans son livre sur les chevaux et sur la cavalerie ne parle point de l'usage de ferrer les chevaux; il apprend seulement la manière de leur durcir la corne des pieds, ce qui sembleroit marquer qu'ils n' etoient point ferrés; il dit, au livre quatrième de l'expedition de Cyrus le Jeune, qu'une nacion dont les chevaux etoient fort petits, leur lioit les pieds dans des sacs de peur qu'ils n'enfoncassent dans la neige jusqu'au ventre, on a pourtant des preuves que les anciens ferroient les chevaux. Homere et Appien le disent, mais il paroit que la coutume n'en etoit pas generale."

† *On the knowledge of the Ancients respecting the Art of Shoeing the Horse*, B. Clark, 1831. "Pedes quos sanos habet glante ferreo vel si defuerit spartea calceabis, cui lemniscos subjicies et additâ fasciolâ diligentissimè colligabis, et suppositiciam facies parti illi quæ misera est ut planas ungulas possit ponere." Veget. lib. iii. c. 18.

‡ Suetonius, *Vespasian*, c. 23. Bohn's translation.

asked, "how much he got for shoeing his mules," and insisted on having a share of the profit. The fact too of Nero* never travelling with less than a thousand baggage-carts and the mules all shod with silver—*solea argentea*—or those of his wife Poppæa, which were shod with gold—*solea ex auro*,† would imply that the said shoes were but plates of gold or silver instead of iron, and employed for the temporary purpose only.

Mr. T. Milbourn, *Hon. Secretary*, in suggesting that some of these objects may have served as temporary shoes for cattle, calls my attention to the circumstance that to the present day oxen are shod with small plates or tips of iron which are affixed by nails to the animal's foot. Small pieces of iron were found at Pompeii, which are presumed to have served as shoes for cattle, and in the Middle Ages oxen are said to have carried panniers, and were in common with cows shod in accordance with a then prevailing method. Certainly some of these sandals would seem more adapted to the measured tread of the ox than to the horse; with the former the limbs are far apart, whereas with the latter the distance between the hoofs is comparatively small, and at a trotting pace the lateral clips of *some* of the "hipposandals" would inevitably strike one against the other, and injure the corona and fetlock of the horse.

There is, however, so great a variety in design and form, that the mistake has possibly been in assigning all objects analogous in character to one and the same use. Many doubtless have served as horseshoes, while others may have been applied to other purposes. In the form of sandal attached to the skeleton referred to by M. Troyon, there is nothing against such an application; and in the specimens which possess the central aperture there would seem to be an intermediate form between the plain iron plate and the modern shoe. To the present day in Holland they still have such sandals, viz. a long flat iron plate much in the shape of the ordinary shoe, and affixed to the animal's limb by leathern thongs or straps; and even of late years there have among London tradesmen been attempts made to introduce a moveable horseshoe of this character. History and tradition therefore tell us, that shoes with nails and shoes without were

* Idem, *Nero*, c. 30. † Pliny, *Hist. Mundi*, lib. xxxiii. c. 11.

simultaneously used; and if the objects we have attempted to describe, clumsy as they are, do not represent the latter, it is singular that we should find no example of anything else that would apply to the same use. Mr. Fleming (and to his book I would refer all interested in this subject) suggests that they may have been employed as skids or drags, and represent the *suffla-men* of the ancient writers, and adduces several ingenious reasons in support of his supposition; at the same time he admits that there are many of them to which such application would be difficult; certainly those that we have figured could not be so assigned, and those that are ornamented, as the one from Essex, would be alike unsuitable. To some extent he is strengthened in his opinion by no less an authority than M. Megnin, Veterinary Surgeon to the 3rd Regiment of French Lancers, and one who has given some attention to this subject. This author formerly considered these implements as really intended for horses' feet, but is now inclined to think with Mr. Fleming that many of them are examples of the *sabot* or *enrayeur*—a skid or drag.* He describes, however, one in his possession as a veritable "hippo-sandal," and which possesses rings, lateral clips, and has the under surface slashed or grooved to prevent sliding. It was found under three metres of alluvial deposit on a towing path by the banks of the Loire, and at a site dating from the Gallo-Roman period. M. Megnin remarks that historians have shown that at this time transports by water were active on the large rivers of Gaul, and that it is not improbable that the market horses, whose feet would become injured by the frequent passage through the water, were often shod with irons, temporarily affixed (au fers à ligature), and that this, while not a pathological shoe, may have been employed for such a purpose. For some such temporary use I can but think they were intended, or if not so considered, or as protections for the tender or diseased hoofs of the horse, ox, or mule, we must, I fear, admit the perplexing nature of the inquiry, and await further discoveries.

* My thanks are due to Mr. Fleming for the particulars of this discovery, received by him from M. Megnin since the publication of his work.

ROBERT DE BRAYBROKE, BISHOP OF LONDON 1381—1404, LORD CHANCELLOR 1382—83.

By Edward W. Brabrook, F.S.A., M.R.S.L.,
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The lands of Bradebroc, in the county of Northampton, were known by that name in the time of Edward the Confessor.* In the reign of Henry II. Ivo Newmarch possessed them, and (in the partition of his property) they descended to his second daughter and coheir, Albreda, who married Ingelbart. Ingelbart afterwards assumed the name of Braibroc;† and his son, Sir Robert, who built the castle of Braibroc,‡ was a guardian or justicier and high sheriff of the county from the 10th to the 15th of John. He was succeeded in these offices by his son Sir Henry,§ and was a direct ancestor of Sir Gerard (the second), who died in 1359, and of whom the subject of the present notice was a younger son.

With this preface, I proceed to give a short account of the life of one who united the offices of Bishop of London and Lord Chancellor, at a period of English history when the citizens of London played an important part in political movements. A contemporary of Wycliffe, Chaucer, and William of Wykeham, we shall find no lack of incidents of living interest in his career.

* Domesday: Northamptonshire.

† I adopt this spelling from a beautiful family Chartulary in the Sloane collection at the British Museum, commencing with Robert the Justiciary in which the name is uniformly spelt "Braibroc." MS. Sloane 98 b.

‡ Camden, ii. 167.

§ Baker's *Northamptonshire*, i. 525.

Robert de Braybroke was born in the village* of that name, in Northamptonshire, became a licentiate in civil law at Oxford, † and entered the Church. The first preferment we hear of his obtaining gives some insight into his character.

By virtue of a "provision" from the Pope, he extorted, in 1360, the rectory of Hinton in Cambridgeshire from the Fellows of Peterhouse.‡ When it is remembered how unpopular these papal encroachments on the rights of the Crown and clergy of England were, and what sharp and penal laws were devised against them,§ we shall expect that, beginning his career by taking advantage of a "proviso," he would be found ready, for the interests of his church, of himself, or of his party, to undertake any unpopular duty. He held this extorted living till 1379, when he exchanged it for the rectory of Girton in Lincolnshire. He lived to see a series of Acts against Provisors passed in the 3rd, 7th, 12th, 13th, and 16th of Richard II. and the 2nd of Henry IV.

His other ecclesiastical preferments were successively as follows:‖—9 Nov. 1366, he became Prebendary of Fenton, in the church of York: this he resigned in 1370 for that of Fridaythorp, in the same church; and this latter on March 3, 1376-7, for the archdeaconry of Cornwall¶ and prebend of Combe Prima in the church of Wells. In 1378 he was collated to the prebend of All Saints in the church of Lincoln, and in 1379 to that of Colwick in the diocese of Lichfield. In the same year, as before stated, he took the rectory of Girton; which he again exchanged, shortly after, for that of Horsenden, also in the diocese of Lincoln. On Feb. 28, 1380-81, he was made Dean of Salisbury; on July 26, he exchanged the archdeaconry of Cornwall for the rectory

* Fuller's *Worthies*, 284.

† *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, ed. Shirley. Rolls Series, p. 286. Lord Campbell (Lives of the Chancellors) says Cambridge, but does not state his authority. Wharton, *Historia de Episcopis Londinensibus*, &c., London, 1695.

§ Stephen's *Commentaries*, iv. 248, copying Blackstone.

‖ Newcourt; Wharton; Browne Willis; Le Neve.

¶ Le Neve gives Nicholas Braybroke as the person who exchanged a prebend in York for the archdeaconry of Cornwall, and Robert Braybroke as his successor from 1381 to 1395.

of Bideford; on September 9th in the same year, a Bull of Pope Urban constituted him the sixty-third Bishop of London. He received his temporalities on the 17th December, and was consecrated at Lambeth on the 5th January following by the Bishops of Exeter, Rochester, and Bangor.* His two immediate predecessors in the see of London, Simon Sudbury and William Courtenay, had both been translated to the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury, and were the first Bishops of London so honoured. We are proud to think of the tenth and most recent instance of the kind in the person of the Most Reverend Patron of our Society, Dr. Tait.

In order to dismiss Bishop Braybroke's family relations at once, it may be mentioned here that he collated his kinsman (probably nephew) Reginald Braybroke, who had succeeded him for one day in his Lincoln stall on the 5th December 1387, to the prebendal stall of Brownswood, in the church of St. Paul, on the 18th May 1392, and to that of Holywell or Finsbury, on the 23rd July 1394. Another, Nicholas Braybroke, he made prebendary of Neasdon, on the 4th June 1395. Nicholas died in 1399.† A kinswoman, Katherine Braybroke, about this time, was the fifteenth prioress of Clerkenwell.‡ In two instances, during the Bishop's time, the fortunes of the family were advanced by marriages with heiresses of noble families:—Sir Reginald, the Bishop's nephew, marrying Joane de la Pole, grand-daughter of John the last Lord Cobham, and Sir Gerard (the fifth), his great-nephew, marrying the daughter of the Lord Grey de Wilton.§

* Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*.

† Newcourt; Dugdale; Le Neve. In the register of Archbishop Arundel, at Lambeth Palace, is a copy of the Will of Nicholas Braybroke, canon of Exeter and formerly rector of Bideford, made in 1399, in which he directs that he be buried in St. Paul's London, and constitutes partial executors of his goods in London, Robert prior of Marton, "simul cum venerabilissimo et carissimo semper patre in Christo domino Roberto Braybrok Dei gratiâ Londinensis episcopo." Reg. Arundel 165.

‡ Fuller.

§ I have to thank Mr. F. C. Brooke, of Ufford, for his kind assistance in disentangling the somewhat complicated pedigree of the Braybrokes, and correcting several of the errors of Weever.

We shall now glance at the aspect of political affairs when Bishop Braybroke entered upon the duties of his see. Less than three months had passed since that memorable scene in Smithfield, when Sir William Walworth, the Lord Mayor of London, executed summary justice on Wat Tyler, and the King, then a boy of fourteen, rode up alone to the excited people, saying "Sirs, what aileth you? Ye shall have no Captain but me. I am and will be your King and Captain; be you therefore quiet."* The Charters of Enfranchisement that the King had issued, however, on the 15th of June, did not long remain in effect. The disorders in the provinces led to their being rescinded on the 2nd of July; and when the Parliament met, after long adjournment, on the 2nd of November, it proceeded unanimously to confirm that revocation, and to declare the original concession a nullity. The quarrels between great nobles, which are the inevitable curse of a royal minority, were raging with virulence. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who was just now unpopular among the citizens of London, accused the Earl of Northumberland of treason. Both great peers came to the Parliament attended by a numerous following of armed men, and a collision seemed inevitable, but it was averted by the wise and conciliatory policy of the young King. The King showed an evident desire to be on friendly terms with his Parliament, and gave proof of it by removing from the chancellorship the new Archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtenay, and appointing Richard le Scrope in his place. The Parliament did not seem to return the feeling, for they proceeded to make a series of grave charges against the conduct of the young King and the management of his household.† They complained of the excessive number of his suite, the abuses of the courts of law, the exactions made for the support of the King's household, the wasteful expenditure of the subsidies that had been granted for the defence of the kingdom, and demanded a remedy; Richard assented, and a commission of inquiry was constituted, which resulted in the appointment of the Earl of Arundel and Michael de la Pole, as governors of the King's person. These details are necessary to enable us to understand what followed.

* Grafton, i. 425. † Rot. Parl. iii. 100.

Economy was never one of Richard's virtues. He had virtues; and if he could have avoided personal extravagance, and a certain instability and facility of temper, he might (despite all the disadvantages of his long minority) have been a great king and a successful ruler.* The Parliament had exacted from him a promise to grant no gifts without the advice of his council, but this he disregarded; and Richard le Scrope, the Chancellor, at last made a stand, and refused to affix the great seal to certain letters patent issued by Richard during a parliamentary recess. The King removed him; but for three months he failed to find any one with courage enough to take the vacant place. At length, on the very eve of the opening of Parliament, September 30, 1382, the Great Seal was delivered to the Bishop of London, his appointment dating from the 9th of the same month. The King's writ was

* Ce qui précède (1395) a déjà fait voir quelle fermeté et quelle sagesse le jeune roi, rentré en possession de sa prérogative, avait apportées au gouvernement du pays."—Wallon, de l'Institut, *Richard II. episode de la rivalité de la France et de l'Angleterre.* 2 vols. Paris, 1864.

In a quaint alliterative poem of the period, his extravagance is thus portrayed:

" For where was ever any christian king,
That ye ever knew,
That held such an household,
By the half-delle,
As Richard in this realm,
Through misrule of other?
That all his fines for faults,
Nor his fee farms,
Nor forfeitures fele
That felle in his days,
Nor the nownages
That newed him ever,
As Marche and Moubray,
And many mo other,
Nor all the issues of court
That to the king longid,
Nor all the profit of the land
That the prince owned,
Might not a-reach,
Nor his rent neither,
To pay the poor people
That his purveyors tooke,
Without prayer at a parliament,
A poundage beside,
And a fifteenth,
And a dime eke,
And with all the custom of the cloth
That cometh to fairs,
And yet ne had creaunce i-come
At the last end,
With the commons' curse
That cleaved on them ever,
They had been drawn to the devil
For debt that they owed."

Edited by T. Wright for the Camden Society, and again for the Rolls Series in " Political Poems and Songs."

directed to the interim keepers of the Seal, and set forth, "that we have ordained and will, that the Reverend father in God and our dear cousin the Bishop of London shall be our Chancellor, for the great confidence we have in him." He took the office, and was sworn in at St. Paul's *—though he knew how deeply the Parliament would resent an appointment made without their consent, and in order to carry out a policy directly contrary to their stipulations.

Parliament had to meet, however, and to receive from his mouth the King's message: for matters were pressing in several quarters. First, the rebellion had been scotched, but it had hardly been killed, and unless measures were taken to suppress any rising, the insurgents only required a fitting opportunity to become more troublesome than ever. Second, the truce with Scotland was nearly at an end, and preparation had to be made against the recommencement of hostilities there; the troops sent to Portugal to maintain the claim of John of Gaunt to the throne of Castile were in peril, and required reinforcement; and hostilities were shortly expected to break out in Flanders. Such, with the usual modest preamble, was the first message † which Bishop Braybroke, in his new capacity of Chancellor, had to deliver to the incensed Parliament.

The King, however, found that his new Chancellor was so unpalatable to the Commons, that he thought it better to employ the Bishop of Hereford next day to enforce his statements, and urge the demand for money. The Parliament retired to the Chapter-house of Westminster. There they voted a not illiberal provision of money, saddled with many petitions and requests for reform, most of which had to be granted, and the Parliament was in due course dissolved.

Meanwhile, Henry Spencer, the warlike Bishop of Norwich, was carrying on his crusade against the followers of the anti-pope Clement, and the King conceived a desire to go in person to the aid of the city of Ghent. Accordingly, on the 6th January 1382-83, he summoned the barons and prelates to a great council

* Rymer, vii. 362 † Rot. Parl. iii. 132.

at Westminster, and they approved the proposition. To provide funds, however, it was necessary that Parliament should be again assembled; and our Chancellor had, on the 23d February, the task of declaring to the Commons the purpose for which they had been convoked.*

It was the fate of this message also to meet with a repulse. Sir John de Pickeryng, the Speaker, said plainly to the King, "Neither you nor either of your three uncles of Lancaster, Canterbury, and Buckingham, can at present leave the kingdom;"† and the crusade was accordingly left under the control of the Bishop of Norwich.

Bishop Braybroke's tenure of the Great Seal came to an end before the close of this Parliament, having lasted only six months. He was removed on the 10th March 1383, on account of some disagreement with John of Gaunt:—though the close roll veils it under the polite expression that the Bishop desired "cum magnâ instantiâ officio Cancellarii exonerari." Lord Campbell is doubtless right in treating this as a mere courteous fiction.‡ On the 13th March, Michael de la Pole was appointed Chancellor in his place. I have not succeeded in discovering any circumstance that would serve to indicate the cause of the quarrel between the Duke of Lancaster and Bishop Braybroke: it might have been religious, for John of Gaunt was a declared favourer of the Lollards, and enemy to the clergy, and had had quarrels with the previous Bishop of London, and with William of Wykeham; but, on the other hand, it is just as easy to conjecture political reasons for this disagreement.

From this period, the instances are rare in which Bishop Braybroke's name comes prominently forward in matters of civil politics; though he was a regular attendant at the Parliaments, as his name appears in the Rolls as a trier of petitions in nearly every Parliament summoned during the reign of Richard II.§

* Walsingham † Rot. Parl. iii. 145.
‡ Lives of the Chancellors. Walsingham, 290.
§ 1382, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 90, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 (bis).

He appears also as a witness to the charters creating John de Holland, Earl of Huntingdon; Edward, son of the Duke of York, Earl of Rutland; Robert de Vere, Marquis of Dublin; John de Beaufort, Earl of Somerset; to one granted to the Earl Marshall, and to three to the University of Cambridge, 5 and 7 Richard II. and 1 Henry IV.*

We turn therefore to the events in ecclesiastical history during the twenty years that Bishop Braybroke continued to administer the diocese of London. As Dean Milman justly says, "he was no way negligent of his episcopal duties; and the times might seem to demand a vigorous and vigilant bishop." It had been his predecessor's office, in 1377, to conduct the prosecution of Wycliffe, when the Duke of Lancaster and Henry Percy escorted the accused to his trial, and attacked the Bishop violently. Then Lancaster was unpopular among the people,† who therefore took the side of the priests. But, in May 1382, when the Archbishop of Canterbury summoned a Council of his province in London, and passed strong measures against Lollardy, the case was altered, and the mayor and people of London made a demonstration against the bishops, which took the peculiar shape of a vindication of public morality. They cleared the ecclesiastical prisons of the unfortunates who were confined there, and treated them with outrage and indignity, on the ground that the priests used too much indulgence towards them.‡

Fifth in the proclamation of Statutes of the Parliament of 1381 stands an Act against preachers of heresy. This was passed before Bishop Braybroke became Chancellor:—but in the rolls for 1382§ is an entry that the Commons pray that the statute may be declared void, as not having had their assent, to which the King replies, "Y pleist au Roy." This declaration of avoidance was not proclaimed as a statute, and hereupon Lord Coke founds a charge of fraud against the Chancellor,‖ whom he

* Rot. Parl. iii. 210, 251, 264, 343, 344, v. 431, 432.

† "La multitude haissait Lancastre plus encore qu'elle n'aimait Wicleff." Wallon.

‡ Walsingham. § Rot. Parl. iii. 141. ‖ 3 Inst. 41.

calls "John Braibrook." So much of it as is based on the insertion of the statute of 1381 clearly falls to the ground, for le Scrope then held that office:—from the rest of the accusation the Bishop of London's successor, Edmund Gibson,* has warmly defended him, and accused Lord Coke of prejudice and uncharitableness in making it.

On the 13th July 1382, the Archbishop notified to the Bishop of London a charge of heresy against Philip Repyngdon and Nicholas Hereford, who were declared excommunicate at Paul's Cross. The first abjured on the 21st October, and was reconciled on the 24th November; the second appealed to the Pope, who confirmed the condemnation. Wycliffe himself died comfortably in his cure at Lutterworth on the 31st December, 1384; but all his followers were not equally fortunate. The Bishop of London's prison was at Bishop's Stortford:—the same old castle that in Bonner's time was "very well filled" with prisoners.† Probably it was so now, for in 1388 Bartholomew Ker and John Gregg, chaplains, gave the bishop an annual rent of three quarters of corn for the maintenance of his prisoners there. John Claydon, the Lollard, however, was confined for two years in Conway Castle, and for three years afterwards in the Fleet.‡ In 1400, the first capital sentence under the writ "de hereticis comburendis" was proclaimed at St. Paul's.

Collins § says of Courtenay archbishop of Canterbury that "he maintained a constant friendship with those great and wise men Robert Braybroke and William of Wykeham," and he compliments the three on their resistance to attempts on the part of the see of Rome to encroach on the privileges of the Church in England. In 1391 Sir William Brian was sent to the Tower for obtaining a Bull from the Pope addressed to the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London;‖ and in 1396 the Bishop refused to execute a Papal Bull without the King's licence, which was granted as an exception.¶

* Codex, 327. † Newcourt, *Repertorium*, tit. Stortford.
‡ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 372. § Peerage, tit. Courtenay.
‖ Rot. Parl. iii. 288. ¶ Ib. 327.

In 1390 writs were issued to him and the other Bishops, ordering them to stop the collection of new papal impositions.*

The affairs of his Cathedral church occupied much of the Bishop's attention. The secular uses it was put to, the buying and selling, shooting of arrows, throwing stones, and playing at ball in the very church itself, and other desecrations of a still worse character, excited his indignation. On Nov. 9, 1385,† he published a letter, threatening offenders with the greater excommunication, by bell-ringing, candle-lighting, and elevation of the cross. Another abuse of his time was the multiplication of chantries, many of them with insufficient revenues. Chaucer‡ says of his "persoun," that he did not

> "Run to London unto St. Poule's
> "To seeken him a chauntery for soules."

In 1390 Bishop Braybroke united several of these.

In 1394 the College of Petty Canons was founded. Wharton and Newcourt tell of an ill custom which had prevailed in St. Paul's for many years:—"the Canons residentiary would admit no Canon to residence unless he would expend 1000, 800, or 700 marks in the first year after his admission in eating and drinking and other excessive and superfluous expenses."§ The Bishop at last succeeded in inducing the Canons to consent to abide by the decision of the King, which was given on the 16th April, 1399, in favour of a reform; but King Henry afterwards set it aside.

In 1386, the Bishop ordered that the days of the Conversion and Commemoration of St. Paul should be celebrated throughout his diocese equally with the highest festivals, and in 1393 that all the clergy of the diocese should be present in their priestly ornaments in procession on those days. He also issued a hortatory letter to his clergy, to obtain contributions for the work of rebuilding St. Paul's Cross, "ubi verbum Dei consuevit populo prædicari;"‖ though it was left to one of his successors to com-

* Rot. Parl. 405.

† Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 194. Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*, 16.

‡ Prologue to Canterbury Tales.

§ Wharton, *de Episcopis Londinensibus*. ‖ Dugdale, 88.

plete it. He granted in 1387 an indulgence of forty days (a copy of which, transcribed from the original document in the archives of St. Paul's Cathedral by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, is appended to Dean Milman's *Annals of St. Paul's*,) for the same purpose.

It was the Bishop's misfortune on one occasion to fall under the displeasure of the King. After the famous consultation with the Judges at Nottingham, Richard made a solemn entry into London on Sunday, Nov. 10, 1387, and went in procession, first to St. Paul's, then to Westminster. At this service Bishop Braybroke was not present. The next day the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick (the swan, the horse, and the bear of Gower), appeared in arms at the gate of the city. Gloucester had sworn before the Bishop of London, that he was in arms merely to seek satisfaction from Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland; the Bishop went to the King with this protestation and excuse; and being a person (according to the writer in Kennet) both prudent, learned and eloquent, was making some impression, when Michael de la Pole interposed. The Bishop retorted with a bitter reproach. "Be silent; you, who, having been condemned by the Parliament, only exist by the sufferance of the King." The King, it is said, was so highly displeased at this, that he ordered the Bishop to depart from his presence.* That his disgrace was not lasting, however, is shown by an extraordinary entry in the Issue Rolls of the Exchequer for the year 1394,† where occurs a payment of 461*l.* 10*s.* for two diamonds, one given to the Bishop of London, and the other to the Earl of Arundel.

Bishop Braybroke's relations with the citizens of London appear to have been friendly. In 1392, King Richard demanded of the citizens a loan of a thousand pounds, which they refused. Not content with a simple refusal, they nearly killed the Rothschild of the day, a Lombard merchant, who offered to negociate it. The King arrested the mayor, sheriffs, and principal citizens; placed London under the government of an officer of his own;

* Wharton, 140. Walsingham, 320. † Ed. Devon.

and removed the courts for six months from London to York. The Duke of Gloueester, however, interfered on behalf of the city, and brought the king to a reconciliation, on payment by the citizens of ten thousand pounds. Fabyan attributes this reconciliation to the Bishop of London, whom he absurdly calls Dr. Gravesende; Stephen Gravesend having been Bishop from 1319 to 1338.* Whether the Bishop had a share in causing it or not, he joined in celebrating it: on the 29th August, there was a grand procession from Sheen in Surrey to London, and 400 citizens on horseback rode to meet the King and Queen at Wandsworth, and offer their submission. At St. George's church in Southwark the Bishop of London and his clergy met the procession, and conducted it through the city. At the gate of St. Paul's was a splendid fountain, and the whole instrumental resources of the Cathedral were employed to celebrate the occasion. A solemn mass was performed:

> "Occurrent pariter primas et episcopus urbis,
> Obviat et clerus illius ecclesiæ,"

says Richard of Maidstone,† who puts into the mouth of the King a declaration against Lollardy:—

> "Antiquam servate fidem, nova dogmata semper
> Spernite, quæ veteres non didicere patres.
> Ecclesiam quoque catholicam defendite totam,
> Non habet illa gradum, quin colat ipse Deum."

In 1398, again, occasion arose for the citizens to avail them-

* Fabyan also gives (and Rastell after him) a statement of ceremonies supposed to be performed at the tomb of this Bishop by the mayor and citizens to show their gratitude: and the blunder is copied by the author of the Life of Richard the Second in Kennet, though Grafton had detected it long before. These ceremonies, which took place on the day the mayor was sworn in at the Exchequer, were really in honour of Bishop William, who had obtained privileges for the citizens of London from William the Conqueror. An interesting account of them is given in the *Liber Albus*, book i. chapter 7. Fabyan, 537, 538. Grafton, 460.

† Edited by T. Wright for the Camden Society, and again for the Rolls Series in his *Political Poems and Songs*.

selves of the good offices of Bishop Braybroke and Archbishop Walden in making their peace with the King.*

On the day of the dissolution of the "wonderful Parliament" of 1388, there was a remarkable ceremony in Westminster Abbey, in which the Bishop of London took part (3rd June). The King, Queen, Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons went in state to the Abbey, where the Bishop said mass, and the Archbishop of Canterbury preached. The King then renewed his oath of consecration :—the spiritual lords swore fealty to him, and the temporal lords did him homage; and then Lords and Commons swore never, in any time to come, to consent or suffer any Acts passed by that Parliament to be repealed or annulled, and that they would maintain, so far as in them lay, the laws, customs, and peace of the kingdom. The Archbishop then passed sentence of excommunication on all who should attempt to disapprove or contravene the acts of the Parliament.†

During the King's first expedition to Ireland, in 1394-5, the Lollards had become so emboldened that they ventured to affix their protestations on the walls of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, and even to send them to the Parliament. Thomas Arundel, who was then Archbishop of York, with the Bishop of London, went to Ireland to urge the King to return, which he did.

On the King's second and ill-fated expedition to Ireland, he took with him the Bishop of London and seven other bishops, with other lords and gentlemen (among them, a Reginald Braybroke) presumably for the purpose of holding a parliament in Dublin.

The Bishop had probably left Richard, however, before his return to England, for the only bishops mentioned by Creton as being with the King on his return to Milford Haven are St.

* Fabyan, 545.

† "And now let England rejoice in Christ, for that net which was laid so cunningly for our destruction is broken asunder, and we are delivered. To God be the praise of all!" Fannant, temp. Car. I., quoted by Professor Wallon.

David's, Carlisle (" the best of them "), and Lincoln (afterwards Cardinal Beaufort). When Richard was taken at Flint, the Bishop of Carlisle alone was left.

We now come to a part of our Bishop's history from which I have some shrinking. One would have been glad to have been able to say that he joined Robert Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, in that noble protest which is so familiar to us in the words of Shakespeare.

> " What subject can give sentence on his King ?
> And who sits here that is not Richard's subject ?
>
> * * * *
>
> Shall the figure of God's majesty,
> His captain, steward, deputy elect,
> Anointed, crowned, planted many years,
> Be judged by subject and inferior breath ?"*

I thank Mr. Williams, the editor of the MS. St. Victor, for having rescued this bold speech from the regions of historic doubt. It is not to be wondered at that the speaker was at once sent to prison; nor, on the other hand, as both sides in this contest were Englishmen, is it to be wondered at that his sacred character and his noble bravery saved his life when the axe was doing its deadly work by wholesale. I wish it could be said of the Bishop of London that he joined his brother of Carlisle in protesting against Henry's usurpation. The facts are otherwise. He was present in the Parliament, assenting to all that was done. He carried the host and officiated at Henry the Fourth's coronation. At the dinner, King Henry placed himself in his seat, Arundel (the restored Archbishop of Canterbury), the Bishops of London, Winchester and others on the right-hand side of the King's seat, sitting at the same high table; York, Durham, and other bishops at the same table on the other side.† We may wonder what views Canterbury, London, and Winchester would exchange as to the sermon the former had lately preached from the text

* Richard II. Act iv. sc. 1.

† MS. Bodl. 2376, tr. Webb. Archæologia, xx.

"Habuit Jacob benedictionem a patre suo," &c.* According to Froissart,† Bishop Braybroke shortly after accompanied Sir Thomas Percy on a mission to Bordeaux, to reconcile the Bordelais to the change of Kings.

Of that melancholy document, the sentence of perpetual imprisonment against Richard passed by the Secret Committee of the Lords, the Bishop of London was one of the signers. I am ready to believe, for their own sakes, the disclaimer by the new King and the Lords of their having contemplated the tragic end which followed so soon; but this sentence was, in point of fact, the death warrant of the unhappy Richard. The names of the Bishops of Bath, Carlisle, Coventry, Hereford, Worcester, and Winchester are absent from it.‡

The controversy carried on in the Society of Antiquaries with excellent temper in the year 1819 between Mr. Amyot and the Rev. John Webb (who has just been lost to us at the ripe age of ninety-three), leaves the precise manner of Richard's death still a matter of historic doubt. The theory of violent assault by Piers Exton, as vividly described by Shakespeare, is very weakly supported: that of slow starvation has greater probability. "Men sayde forhungered he was," says Hardyng, the contemporary chronicler.§ But whether this starvation was an act of murder by Henry's orders, or an act of voluntary suicide, is uncertain. The secrets of the dreadful prison-house at Pomfret have never been revealed; and the documentary evidence, when allowance is made for the partialities of the writers, is about equal on either side. There remains, however, another alternative, for which there is no documentary evidence whatever, but which may, after all, afford the true explanation—that Richard's death was natural; that the few short steps between the prisons and the graves of princes were traversed the sooner by the natural effect of his recent sad experiences on a constitution weakened by indulgence. Not a single testimony rests upon any personal knowledge, and

* Creton.

† Ed. Johnes, iv. 646. Chron. Wavrin, (Rolls Series) p. 13.

‡ Rot. Parl. iii. 426. § c.cc.

the tongues of rumour are always busy when the great ones of the earth die suddenly.

Richard's remains lay for two days (the 12 and 13 March 1399-1400) in St. Paul's Cathedral "in the state of a gentleman, to show him to the people of London, that they might believe for certain that he was dead."*

"At Poules his masse was done and diryge."†

St. Paul's was soon after the theatre of the *Te Deum* intoned by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the reception in London of the bloody remains of Sir Thomas Blount and Sir Benedict Seely, after their endurance, with wonderful constancy, of tortures too horrible to describe.

On two or three occasions after this we find in the proceedings of the privy council a record of the Bishop of London's attendance at its meetings;‡ and in 1402 he was one of the Lords named, at the request of the Commons, to assist in their deliberations;§ but his public services were now very near an end. On the first of May 1404, Sir Gerard Braybroke (the fifth) knight, Edmund Hampden, esq., John Boys, esq., and Roger Albrighton clerk, treasurer of the Cathedral,‖ founded a chantry under letters patent from the King, and endowed it with lands worth 12*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* a year, for one chaplain daily to say mass at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in St. Paul's Cathedral, adjoining the Bishop's palace, for the welfare of the venerable father in Christ and lord, Robert, by the grace of God, Bishop of London, as long as he shall live, and for his soul when he has departed this life, also for the soul of Master Nicholas Braybroke, late Canon of St. Paul's, and for the souls of all faithful departed.¶ Thomas King

* MS. St. Victor. † Hardyng, c.cc.

‡ *Ordinances of Privy Council*, ed. Sir N. H. Nicolas, vol. i. Rymer, viii. 126. § Rot. Parl. iii. 486.

‖ Probate of Bishop Braybroke's will was granted to these gentlemen by Archbishop Arundel on Feb. 20, 1404-5. The probate is preserved in the archives of St. Paul's Cathedral, with an inventory of the Bishop's goods and debts, the *Summa totalis* of which is 2131*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

¶ The charter is extant. Harl. MS. 47 b 14. See Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*, 94, 357, and Weever's *Fun. Mon.* 381, 382.

was appointed first chaplain, but he had not long to exercise his functions on behalf of a living Bishop, for Robert de Braybroke died on the 27th August following,—exactly one month before his more illustrious brother of Winchester, and predecessor and successor with the great seal, William of Wykeham, whose will contains a bequest to Bishop Braybroke, of his large silk bed and furniture in the best chamber of his palace at Winchester, with the whole suite of tapestry hangings in the same apartment.*

A curious letter to the Pope, as to the succession to the vacant see of London, occurs among the collection of "Royal Letters:"† it was settled on the 10th of December, by the appointment of Roger de Walden, who had temporarily supplanted Thomas Arundel as Archbishop of Canterbury, on his conviction as a rebel to Richard the Second, but was now made Bishop of London at the generous solicitation of Arundel.

Bishop Braybroke was buried in the middle of the Lady Chapel, under a marble stone, "inlaid with letters made every one of a several piece of brass,"‡ with his effigy in brass, and the arms of his family. The inscription was: "Orate pro animâ Roberti Braybroke, quondam episcopi istius ecclesiæ, cujus corpus hic tumulatur, qui obiit vicesimo septimo die mensis Augusti, anno gratiæ millesimo quadrigentesimo quarto, cujus animæ et omnium fidelium defunctorum propicietur Deus. Amen. Amen." An engraving of the monument is given in Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, and a rough sketch, copied from Dingley's "History from Marble,"§ illustrates this paper. Newcourt mentions it as remarkable that the puritans left this tomb untouched, notwithstanding it was one of the costliest and the most conspicuous of any, "the Lord Mayor and his brethren passing over it every Sunday as they came to hear sermons there, after it was made a preaching place for the saints of those times, who entered not in at the door, but, like thieves and robbers, came in at the window, when they had made one."‖

* Bp. Lowth's *Life of William of Wykeham*, 262.

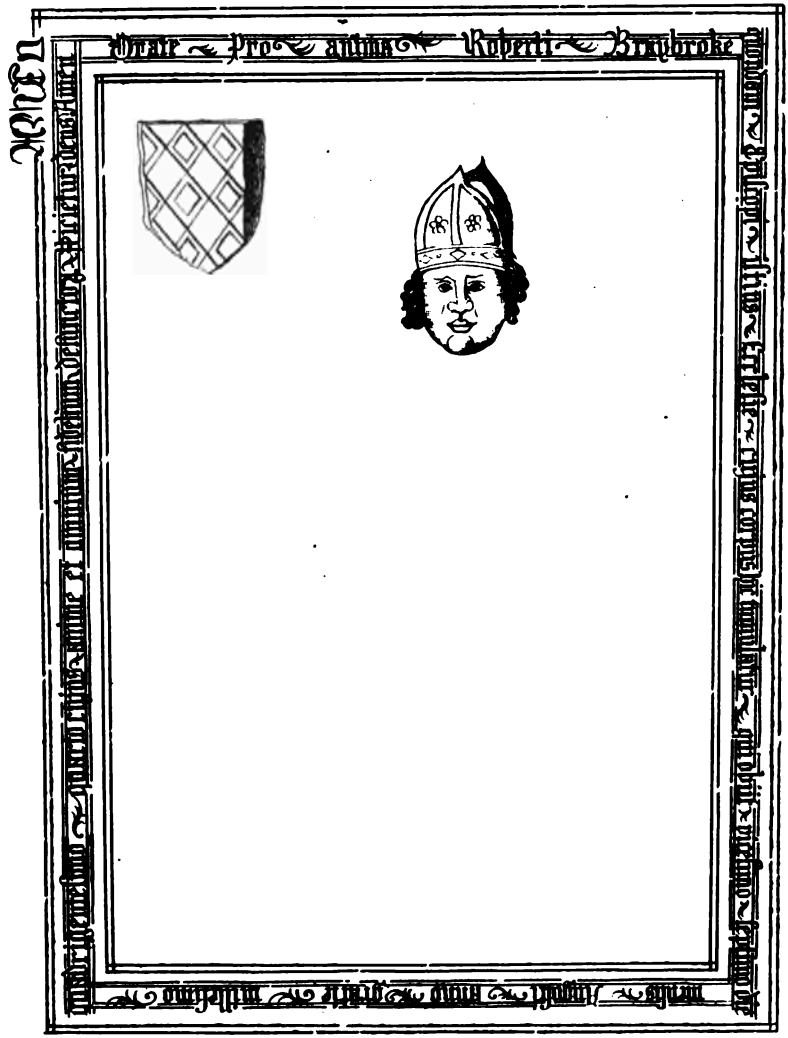
† Edit. Hingeston for Rolls Series, i. 415.

‡ Godwin's *Cat. of Bishops* (1601) p. 150.

§ Part ii. plate ccccxiv.

‖ Repertorium, s. v. Braybrook.

PL. IX.



A. Cuwan, delt. et lith.

J. Emslie & Sons, imp.

Monument of Bishop Braybroke in Old St. Paul's Cathedral.

[Copied, by permission of the Camden Society, from the rough sketch by T. Dingley.]

The monument awaited, however, the exercise of a more destructive agent than even religious fanaticism, and it was the singular fate of Bishop Braybroke to be associated in a remarkable manner with an event that took place 262 years after his death,—the Great Fire of London. His remains (with those of two other persons) were discovered uninjured, so entire, says Dingley, "as to have teeth in the head, red* hair on the head, beard, &c., skin and nails on the toes and fingers, without cire-cloth, embalming spices, or any other condite." They were taken to the Chapter-house of St. Paul's, and (with an indecorum which is difficult to understand) exposed to public view for several years —until, as I suppose, the new buildings were ready to receive them. Pepys saw them on the 12th Nov. 1666, Lord Coleraine on the 10th December 1675, and the toughness and mutual support of the parts had not even then been impaired. The learned Dugdale says, "Some attributed the preservation of the body to the sanctity of the person, offering much money for it; but herein was nothing supernatural; for that which caused the flesh, skin, and sinews to become thus hard and tough, was the dryness and heat of the dust wherein these bodies lay, which was for the most part of rubbish lime mixed with a sandy earth." Newcourt saw the body and handled it; it was very light, he says, and had hair on the face. Lord Coleraine's narrative supplies the weight—about nine pounds, and adds the particular that it had sustained some accidental injuries in being exhumed, viz., a breach in the skull on the left side, and another on the same side into the breast.† Pepys compares the object to spongy dry leather or touchwood, and says the head was turned aside. He adds the very apposite comment:—"A great man in his time and Lord Chancellor; and his skeleton now exposed to be handled and

* It does not follow that this was the natural colour; for it has been observed that human hair often changes to red after long interment.

† This narrative may be found in Addl. MS. B. Mus. 5833, 120; in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, i. 74, and in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd s. iii. 185; but it contains some revolting particulars which I have spared my readers. See also Camden, *Britannia*, ii. 17.

derided by some, though admired for its duration by others, many flocking to see it."*

In due time these unfortunate remains were restored to earth, and reinterred beneath Sir Christopher Wren's vast monument, though I am not aware that any inscription marks the Bishop's present resting-place. Long may he rest there in peace! I trust it will not be thought a waste of labour on my part to have supplied for the first time a complete biography† of one who led, so long ago, a prominent, an active, and an honoured life.

Supplementary Note.

The Will of Sir Gerard Braybroke (the fourth) knight, made 12 March 1427, and a codicil thereto, made 2 April 1429, were proved 20 July 1429, and are copied in the Registry of Archbishop Chicheley at Lambeth Palace (fol. 411 to 413). He was nephew to the Bishop. After a bequest of "x li. a year to the work of Poule's cherche in London," the codicil proceeds: "and I wol that v li. be paid yerely to ye preest of Horsyndon which singeth in the churche of horsyndon in Buckynghm̃shir for maister Rob̃t Braybroke sowle sumtyme Bisshop of London, his fad̃er and mod̃er sowles, and his auncestres sowles, and for all cristen sowles."

* *Diary*, iii. 334.

† No disrespect is meant to Lord Campbell, Mr. Foss, Wharton, Newcourt, Dugdale, Godwin, Le Neve, Fuller, and (last not least) Dean Milman, each of whom gives a brief notice of the Bishop.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Society.

THIRTY-FOURTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held in the Great Chamber of the Charterhouse, on Monday, 10th June, 1867,

The Venerable Archdeacon HALE, M.A., Master of the Charterhouse, in the Chair.

The Venerable Archdeacon HALE gave an historical account of the foundation of the Charterhouse, and exhibited several ancient charters, among others, Sir Walter Manny's Grant and King James I. Charter of Incorporation, together with several early Plans of the conduits and water-courses from White Conduit Fields and Islington to the Charterhouse.

The Rev. T. Hugo, M.A., F.S.A., and W. H. Black, Esq., F.S A., offered some observations on the Archdeacon's remarks and on the plans and charters exhibited.

A cordial vote of thanks to the Venerable Archdeacon having been put and carried unanimously,

The Great Hall, Chapel, Terrace, &c., were afterwards viewed by the visitors, and the Archdeacon's private apartments were, by his kind permission, also seen.

The Gateway of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem was next inspected by permission of Mr. S. Wickens, the proprietor.

The Church of St. John of Jerusalem was visited by permission of the Rev. Dr. Hughes.

The Crypt was lighted for the occasion by the kindness of J. E. Gardner, Esq., free of cost to the Society.

At St. John's Church a paper by W. P. Griffith, Esq., F.S.A., on "The Priory of St. John of Jerusalem," was read.

The thanks of the meeting were accorded to Mr. Griffith and to Dr. Hughes.

At St. Bartholomew's Church, Smithfield, Professor Lewis, F.S.A., described the Church and the restorations which had been carried out under the directions of Mr. Slater and himself.

THIRTY-FIFTH GENERAL AND TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING,

Held at the Society's Rooms, No. 22, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, on Wednesday, 31st July, 1867,

ALFRED WHITE, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., in the Chair.

The Notice convening the meeting, and the Report of the Council and that of the Auditors, were read.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

"The Council, in presenting their Report to the General Meeting, have the gratification of stating that during the past year a steady increase has taken place in the number of members and the general usefulness of the Society.

"The following meetings have been held during the past year: viz.

"July 31st, 1866, to Laleham, Littleton, Stanwell, and Bedfont.

"June 10th, 1867, to the Charterhouse, St. John's Gateway, St. John's Church, &c.; in addition to the usual Evening Meetings.

"The members will be pleased to learn that the memorial of the deputation which attended the Corporation of the City of London in reference to the restoration of the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great was received and acted upon by the Corporation with their accustomed liberality.

"Since the last Annual Meeting, Part VII. of the Transactions has been delivered to the members, and Part VIII. (which brings up the papers completed by the Publishing Committee to the present time) is on the table ready for distribution.

"The Report of the Auditors is submitted herewith.

"The Council would urge on the members the great advantage which will result from the introduction of new members, and the contribution of antiquities and notices of discoveries for exhibition and discussion at the evening meetings."

AUDITORS' REPORT.

"We, the undersigned Auditors, having examined the within accounts for the year ending Midsummer 1867, and compared the same with the vouchers, do find the same to be correct, and that the balance in favour of the Society is 35*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*

(Signed) "ROBERT WESTWOOD.
"W. H. OVERALL."

THE BALANCE SHEET of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY from July 1866 to July 1867.

Cr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
To Balance at Bankers at last Audit	42	3	2
Subscriptions and Entrance Fees, 1866 and 1867	111	10	0
Received for sale of Transactions	1	1	0
	£154	14	2

Dr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Mr. Ivatts, One Year's Salary	10	0	0
Rent of Society's Rooms at No. 22, Hart Street, to Lady Day 1867	15	0	0
Messrs. Nichols and Sons, on account of Printing Transactions	30	0	0
Mr. Scott, Printing and Postage Envelopes	18	14	6
„ Mitchener, Printing	0	15	0
„ Sachs, Engraver	3	10	0
„ R. B Utting, Engraver	7	7	0
Messrs. Benham and Tindall	1	11	6
Mr. Ivatts, for Evening Meetings	3	12	0
„ „ for Commission on Collection and Delivery of Parts of Transactions	8	7	10
Expenses of General Meetings:—			
Laleham and Littleton, &c. 7 14 0			
Charterhouse 5 1 6			
Mr. Lodge, Fitting up Barn at Bedfont 1 10 0			
	14	5	0
Stationery and Law Stationer's Charges	5	2	0
Petty Cash	1	4	0
Balance at Bankers 48 5 0			
Less Cheques drawn 7 10 0			
„ „ „ 5 10 2			
13 0 2			
	35	4	10
	£154	14	2

Audited and found correct, 30th July, 1867,

(Signed) ROBERT WESTWOOD.
W. H. OVERALL.

The following Resolutions were then proposed and carried unanimously:—

"That the Report of the Council, and that of the Auditors, be received, adopted, and entered on the Minutes.

"That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Council for their Report, and for their services during the past year.

"That the cordial thanks of this Society be accorded to the Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., and Mr. Charles J. Shoppee, for their great exertions on

behalf of the Society, and for the efficient manner in which the duties of joint Honorary Secretaries have been performed by them during their tenure of office.

"That the thanks of the Meeting be given to Messrs. Westwood and Overall for their services as Auditors, and their Report.

The Meeting then proceeded to the election of Officers and Council for the year ensuing, and the following were unanimously chosen:—

President, the Right Honourable Lord Talbot de Malahide.

Patrons as before.

Vice-Presidents as before, with the addition of the Rev. Thomas Hugo.

Treasurer, John Orde Hall, Esq. *vice* Thomas S. Cocks, Esq.

Council as before, with Mr. C. J. Shoppee *vice* Mr. Black.

Auditors, as before.

Honorary Secretaries, Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., and Mr. Thomas Milbourn.

Bankers, Messrs. Cocks, Biddulph, and Co.

The following Resolutions were subsequently proposed and carried:—

"That a cordial vote of thanks be given to Mr. J. E. Price, Director of the Evening Meetings, for the zealous and able manner in which those meetings have been conducted under his direction.

"Also to Mr. Emslie, and those gentlemen who have contributed various objects of antiquity and interest for exhibition at the meetings and evening meetings.

"Also to Mr. Masters, and other donors, for their presentation of books, &c., to the Society during the past year."

A vote of thanks was unanimously given to the Chairman, and the proceedings terminated.

THIRTY-SIXTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at Pinner, on Wednesday, 11th September, 1867.

JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSSEN, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

The members from London proceeded to Pinner Station, and from thence to the Pinner Parish Hall, where a paper was read by Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., one of the Honorary Secretaries, on "The Roman Geography of the county of Middlesex and the relation of Pinner thereto."

A collection of rubbings of Monumental Brasses in Middlesex, Essex, and Herts, was exhibited in the Hall, and explained by Albert Hartshorne, Esq.

The members then proceeded to Pinner Church, where they were received

by the Rev. W. M. Hind, the incumbent, who read a paper on the History and Antiquities of the Church.

Headstone Farm or Manor House was next visited, by the kind permission of the occupier, Mr. Hill, and a paper on its history was read by Mr A. Hartshorne, after which the members proceeded to

Great Stanmore Church, where they were received by the Rev. J. L. Bernays, and a paper was read on the Church and Monuments by Mr. G. Doo, R.A.

The party then visited Whitchurch, where they were welcomed to the Church (rendered interesting by its association with the composer Handel) by the Rev. J. B. Norman, and were favoured with a performance on the organ.

Mr. M. H. Bloxam, F.S.A., of Rugby, offered some remarks on the Monuments of the Chandos family in the Mausoleum; after which the company returned to the Pinner Parish Hall, where an ample collation was provided, which terminated the day's proceedings.

THIRTY-SEVENTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at Vintners' Hall, on Monday, 27th April, 1868.

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., &c., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following papers were read:—

"The History of the Company and Ward of Vintry," by W. H. Overall Esq.

"The Ancient Charters and MSS. of the Company," by John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President.

"A Biographical account of some eminent Members of the Company," by Thomas Milbourn, Esq., Hon. Secretary.

"A description of the Plate and Tapestry of the Company," by George Russell French, Esq.

At the conclusion of the papers Alfred White, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., drew attention to an interesting object which he exhibited, viz., a portion of the stone front of the Conduit of Dowgate, erected in the sixteenth century.

The thanks of the Meeting having been unanimously voted to the Master and Wardens of the Company for the use of their Hall, to George Lomas, Esq., clerk to the Company, to the readers of papers, and to the Chairman, the members and their friends proceeded to inspect the pictures, plate, and tapestry of the Company, also the temporary museum arranged in an adjoining room, and which contained many examples of Roman and Mediæval Antiquity, for the most part discovered in the immediate neigh-

bourhood of the Vintners' Hall, and kindly contributed for the occasion by the library committee of the Corporation of London, and by Messrs. J. W. Baily, Thomas D. E. Gunston, John Whichcord, F.S.A., and J. E. Price, members of the Society.

The members and their friends then proceeded to the Church of All-hallows the Great, Upper Thames Street, where the Rector, the Rev. J. Russell Stock, M.A., gave a brief account of the carved oak screen (presented to the church by the Hanse merchants) and other matters of interest connected with the church.

They next visited the Church of St. James, Garlick-hithe, in the vestry of which were displayed a remarkable collection of MS. Church Registers and other documents, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, a description of which was furnished by W. Durrant Cooper, Esq., F.S.A. This terminated the day's proceedings.

THIRTY-EIGHTH GENERAL AND THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING,

Held at the Society's Rooms, No. 22, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, on Monday, 22nd June, 1868,

Major ALFRED HEALES, F.S.A. in the Chair.

The notice convening the Meeting, and the Report of the Council and that of the Auditors, were read.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

"The Council, in presenting their Report to the General Meeting, have the pleasure to congratulate the members of the Society on the great improvement which has taken place during the past year in the prospects of the Society, by the addition of numerous members, the decrease of the amount of subscriptions in arrear, and the small loss sustained by deaths and resignations.

"The Council regret to report that in consequence of the lamented decease of the Most Noble the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. &c., a vacancy has occurred in the list of Patrons.

"The following meetings have been held during the past year,—

"11th September, 1867.—At Pinner, Headstone House, Great Stanmore, and Whitchurch.

"27th April, 1868.—At the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Vintners, Upper Thames Street, and the Churches of Allhallows the Great, Upper Thames Street, and St. James, Garlick-hithe.

"The usual Evening Meetings have been held, at which many interesting papers have been read and objects of great antiquarian interest exhibited, which objects have for the most part been discovered in excavations in

London and its vicinity during the past year. The attendance of Members and their friends at these meetings has far exceeded that of any previous session, and proves these meetings to be an attractive feature in the operations of the Society.

"Since the last Annual Meeting Part VIII. of the Transactions has been delivered to the members, and Part IX. is now under the consideration of the Publishing Committee, and will shortly be printed.

"The Report of the Auditors is submitted herewith.

"The Council still wish to urge upon the members the great advantage which will result to the Society from the introduction of new members, and the contribution of antiquities and notices of discoveries for exhibition and discussion at the Evening Meetings."

AUDITORS' REPORT.

"We, the undersigned Auditors, having examined the within accounts for the year ending Midsummer 1868, and compared the same with the vouchers, do find the same to be correct, and that the balance of the Society at the bankers' is 46*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.* and 2*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* in the hands of the Honorary Secretary, being a portion of the 20*l.* petty cash unexpended, making a total sum of 49*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* in favour of the Society.

(Signed) "ROBERT WESTWOOD.
"W. H. OVERALL."

THE BALANCE SHEET of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY from July 1867 to June 22nd, 1868.

Cr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
To Balance at Bankers' at last Audit . . . 35 4 10			
Cancelled Cheque . . 7 10 0			
	42	14	10
Subscriptions and Entrance Fees, 1867 and 1868	127	0	6
Received for Bookbinding . .	0	4	0
„ for 1 Part VIII. . .	0	3	6
	£170	2	10

Dr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Rent of Society's Rooms, 22, Hart Street, to 29 September, 1867 .	15	0	0
„ „ to 25 March, 1868 .	7	10	0
Mr. W. H. Collingridge, Printing .	1	17	6
Messrs. Richmond and Son . .	1	2	0
Mr. R. B. Utting, Engraver . .	2	10	0
„ J. Jobbins, Views of Interior of St. Bartholomew's and Printing	10	10	0
„ Thomas Scott, Printing . .	22	8	6
„ W. P. Ivatts, Half-year's Salary to Christmas	5	0	0
Cheque Book	0	5	0
Mr. J. B. Mather, Views of Roman Sarcophagus	2	2	0
Messrs. Nichols and Sons, Balance of Account for Printing Part VII. Transactions . . .	29	2	9
Mr. Ivatts, Commission on Collection and Delivery of Transactions	6	2	8
Honorary Secretary, Petty Cash .	20	0	0
Balance at Bankers' . . .	46	12	5
	£170	2	10

Audited by us, this 22nd day of June, 1868,

(Signed) ROBERT WESTWOOD.
W. H. OVERALL.

The following Resolutions were then proposed and unanimously carried:—

"That the Report of the Council be received, adopted, and printed."

"That the Report of the Auditors and Balance Sheet be received, adopted, and printed."

"That the thanks of the Society be given to the Auditors, Messrs. Westwood and Overall, for their Report, and for their services during the past year."

"That the thanks of the Society be given to the Honorary Secretary for his labours on behalf of the Society during the past year."

"That a cordial vote of thanks be given to Mr. J. E. Price, Director of Evening Meetings, for the very able and successful manner in which those meetings have been conducted, under his direction, during the past year."

The Meeting then proceeded to the election of Officers and Council for the year ensuing, and the following were unanimously chosen:—

President as before.

Patrons, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, and His Grace the Duke of Wellington, K.G.

Vice-Presidents as before, with the addition of John Robert Daniel-Tyssen, Esq., F.S.A.

Treasurer as before.

Council as before, with the addition of Messrs. J. W. Baily *vice* J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, F.S.A., W. H. Overall, F.S.A., *vice* L. Berger, Esq., and Mr. E. W. Brabrook, F.S.A.

Auditors, Messrs. Robert Westwood and G. A. Cape.

Honorary Secretary, Mr. Thomas Milbourn.

Director of Evening Meetings as before.

The following Resolutions were subsequently proposed and carried:—

"That the thanks of the Society be given to those gentlemen who have contributed various objects of antiquity for exhibition at the Evening Meetings."

"That the thanks of the Society be given to those gentlemen who have contributed and read papers at the Evening Meetings."

After some further business, the thanks of the Meeting having been voted to the Chairman, the proceedings terminated.

THIRTY-NINTH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Town Hall, St. Alban's, on Thursday, 20th August, 1868.

JOHN ROBERT DANIEL-TYSSEN, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following papers were read:—

"On the Roman and Municipal History of St. Alban's," by W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A.

"On Events connected with the Ecclesiastical History of the Abbey," by Henry Campkin, Esq., F.S.A.

At the conclusion of the papers, the Right Hon. the Earl of Verulam proposed and the Right Hon. Lord Ebury seconded a vote of thanks to the readers of the papers, and Alfred White, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., proposed and H. S. Mitchell, Esq., seconded a vote of thanks to the Worshipful the Corporation of St. Alban's, for their kind reception of the Society; both of which resolutions were unanimously carried.

The members and friends then inspected the charters and plate of the Corporation, which were exhibited in an adjoining room.

They next proceeded to the Abbey Church, in the Lady Chapel of which the Rev. Mr. Stretton read a paper on the Foundation of the School held in the same; after which a paper was read by Charles Baily, Esq., entitled "Remarks on the Original Architecture of the Abbey Church."

The company then visited St. Michael's Church, where they were courteously received by the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson. A paper was read on the History and Architecture of the same, by Alfred White, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S.

FORTIETH GENERAL MEETING,

Held at the Mercers' Hall, on Wednesday, 21st April, 1869.

RICHARD WHITEMAN FALL, Esq., Master of the Company, in the Chair.

The following papers were read:—

"The History and Archives of the Company of Mercers," by John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President.

"A descriptive account of the Plate belonging to the Company," by George Russell French, Esq.

"An account of some eminent Members of the Company," by BENJAMIN B. ORRIDGE, Esq., F.G.S.

"The Foundation of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon," by the Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., &c.

A vote of thanks was then unanimously accorded to the Master and Wardens of the Company, for their kind reception of the Society; to which the Chairman on behalf of the Company duly responded, and proposed a vote of thanks to the readers of the several papers, which was unanimously carried.

The members and their friends then proceeded to the Church of St Mildred the Virgin, Poultry, to view the carved oak pulpit; and from thence to the Mansion House, where they were kindly received by the Right Hon. James Clarke Lawrence, M.P., Lord Mayor, and the Lady Mayoress, and conducted through the state apartments to the Egyptian Hall, in which were displayed the ancient plate, swords, and maces of the Corporation, of which an interesting description was given by Charles Baily, Esq.

The Company next visited the Church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, in the vestry of which the early records of the church and parish were exhibited, and a paper was read "On the History of the Church," by Thomas Milbourn, Esq., Hon. Secretary, to whom a vote of thanks was moved by the Rector, the Rev. William Windle, M.A., and carried unanimously, and the proceedings terminated.

FORTY-FIRST GENERAL AND FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING,

Held at the Society's Rooms, No. 22, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, on Monday, 5th July, 1869.

CHARLES JOHN SHOPPEE, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., in the Chair.

The Notice convening the meeting, and the Report of the Council and that of the Auditors, were read.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

"In presenting their Report to the General Meeting, the Council beg to congratulate the members upon the success which has attended the Society during the past year, 79 new members having joined the Society since the last Annual Meeting, and the amount of subscriptions in arrear having been

considerably reduced, whilst the loss of members by deaths and resignations has been much below the average.

"At the last General Annual Meeting, the Council reported that a vacancy had occurred in the list of Patrons, in consequence of the lamented decease of the Most Noble the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. (late Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Middlesex), since which time the vacancy has been filled, His Grace the Duke of Wellington, K.G. (the present Lord-Lieutenant of the county), having kindly consented to accept that office. The Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, D.D., has also consented to his name being placed on the list of Patrons.

"The Council have further to report that the names of the Right Hon. the Lord Hatherley (Lord High Chancellor of England), the Right Hon. James Clarke Lawrence, M.P., Lord Mayor, Mr. Alderman Stone, and Mr. Alderman T. S. Owden, have (during the past year) been added to the list of Vice-Presidents of the Society.

"The Council regret to have to report the loss the Society has sustained during the past year by the lamented decease of two of its valued and respected members and Vice-Presidents, viz., Arthur Ashpitel, Esq., F.S.A., &c., and Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, Bart.; also by the decease of Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., &c., and William Williams, Esq., life-members, and the Rev. G. H. Dashwood, M.A., F.S.A. hon. member of the Society.

The following Meetings have been held during the past year:

20th August, 1868, at St. Alban's, in the county of Hertford.

21st April, 1869, at the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Mercers, Cheapside, the Mansion House, and the Church of St. Stephen, Walbrook.

"The session of Evening Meetings for the past year has proved most successful. Many subjects of great archæological interest have been exhibited, and numerous interesting papers read. The large attendance of the members and their friends proves these meetings to be an important part of the proceedings of the Society.

Since the last Annual Meeting, Part IX. of the Transactions has been delivered to the members, and Part X. (which will complete Vol. III.) is now partly printed, and will be issued as early as possible.

"The Report of the Auditors is submitted herewith.

"The Council would impress upon the members the desirability of the introduction of new members, by which means the usefulness of the Society may be extended; and also that contributions of antiquities and notices of discoveries will be gladly received for exhibition and discussion at the Evening Meetings.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

"We, the undersigned Auditors, having examined the within accounts for the year ending Midsummer 1869, and compared the same with the vouchers, do find the same to be correct, and that the cash balance of the Society is *59l. 2s. 3d.*

(Signed) "ROBERT WESTWOOD.
"GEO. A. CAPE."

THE CASH ACCOUNT of the LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY from 22 June 1868 to 5 July 1869.

Cr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
To Balance at Bankers' at last Audit	46	12	5
Dividends on £66 13*s.* 4*d.* to April 1868	4	0	0
Subscriptions and Entrance Fees, 1868 and 1869	231	2	2
Received by Sale of Transactions	11	18	0
Received Donations towards the Illustration of Part IX of Transactions:—			
Mr. Hall	1	1	0
„ White	1	1	0
„ Shoppee	1	1	0
„ Griffith	1	1	0
„ Gardner	1	1	0
„ Barron	1	1	0
„ Sachs	0	10	0
„ Clarke	0	5	0
	7	1	0
	£300	13	7

Dr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
To Rent of Society's Rooms, 22, Hart Street, to Lady Day 1869	15	0	0
Mr. Sachs, Engraver	13	4	6
„ Cleghorn	7	1	0
Messrs. Nichols, Balance of Account for Part VIII.	34	0	0
„ „ on Account of Part IX.	55	0	0
Mr. Emslie, Lithographer	11	2	6
„ Collingridge, Printer	9	6	0
„ „	1	16	0
„ Ivatts, one Year's Salary (less £2 10*s.*)	7	10	0
„ „ Account	5	17	6
„ „ „	0	13	4
„ Scott, Printing, Stationery, &c.	29	19	6
„ Mitchener, Printer	1	15	0
Messrs. Richmond, Bookbinders	1	5	0
Mr. Farmer, Gas, Firing, Refreshments, &c.	10	9	11
Hon. Secretary, Petty Cash	17	10	0
Direction of Evening Meetings, Petty Cash	3	0	0
The Rev. Thomas Hugo, on Account of Cost of Printing *facsimile*	5	10	0
Insurance	0	9	0
Mr. Ivatts, Commission on Collection and Delivery of Transactions	11	2	1
Balance at Bankers' at present date	59	2	3
	£300	13	7

Audited by us, this 5th day of July, 1869.

(Signed) "ROBERT WESTWOOD.
"GEO. A. CAPE."

The following Resolutions were proposed and carried unanimously.

"That the Report of the Council be received, adopted, and printed.

"That the Report of the Auditors and balance-sheet be received, adopted, and printed.

"That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Council for their Report and for their services during the past year.

"That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Auditors, Messrs. Robert Westwood and Geo. A. Cape, for their Report, and for their services during the past year.

"That the special thanks of the Meeting be given to the Treasurer for his valuable services during the past year.

"That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Hon. Secretary for his services on behalf of the Society during the past year.

"That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. J. E. Price, the Director of Evening Meetings, for his valuable services during the past year. And further as an acknowledgment of his past and continued exertions in promoting the success of the Evening Meetings and the Society generally, that he be elected a life-member of the Society, with all the rights and privileges connected with the same, without payment of the usual life composition."

The Meeting then proceeded to the election of Officers and Council for the ensuing year, and the following were unanimously chosen:—

Patrons, His Grace the Duke of Wellington, K.G. (Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Middlesex); His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, D.D.; the Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, D.D.

President as before.

Vice-Presidents as before, with the additions mentioned in the Report of the Council.

Treasurer as before.

Council as before, with the addition of Messrs. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., B. B. Orridge, F.G.S., and Robert Westwood, *vice* Messrs. Brewer, W. D. Cooper, F.S.A., and W. Tayler, F.S.A.

Auditors, Messrs. G. A. Cape and G. Lambert.

Honorary Secretary and Director of Evening Meetings as before.

Bankers, Messrs. Biddulph, Cocks, and Co.

Collector, Mr. William Page Ivatts.

The following Resolution was subsequently proposed and carried unanimously:—

"That the thanks of the Society be given to those gentlemen who have contributed various objects of antiquity for exhibition, and who have read papers at the Evening Meetings."

A vote of thanks having been unanimously given to the Chairman, the proceedings terminated.

Proceedings at Evening Meetings.

14th January, 1867.

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

The Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.S.A., opened the proceedings with "An Inaugural Address on the Advantage to the Present by the Study of the Past." He observed that the study of the past was of the highest importance to the present generation, and, as Archæologists, it behoved the members of the Society to well consider so important a subject. For many of the triumphs of science so much valued in the present day, we are indebted to the intelligence and researches of our forefathers; and while admiring the improvements effected in the steam-engine and other inventions of modern times, we must not forget those who first developed them. He remarked that the student in theology received the greatest assistance for a proper study of this important subject, from a careful investigation of the writers of antiquity. Political government, as understood in England, is the growth of centuries; but had the statesmen of byegone times studied the mode of government described by the classic authors, Herodotus, Plato, Cicero, &c., they would have arrived at the present beneficial form at a much earlier period in our history. In architecture, too, there may be traced a great neglect of early authorities. No work of the nineteenth century could surpass the structures of Roman days. The villas discovered in this country evidently possessed advantages in their construction, in matters of warmth and ventilation, far superior to those adopted by modern architects. The Roman, with his southern nature, so prepared his dwelling as not to suffer from the disadvantages of this ungenial climate. Their materials also were of a character far superior to those now employed. Their sanitary laws have never been improved upon; and in their military arrangements is a skilfulness and amount of foresight never since surpassed. The great Napoleon more than once acknowledged the benefit he had derived from Cæsar and other writers who so ably described the Roman mode of victualling, moving, and collecting together at any given spot large masses of men. Mr. Hugo concluded a very interesting discourse by observing how much indebted our manufacturers are to antiquities for many of their ideas in grace and beauty of design.

The CHAIRMAN exhibited a sepulchral brass, found in the Church of Walkerne, in Hertfordshire, an account of which is given at pages 133-137 of the present volume.

Mr. W. H. OVERALL exhibited and described some Roman antiquities recently found in Southwark, and kindly lent by Mr. John Wimble, who contributed a short account of their discovery, with a plan of the excavations. Mr. Overall also exhibited some mediæval antiquities, lent by Mr. Hamilton Field, F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., &c.

Mr. GEORGE R. FRENCH contributed for exhibition some animal bones of large dimensions, lately found by Mr. Horner, ten feet below the surface of the pavement, in Great Winchester street.

11th February, 1867.

ALFRED WHITE, ESQ., F.S.A., F.L.S., in the Chair.

Mr. HENRY C. COOTE, F.S.A., read an interesting paper entitled, "Notices of Deorman of London. A Domesday Tenant in Capité." Printed at page 153 of the present volume.

Mr. W. H. OVERALL, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Coote, remarked upon the antiquity of the charter under consideration, which was probably older than that granted by the same King to the Corporation. The grant was possibly a reward to Deorman for services rendered on the invasion of England by William. It was, perhaps, singular that a document of such importance to the King's Thane should have come into the possession of the civic authorities; but, at this period of history, the Corporation was accounted the safest custodian; or, the sheriff may have, in his official capacity, placed it there for safety. The change in name made by the descendants of Deorman to that of Thierry, could only have been partial, as the name Deerman or Doerman is often to be seen in documents of subsequent reigns; and in 1164, after Archbishop Becket had refused to receive the constitutions of Clarendon, he is found to have been impeached before the Great Council at Northampton, and, finding his power on the wane, escaped from England to Flanders, under the assumed name of Deerman.

Mr. JOHN E. PRICE read a paper on "Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains in the City," illustrating his observations by an interesting series of antiquities kindly exhibited by Mr. G. Plucknett, Mr. J. W. Baily, and Mr. T. Gunston. Mr. Price's communication is embodied in "Notes on Roman Remains discovered in London and Middlesex," printed at pages 196-222.

11th March, 1867.

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. William Henry Black, F.S.A, read an interesting paper on "Roman Funeral Inscriptions found in London," with particular reference to the monument found at Ludgate in 1806 * in the vicinity of the London Coffee House, where, for many years, it was preserved. It has recently been added to the Museum of the Corporation of London at Guildhall. It is a pedestal about four feet in height, and bears the following inscription—

D M
CL MARTI
NAE AN XIX
ANENCLE
TVS
PROVINC
CONIVGI
PIENTISSIMAE
H. S. E

Diis Manibus, Claudiæ Martinæ Annorum novendecim Anencletus Provincialis conjugi Pientissimæ hoc sepulchrum erexit.

With this interesting monument were discovered portions of a statue of Hercules, and a female head carved in stone, life size (all engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1806.) The latter is also preserved in the collections at Guildhall.

Mr. John Wimble and Mr. T. Gunston contributed for exhibition various Roman antiquities found in London.

8th April, 1867.

WILLIAM HENRY BLACK, Esq., F.S A., in the Chair.

Mr. Charles Reed, F.S.A., exhibited his varied and extensive collection of Autographs, and contributed an interesting description of the most remarkable of the series.

Mr. John E. Price described some specimens of Roman pottery exhibited by Mr. John W. Baily, and discovered in the course of excavations for the Viaduct over Holborn Valley. Some remarks were also communicated by Mr. T. Gunston descriptive of the remains of Roman buildings recently

* *Vide* the Gentleman's Magazine 1806, and Mr. Roach Smith's Collectanea Antiqua, vol. i. p. 131.

observed in Cannon Street whilst digging for the foundations of the terminus of the Charing Cross Railway. Particulars of which are included in Notes on Roman remains, &c., printed in the present volume.

13th May, 1867.

ALFRED WHITE, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., in the Chair.

Mr. Henry Campkin, F.S.A., read an interesting paper entitled, "Grub Street," for which see page 223.

Mr. Charles Baily gave an account of a piece of timber construction in the Belfry of Cowden Church, Kent; and Mr. Thomas Gunston exhibited a collection of objects in pewter from City excavations.

The meeting advertised for 10th June was not held, owing to the General Meeting of the Society at the Charterhouse being held on the same day.

13th January, 1868.

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. B. Clarke, F.R.C.S., contributed an account of the recent discovery of a Roman Sarcophagus at Upper Clapton. And drawings of the coffin (now in the possession of Mr. T. Gunston), which had been prepared at the cost of the Society, were exhibited. Mr. Clarke's paper appears at page 191 of the present volume.

Mr. John E. Price also read a paper on this discovery, accompanied by notes on Roman Sepulchral Remains recently found at Old Ford, and exhibited a collection of Cinerary urns, &c., lent by Mr. Thomas Mathews, Resident Engineer of the North London Railway, Broad Street.

Mr. H. W. King (Hon. Secretary of the Essex Archæological Society), communicated particulars of excavations in Old Street Road, noting the various objects found between the surface of the present road and the Roman level—being the substance of a letter received by Mr. H. Eden Cockayne from Mr. J. W. Butler, under whose supervision the excavations were made. The number of roads cut through in executing the works for the north mid-level sewer in Old Street were probably six, but five were well defined; the reason for not positively speaking to the fact of there being six is from the apparent mingling of two roads into one about four feet below

the present surface, there being only two or three inches of consolidated metal between them; and as the whole was screened gravel, perhaps it was gradually laid without interfering with the traffic at the time of the alteration of the level; in this case there would be five roads. The lowest road was nearly eleven feet from the level of the present surface, and just below the hardened surface of this road a number of Roman coins were found; above the road was a layer of black earth and stones forming the foundation of a second road, in which were found Roman coins; after which another layer of earth, and then a third road, in which several coins of the reign of Elizabeth were found; above which was a layer of black soil and rubbish containing a large quantity of bones quite black, a number of old keys, stirrups, curious bottles, and coins of the reigns of Charles the First and Second. The discovery of these articles would suggest that the road was raised with débris of the Great Fire.* Above this débris was a fourth road, then a layer of black earth, and next the one or two roads before referred to. At the point where crossing Goswell Road, the made ground appeared to be twenty feet thick, and in places were found beds of metalling, varying from five feet to nine inches thick. The present grounds of the Charterhouse are seven feet six inches lower than the roadway in Wilderness Row.

The above particulars are best explained by the accompanying diagram.

PRESENT SURFACE OF OLD STREET ROAD.

Ft.	In.	
4	0	Metal to surface with black earth in places. An old parishioner stated he remembered the road being raised about 18 inches or 2 feet when he was a youth.
1	6	Black loam and stone.
0	6	6 in. to 9 in. of metalling.
2	0	Bones, coins, iron stirrups, keys, and pottery in black soil. (Charles the First and Second.)
0	6	Metalling, with coins of the reign of Elizabeth.
1	0	Black earth and stone.
1	0	Metalling with Roman coins.
0	6	Black earth and stone.
Total..11	0	Old Roman road with coins.

* Tradition states that near this spot Charles the Second had a shooting or hunting box.

The CHAIRMAN exhibited a "Visitation Mandate from Archbishop Boniface to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's," which will be found described at pp. 245-252 of this volume.

Mr. GEORGE LAMBERT presented to the Society two oak hammers made from timber taken from the respective Churches of St. Benet Gracechurch Street, and St. Mary Somerset, being the first and second churches now in course of demolition by virtue of the Act of Parliament styled "The Bishop of London's Union of City Benefices Act." The hammers are ornamented with silver plates bearing suitable inscriptions.

10th February, 1868.

HENRY CAMPKIN, ESQ., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. THOMAS MILBOURN, Hon. Secretary, read a paper "On the Church of St. Mary Somerset, Upper Thames Street," and also exhibited plans of the locality, which paper appears at pages 253-284 of this volume.

Mr. W. H. HART, F.S.A., exhibited and described four MS. books of Hours of the Blessed Virgin. The books are in good preservation, probably as old as the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The illuminations illustrating various scenes in the life of our Lord and other Scriptural subjects are of beautiful character. There were also exhibited by Mr. T. GUNSTON, Roman antiquities from Tokenhouse Yard; examples of pottery from Old Ford by Mr. JOHN E. PRICE; and fragments of Samian ware, &c., lately discovered in Fenchurch Street, contributed by Mr. IVATTS.

9th March, 1868.

The REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL FRENCH read an interesting paper "On the Maces of the Corporation of Stratford-on-Avon."

Mr. French remarked that in his search for information to illustrate his "Notices of the Shakspeare and Arden Families," his attention had been attracted to a passage in Mr. Halliwell's folio, "The Stratford-upon-Avon Records," wherein, under date August 22, 1632, is the following entry from the Corporation records:—

"At this Hall the Company received two fayre gilte maces of the guift of Mr. John Sadler and Mr. Richard Quiney, citizens and grocers of

London, to be borne before the Bayliffe and chiefe Alderman of this Borough for the time beinge for ever, which donors and benefactors were borne in this Borough, and their fathers had been Bayliffes and Aldermen of this Borough."

From the intimate connection of the families of Sadler and Quiney with that of Shakspeare, it appeared desirable to obtain the history of these maces, more especially as there is no account of them in any biography of the poet, nor are they alluded to in any history of the borough. Accordingly, Mr. French wrote to his friend Mr. William Gardner Colbourne, architect, of Stratford-upon-Avon, requesting him to obtain permission to see and describe the maces; which being courteously granted, Mr. Colbourne not only forwarded an account of the maces given by Sadler and Quiney, but also of two other maces of an earlier date, and very kindly presented drawings of the four, which Mr. French had the pleasure of exhibiting.

The first mace Mr. French described as being of silver-gilt, 13¼ inches long, with a plain stem in three unequal parts, divided by corded collars with four rich brackets attached to the pommel; the ogee-shaped bowl had a cresting of leaves, of which few remain; on the top of the bowl the royal arms, France (modern) and England, quarterly, enamelled in their proper colours, and ensigned by a crown. The second mace, represented by the fig. 1 illustration,* is silver-gilt and 26½ inches long, the stem is divided into two parts, and has a richly moulded collar in the middle, and with two scrolls (originally four) resting upon the flat pommel. On the underside of which, within a wreath, is a shield charged with the Corporation arms—a chevron between three leopard's heads. The bowl has a rich necking and a moulded band with a cresting of crosses patée, of which only two remain. On the top of the bowl are the royal arms, France and England, quarterly, enamelled in their proper colours.

These maces are, no doubt, those which were in use from the time of the first charter of incorporation, June 28, 1553, 7 Edward VI., and probably those which were carried before John Shakspeare, the poet's father, who was High Bailiff in 1568, and Chief Alderman in 1571. One fortunate result of the inquiry respecting these maces has been their recovery from obscurity, and present careful preservation in the museum attached to the poet's birthplace.

Fig. 2 represents one of the larger maces. It is of silver-gilt, 2 feet 6¼ inches long; and has a very large and richly ornamented bowl, whereon are four winged shields, charged with a harp and the cross of St. George, repeated, the four compartments separated by crowned female therm figures, with festoons of drapery. Round the bowl, between corded

* The Society is indebted to Mr. G. R. French for the two engravings illustrative of his remarks.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

bands, is inscribed: "THE FREDOM OF ENGLAND, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED 1660." This motto must have been added long after the presentation of the mace. The cresting consists of gracefully twisted cords, inclosing shields charged with the harp and cross of St. George, as before. Four large Vitruvian scrolls, chased with oak leaves, support an orb on which are four shields, with the charges already described, the royal arms being quarterly, 1 and 4, England; 2, Scotland; 3, Ireland; with the lion (crowned) and unicorn as supporters resting upon the orb; these are also probably a late addition. On the head of the bowl are the royal arms of Charles the First in bold relief on a raised cushion, with the supporters, and motto, "Dieu et mon droit." The stem is formed in four unequal divisions by one plain and two moulded collars, the upper part having four small projecting scrolls. On the outside of the round boss or pommel is inscribed: "The guifte of John Sadler, 1632, Citizen and Grocer, of London." The arms of the Corporation are engraved on the flat underside of the pommel. The plate mark is too much defaced to be clearly made out.

The remaining mace is in present use, and, although in its general character it resembles the Sadler mace, there is no hint by way of inscription, date, or mark, whereby to prove that it is the mace which was presented in 1632 by Richard Quiney. It is of silver-gilt, two feet five inches long, with four very slender depressed arches supporting a plain orb and cross. The royal badges separated by female therms appear on the bowl, which is not so rich in detail as in the last mentioned, and is surmounted by an elegant cresting of fleurs-de-lys and crosses patée. On the top of the bowl are the royal arms, France and England, quarterly. The stem is in three unequal divisions, with two moulded collars and a round pommel divided by a corded band with the date 1757. On the flat underside of the mace is a coat of arms, which, though rather defaced, Mr. French has been able to decipher as follows:—Quarterly, 1 and 4, Azure, a chevron between three boar's heads couped or; 2 and 3, Vaire, argent and sable, a fesse gules.

The inquiry is here suggested, why should these arms appear on a mace evidently given by Quiney, whose arms were—Or, on a bend sable three trefoils slipped argent?

The authorities of Stratford being unable to give any account of the mace or to explain the evident addition of the arms, it was, therefore, Mr. French's task first to ascribe the arms and then to connect the owners of them with the borough; and in both these points his exertions have been successful. The union of the two coats in one person is very curious; they both belong to eminent Warwickshire families. The first coat belongs to Ludford, and the second to Bracebridge; and the shield on the mace is evidently that of John Bracebridge Ludford, of Ansley Hall, co. Warwick, descended from both families as follows:—Samuel Bracebridge of Atherstone, who died in 1692, had two sons, of whom the eldest, Abraham,

continued the line at Atherstone; and the second son, the Rev. Thomas Bracebridge, married Jane, daughter and heir of John Ludford of Ansley Hall, and whose son, Samuel Bracebridge, assumed the name and arms of Ludford; he was father of John Bracebridge Ludford, who would quarter the arms as seen on the mace; and the date thereon, 1757, coincides with his time exactly. The late John Newdigate Ludford, D.C.L., his son and successor, born in 1756, and who died in 1825, was the last of the male line. By the discovery of another entry in Mr. Halliwell's records, Mr. French accounts for the arms of Ludford appearing on mace No. 4. Under the heading of steward to the borough is this entry:—

"Sir Hugh Clopton resigns, and John Ludford, Esq. is appointed in his place, 24 Sept. 1746." p. 102.

It is not therefore improbable that during the time Mr. John Ludford held the appointment—which was always filled by one of high county standing—a new pommel was given to replace one of earlier date, and he marks the circumstance by his coat of arms. Mr. French further observes that Mr. Charles Holte Bracebridge is fully satisfied with this explanation.

Mr. J. Brogden exhibited, by permission of the Lords of the Treasury, an interesting collection of nearly 7,000 silver coins, recently found in a vase on some meadow land belonging to Mr. Brogden, at Highbury. In accordance with the new law of "treasure trove," this curious find was at once submitted to the Government, and the coins examined by Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, F.S.A., &c., of the British Museum. Having received permission to exhibit the collection, Mr. Brogden said he had great pleasure in laying it before the Society, with a plan of the locality and other particulars relating to its discovery. The series comprised a large number of Venetian coins, several Irish and Scotch groats and half-groats of Edward III.; the main portion, however, consisted of silver pennies of the time of Edward I., II., and III., and subsequent reigns, from the mints of London, York, Canterbury, Bristol, Lincoln, &c. Associated with them were some interesting relics; an amber rosary, various objects in silver, ivy leaves, and other ornaments, and a singular piece constructed for holding the sacramental wafer. These doubtless had been inclosed in a bag when deposited with the coins.

Mr. B. Clarke, F.R.C.S., communicated some observations on the site of the Roman sarcophagus recently discovered at Clapton; in the course of which he mentioned that near the wooded heights above Walthamstow are the remains of a British incampment, a relic of the time when Boadicea, with her two daughters, collected her forces and marched from Walthamstow to London. See Mr. Clarke's paper entitled "On a Roman Sarcophagus of White Marble," discovered at Lower Clapton, Middlesex—pp. 190-194.

Mr. J. E. Cussans read an interesting paper on "A Confessional Window

and Mural Painting discovered in Buckland Church, Herts." The church of Buckland, near Buntingford, Hertfordshire, was built by Nicholas de Bokeland in 1348, as testified by an inscription in one of the windows which remained at the time when Chauncy wrote his History, but is now unfortunately missing. The west wall of the Lady Chapel, on the south side of the nave, was taken down about the time of Henry VIII., and the south wall extended in length, thus forming the present aisle. That the enlargement was made at, or shortly after, the date referred to, is evident from the form of the three windows introduced. Another proof of the alteration being made at a period subsequent to the Reformation is the following:—Some time since when the church was being repaired, one of the workmen accidentally chipped off a portion of the plaster on the south wall of what was formerly the Lady Chapel, disclosing some lettering beneath. The Rector, the Rev. W. W. Harvey, carefully removed the thick incrustation of whitewash, and found the inscription to be the Lord's Prayer in English, *complete*. Further scraping revealed what can scarcely be called a painting, but simply a panelling, executed in carmine, and the pattern, if it may be so termed, *incomplete;* that is, it originally extended beyond the space now occupied by a window. On proceeding deeper, Mr. Harvey discovered an extremely interesting painting. Three feet from the eastern wall, immediately above the piscina, and two feet six inches from the joint of the present window, rose an upright, about three inches wide at the base, gradually tapering to a point. At the top was a large conventional rose, inscribed in church text i ℌ c. At the base of this pillar on one side was a rude representation of a bush, and on the other, flames of fire. Above the rose, and hanging a short distance down on both sides, was a large chain, the middle link of which was broken. The subject of this mural decoration, and its peculiar fitness for the Lady Chapel, are perfectly explained by the following verses contained in an Exposition of the Hymns and Sequences in the *Sequentiarius Sarisburiensis*, preserved in the University library of Cambridge (G. 3, 36, fol. 35) under the octave of the *Festum Assumptionis*:—

Ave mundi spes Maria!
Ave mitis, ave pia,
Ave plena gratia.
  Ave virgo singularis,
  Quæ per rubum designaris,
Non passum incendia.

Ave rosa speciosa,
  Ave Jesse virgula;
Cujus fructus
Nostri luctus
  Relaxabat vincula.

Mr. Harvey wished to preserve this interesting relic and proposed to cover it with thin match-boarding, but circumstances prevented it, and it was ultimately whitewashed over.

From the fact of Jesse's rod being three feet from the east wall, it would appear that the Lady Chapel was originally six feet long.

Another interesting discovery, made at the same time, was a window in the south wall of the chancel. The opening was built up with flint stones and clunch, probably at the time that the south aisle was added. The glass line is outside the saddle-bars, which clasp the upright iron stanchion by means of collars in the usual way; these collars, therefore, project through the plane of the casement, and show that the window could not have been glazed continuously from side to side, but that an opening must have existed of the width of the thickness of the saddle-bar collars. On the splays were two curious paintings executed in carmine. One represented the Virgin, holding the infant Jesus, and the other a female saint kneeling, her head encircled with an aureole. From the style of her head-dress it appears to have been executed about the early part of the 15th century. These paintings were unfortunately washed off by an over-zealous workman, not, however, before Mr. Harvey had secured tracings of them. The strips of lead which were still attached to the saddle-bars show that the casement was violently broken out. Mr. Harvey has restored the window as nearly as possible to its original condition; a small piece of the arch moulding which remained serving as a guide for the head. It is difficult to assign the purpose which this window was intended to serve. It certainly was not a hagioscope, for it does not command a view of the altar; nor was it for the purpose of giving light, as the iron shutter-hooks show that it was intended to be closed at certain times. It has been suggested that it was intended for the purpose of a confessional, the height from the floor—about two feet—the opening between the glass, and the broad, nearly flat sill,

affording ample sitting room for a priest within, certainly favour the supposition. Any similar contrivance elsewhere for such a purpose is unknown.

20th April, 1868.

JOHN GREEN WALLER, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. B. Brogden Orridge, F.G.S., read an interesting paper entitled "Some particulars of Alderman Philip Malpas and Alderman Sir Thomas Cooke, K.B., ancestors of Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Bacon), and Robert Cecil (first Earl of Salisbury)." Mr. Orridge's communication appears at pp. 285-306 of the current volume.

Mr. W. H. Overall read a paper entitled "Latten, its History and Application." After some preliminary observations Mr. Overall remarked that the art of working in gold and silver, as also in the baser metals, was extensively practised in this country at a very early period, and that formerly decorations for shrines, candlesticks, altar furniture, images of saints, &c., were made in considerable numbers; some not only being of gold but even inlaid with precious stones. As early as the twelfth century latone was used for sepulchral effigies, of which, perhaps, no nation possesses a more interesting or perfect series than does our own. The earliest brasses are of Flemish work and were imported principally from Flanders. The earliest preserved upon the Continent is said to be that of Bishop Philip, in the church of the Jacobins, at Evreux. This prelate died in 1241, and at the end of the inscription appears the name of the engraver, "Guillaume de Plalli me fecit." The most ancient brass in this country is thought to be that of Jocelyn, Bishop of Wells, who died 1247; this also is of Flemish make; but the best specimen, as a work of art, is that of Sir John D'Abernon, at Stoke d'Abernon, in Surrey, date circa 1277. These early brasses will bear favourable comparison with those of later date, both for spirit in design and skill in execution.

On the 17th September, 1565, Queen Elizabeth granted a patent to William Humfrey, Assay Master of the Mint, and Christopher Schutz, a German, to search and mine for *calamine*, and to have the use of it for making all kinds of *battery ware*, *cast wakes*, and wire of *latten;* and in 1584, a lease of works of this nature was granted to John Brode, at Isleworth, on the Thames. It thus appears that Schutz was a leading spirit in the introduction of this kind of metal into England. Previously exported from Germany and the Low Countries it was known in early documents as "*Cullen plate*," (Cologne plate); and in the indenture for the erection of the tomb of Richard

Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1449-54, it is directed that the large plate is to be of the finest *latten*, the hearse to be of like latten, the plate to be of the thickest *Cullen* plate, all to be gilt with finest gold. The fourteen images, and the one of a man armed, to be of the finest latten, finished, polished, and gilt. The price to be paid for the metal was 10*d.* per pound. Mr. Overall then proceeded to consider the derivation of the word, remarking on its obscurity and its mention in Du Cange's Glossary, in a charter of 1054, as Latone; he adduced the following quotations from the poet Chaucer:—

"He had a *crois of laton* ful of stones,
And in a glas he hadde pigges bones,
But with these relikes, whanne that he fond
A poure persone dwelling upon lond."

Pardenere's Tale, line 69.

"Phebus waxe old, and *hewed* like *laton*,
That in his hote declination
Shone as the burned gold with stremes bright."

Frankeleine's Tale, line 11557.

He then gave an analysis of the Flemish brass, preserved in the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn Street, and, after some observations on the tombs in Westminster Abbey, he concluded with some interesting extracts from the Records of the Corporation of London,* of which a few are selected as illustrations:—

The first is believed to be the earliest record of cannon, cannon balls, and gunpowder that is known in this country.

In an Inventory of Munitions of War, provided by the City, and recorded on the fly-leaf of Letter Book F, the Thirteenth of Edward III. A.D. 1339: "Let it be remembered that in the house called *La Bretaske* (probably a fortified house for depositing the arms belonging to the City), near the Tower of London, there are 7 *springalds* (cross-bows) and 380 *quarels* (arrows with square heads) for the same, feathered with *latone* and with heads; and 29 cords, called *strenges*, also 8 bows of ash for the same springalds. Also at Aldgate, viz., beyond the gate thereof, 1 springald with 2 *stringes*, and 1 *faussecord* of the same; also 40 quarels feathered with *latone* and headed with iron. Then in the Chamber of the Guildhall there are 6 instruments usually called *gonnes*, and 5 *roleres* to the same; and pellets of lead for the same instruments, which weigh four hundred weight and a half, and 32 pounds of powder for the same instruments. Let it also be remembered, as to 1 springald with 80 quarels feathered with *latone* and headed with

* Since published in Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries. H. T. Riley, M.A.

iron, and 2 *strenges*, and 1 faussecord with bows of ash for the same; and 24 targets of the same pattern like the targets let to William Haunsard under a penalty," to the commonalty, as he admitted before Henry Darci, the Mayor, and Aldermen.

In Letter Book G. fol. ccxix. 43 Edward III. Feb. 2, 1369, appears this entry.

On Tuesday next after the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the 43 year of our Lord Edward the Third, John William, of Wantage, who had been taken before and committed to prison for having sold to divers persons "rings" and "fermails" of *latten*, made to immitate colored gold and silver, as being made of real gold and silver, in fraud, and to the grievous loss of the common people, etc., and although he had made oath before the Mayor and Aldermen that in future he would not commit such fraud, or any other falsity against the citizens, and had been released from prison, was now brought before Simon de Mordone, Mayor, William de Haldene, the Recorder, Stephen Cavendisshe, and other Aldermen, by Adam de Wymundham, one of the Sheriffs of the aforesaid City, on the said Tuesday, with many rings and fermails colored to immitate gold and silver in manner aforesaid, in order to deceive the citizens with the same. And the said John William did not deny the crime; therefore it was adjudged by the said Mayor and Aldermen, that the said John William should have the punishment of the pillory, to stand for one hour therein, with the rings and fermails aforesaid hung from his neck and afterwards to be committed to prison.

Letter Book G. fol. cclxxxviii. 46 Edw. III. April 25, 1372.

Thomas Lanleye, chapman, was brought before the Mayor, Recorder, Adam Fraunceys, and the Aldermen, by the Sheriffs of London, on Friday the feast of St. George, for that he the said Thomas, contriving how to defraud the common people, had circlets of latone gilded, and with them divers cups hooped, which he afterwards sold as silver gilt.*

And in the same manner, he had pledged two cups, so hooped with circlets of gilded *latone*, to one William de Stoke, taillour, for 32 shillings: saying to him and affirming that the same cups were hooped with silver gilt, while he well knew that the same were fraudulently hooped with gilded latone to defraud the people: the cups were shown. Thomas Lanleye acknowledged this fraud, and was ordered to stand in the pillory for 2 hours and afterwards to be imprisoned, and John atte Wyche, *latoner*, was punished in like manner for gilding the articles described.

* Mazer bowls.

In Letter Book H. fol. xlii. 50 Edw. III. 1376, is the following:—

Richard Bor was attached to make answer to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of London, for that he had silvered 240 buttons of *latone*, and 34 *circlets* of *latone*, for purses called Gibersers, and had maliciously purposed and imagined to sell the same for pure silver, in deceit of the poor people. Whereupon he was interrogated before the Mayor and Aldermen on the Friday next after the feast of the Holy Trinity, in the 50th year of Edward III.; when he said that one Michael Hakeneye had given him the said buttons and circlets to silver; and as the said Michael was not then present, John Baldoke, sergeant, was ordered to distrain him to be here on the Monday following.

On which day, as well the said Michael and the aforesaid Richard appeared; and Michael being interrogated as to the matters aforesaid, acknowledged readily that the said buttons and circlets were delivered by him unto the said Richard to silver, and that he had intended to sell the same; and he put himself upon the favour of the Court. And inquiry was made of him if he had at any time before had any such buttons or circlets silvered, and had exposed them for sale. To which he replied in the negative.

Wherefore, seeing that upon the oath of the said Richard it was confirmed and testified, that the same Michael had at divers times caused such buttons and circlets to be silvered, which now he denies not, whereas he expressly denied before, for such his falsity, fraud, and concealment aforesaid, by award of John Warde the Mayor, William de Holdene the Recorder, John Chichestre and other Aldermen, and William Newport one of the Sheriffs, it was ordered that the said Michael should be committed to the prison of Newgate, to remain there for the three ensuing weeks, without any redemption or pardon whatsoever, unless some urgent necessity should arise; and the said Richard, for silvering the buttons and circlets aforesaid, was committed to prison, to remain there until the following Monday.

It is further stated that he became very ill in prison, and was released upon his promising that he would never silver any fermails, rings, circlets, buttons, or any jewels again.

In Letter Book H. fol. xliii. 50 Edw. III. June 17, 1376.

Peter Randolfe was interrogated here, on the Wednesday after the feast of St. Botolph the Abbot, before the Mayor and Aldermen, for exposing for sale two circlets for mazers, which were of mixed silver, and not good or pure; and had warranted them to be of pure silver, equal to sterling silver, in defraud of the people. He did not deny the same, and put himself upon the favour of the Court.

The same Peter made oath that, as he was not of the trade of gold-

smiths, he would not from thenceforth meddle therewith or do any work that belongs to such trade, unless he should think fit to belong thereto. And that in future he would make no work except that which should belong to his own trade, namely that of the Latoners.

At a meeting of the Mayor and Aldermen on the 20th September, 1417, they approved and confirmed the ordinances for the better government of the mystery or Company of *Latoners* of the City of London, giving them the right to elect yearly from amongst themselves two, three, or four masters or governors to protect and superintend the trade. William Constantyn and Roger Mabbe were admitted and sworn before the Court of Aldermen for the true performance of their duties on the 14th of October following.

Mr. George R. French also communicated a paper on this subject.

11th May, 1868.

ALFRED WHITE, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., in the Chair.

Mr. John E. Price read a paper "On Further Discoveries of Roman Sarcophagi at Old Ford," illustrated by drawings kindly contributed by Mr. Thomas D. E. Gunston; see "Notes on Roman Remains discovered in London and Middlesex," pp. 195-222.

Mr. John G. Waller exhibited two monumental brasses of the 15th century, and contributed some interesting observations "On the site of Westminster as delineated in the Charter of King Eadgar," illustrating his remarks by a descriptive plan of the locality.

Mr. W. H. Overall exhibited a curious Seal said to be of the Priory of Cupar, a Book of Illuminated Hours, and a selection of Tradesmen's Tokens.

8th June, 1868.

CHARLES BAILY, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. John G. Waller continued his observations "On the site of Westminster, as delineated in the Charter of King Eadgar."

Mr. John E. Cussans exhibited some Terriers and other documents of the 14th century, having reference to Amwell, Herts; and a Pilgrim's Sign of the 15th century, recently found at Dowgate, was contributed by Mr. Price.

11th January, 1869.

J. W. BUTTERWORTH, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. JOHN E. PRICE read a paper "On a Roman Interment at Moorfields," illustrated by the objects discovered, kindly contributed for exhibition by Mr. J. W. Baily. See Notes on Roman Remains discovered in London and Middlesex, pp. 195-222.

Mr. THOMAS MILBOURN, Hon. Sec., read a paper, entitled "The Church of St. Mildred the Virgin, Poultry," with some account of St. Mary Colechurch, annexed after the Great Fire of 1666. Mr. Milbourn's communication will be printed in the next volume.

8th February, 1869.

ALFRED WHITE, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., in the Chair.

Mr. JOHN W. BAILY exhibited a series of ancient candlesticks and rush-holders, obtained principally from the county of Sussex; also some curious fragments, exhumed from city excavations. The examples of rush-holders date from the period of the 16th century, and are such as have been met with in the counties of Surrey and Sussex, as well as in other places, in use almost to the present day. They are of curious form, and represent an iron standard firmly fixed in a wooden stand, with a pendent forceps for grasping the rush. The rush employed was that usually found growing near hedges and ditches; some practice was required in peeling it, the object being to leave a stem rib from top to bottom to support the pith. They were then dipped in any kind of fat or grease, and served in byegone days as the lights in domestic use, especially in the rural homes of the humbler classes. A singular candlestick of iron was contributed by Mr. C. J. SHOPPEE; others of curious design, such as were formerly used in churches, with the projections still preserved, upon which candles were affixed, were exhibited by Mr. W. H. OVERALL, F.S.A.; and a valuable series in silver and plated metal were contributed from the collection of Mr. G. LAMBERT.

Mr. W. H. HART, F.S.A., exhibited a printed volume of the seventeenth century. It is a work attacking the "Prelacy," and written by one Dr. Leighton, who for his opinions was severely punished by the Star Chamber. In the book is preserved a portrait of the unfortunate author, with a detailed account of his imprisonment and sufferings. Among other

things he had to pay a fine of £10,000, to lose his ministerial office, to stand in the pillory twice, to be publicly whipped, to have his ears cut off, his nostrils slit, and his cheeks branded with the letters S.S. (sower of sedition). The sentence was rigorously executed, amidst frost and snow, in the month of November 1630. In Warwick Lane, Newgate Street, at an old inn, known as the Bell, death put an end to his sufferings. Some curious marginal notes appear in the volume.

Mr. Thomas Milbourn, Hon. Sec., exhibited a series of objects found in excavations on the property of E. B. Nunn, Esq., Royston. They comprised some Roman fibulæ, a curious key, and an interesting specimen in gold of the fermail or ring-brooch with pin attached; on either side, in plain setting, is an unpolished amethyst, and around the ring is inscribed "Iesv. n." with apparently the contractions for "Rex Ivdæorvm;" also a Saxon buckle in bronze elaborately ornamented, and having a portion of the leather thong remaining.

Mr. B. B. Orridge, F.G.S., read an interesting paper, entitled the "City Friends of Shakespeare." He remarked that at one of the Evening Meetings of the Society of the last session, Mr. G. R. French had communicated an account of the maces of the Corporation of Stratford-on-Avon, with some observations upon the family history of the donors, John Sadler and Richard Quiney, Citizens and Grocers of London, showing, among many curious facts, that they were brothers-in-law and in partnership as grocers and druggists, at the Red Lion, Bucklersbury. Since the reading of this paper he had given some attention to the subject, and recollecting that a portion of Bucklersbury was in the parish of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, he had, with the co-operation of Mr. W. H. Rock, obtained permission of the rector and churchwardens to make an examination of the registers of that parish, and he had gleaned therefrom some curious information. Thomas Quiney, brother of Richard, married Judith the younger daughter of Shakespeare, and in all probability, when Richard Quiney and John Sadler took up their abode in Bucklersbury, they were personal friends of the poet, as their fathers certainly were. Other migrations from Stratford to the metropolis may also have taken place, for in the Stratford-on-Avon records the names Quiney, Sadler, Mainwaring, Nash, Underhill, Bragg, Ashwell, Gore, Mace, Wheeler, and Hiscox are to be found, and the same names appear in the registers of St. Stephen's Walbrook. Both Quiney and Sadler had many children born to them after their removal to the City. In a plan of the church preserved at St. Stephen's, there can be identified their family pews among others appropriated to the senior parishioners. In Mr. Halliwell's "Stratford Records" the name of George Quiney (a brother of Richard and Thomas) occurs as having been elected the assistant minister there, and Mr. Halliwell points out that he was a patient of Dr. Hall's, who married

Shakespeare's eldest daughter, and was brother-in-law of Thomas Quiney. (George Quiney's case appears in Dr. Hall's note-book.) In the poet's time grocers seem to have been the druggists of the period: they probably merely provided drugs for the manipulation of the apothecary, or, in other words, there were no professional pharmaceutists, pharmacy as a science being comparatively unknown. The grocer-druggists, however, often came in contact with the physician, and as an instance of such social intercourse, it appears that a daughter of John Sadler became the wife of Dr. Wilby, a physician, and in Quiney's will is mentioned another member of the profession. This will was proved in London in 1656, and contains a bequest to his brother Thomas of 12*l.* a-year *to be paid quarterly*, but no reference is made to Judith Quiney, the Poet's daughter, who was still living. By the will of John Sadler, it appears that one of his daughters married a puritan minister, Anthony Walker, of Fifield, Essex. Adrian, son of Richard Quiney, died at an advanced age; he was for many years churchwarden of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and colonel of the Green Regiment of the Trainbands; his will contains the express announcement that he wished to be buried with the prayers of the Church of England, at the town of Stratford-on-Avon, where he was born. These facts are suggestive, in regard to the Poet himself; unlike his contemporaries, he never sneered at the religious opinions of the Puritans, or indeed at those of any body of men. Distinctive from Beaumont and Fletcher, he never ridiculed civic institutions, or drew pictures connecting cowardice with citizenship. There is no reason to think that he underrated the grim earnestness that was going on in the parish vestries, among men such as Isaac Pennington and the city traders. He belonged to their own station, and though probably not a Puritan himself, must have been the intimate associate of the Bucklersbury druggists. In concluding his paper, Mr. Orridge remarked that it is impossible to examine the "Stratford Records" without having a painful conviction that life at Stratford was formerly not attended with felicity unalloyed. Of old Roger Sadler, the Alderman, a baker by trade, it is recorded that, in the reign of Elizabeth, he was amerced twelve pence for selling a halfpenny loaf deficient in weight by two ounces; and on a second occasion was convicted of a like offence, and subjected to the penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.* The crime would seem to be hereditary, for Hamlet Sadler, the early friend of Shakespeare, and godfather of his children, and a man recognised in the Poet's will, with a special bequest of money for a ring, was, like his father Roger, convicted of selling loaves wanting in their due weight. However true these peccadilloes, it is certain that the Londoners from Stratford were much attached to their native town; and, as is evidenced by their wills (some of which were quoted at length), preserved a vivid recollection of their early days at Stratford,

and exhibited feelings of substantial sympathy for the requirements of its poor inhabitants. The wills convey much interest as to the alliances of the sons and daughters of the testators.

Mr. GEORGE R. FRENCH followed with some remarks on the pedigrees of Sadler and Quiney, giving an account of the letter from Richard Quiney, in 1598, discovered among the archives at Stratford, begging for a loan of money from his "loving countryman," William Shakespeare, which loan it appears was granted (this letter is printed in Knight's "Pictorial Shakespeare"); also other facts of value connected with the history of the Poet, tracing the various branches of his family until its final extinction in a direct line some 200 years since, concluding his observations with extracts from his volume on the subject.

8th March, 1869.

ALFRED WHITE, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., in the Chair.

Mr. JOHN W. BAILY exhibited some curious examples of the Roman Horseshoe recently found in city excavations. A full description of these objects appears in Mr. J. E. Price's "Notes on Roman Remains, &c." printed at pp. 517-527.

Mr. J. GREEN WALLER exhibited and described an interesting Ring set with enamels and diamonds and a "death's head" in the centre, probably as early as the first part of the seventeenth century; also a silver shrine of our Lady of Loretto, curious from its illustration of the incident recorded by St. Paul in the Acts of the Apostles concerning "Demetrius, a silversmith, who made silver shrines for Diana," evidencing the antiquity of that practice, subsequently so general in the middle ages, among pilgrims and devotees, of bringing away from different shrines they visited some sign or token of their attendance. Mr. Waller also produced some Roman tesserae of red brick picked up on the site of the ancient theatre at Orange (the Arausio of the Romans). From the superiority of their material and make to the tesserae employed in pavements, it has been conjectured that they were used as "admission tickets" by the spectators at the Roman theatre. They are doubtless a variety of the "*tessera theatralis*" mentioned by Martial as entitling the holder to a place in the theatre or other place of amusement. Of these latter have been observed examples having inscribed thereon the number of the seat, division, or row where situate, and in some cases the title even of the play to be performed. The ancient Romans may indeed have "booked their places," and had these little objects for pro-

duction to the attendants, on a similar plan to modern passes to the box-keepers of the theatres and opera houses.

Mr. T. Milbourn, Hon. Sec., exhibited, by the courtesy of Lieut.-Col. Palmer, of Nazing Park, a small volume, entitled "England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland described; also a Prospect of the most Famous Parts of the World." The volume comprises a description of the several counties in the years 1666—8, and is illustrated by some curious maps and plans of the different counties.

Mr. W. F. Rock exhibited some interesting pieces of Roman and Mediæval Pottery, found while excavating in Walbrook, and near to the foundations of an arch which had evidently once bridged the ancient stream.

Mr. Henry Campkin, F.S.A., exhibited, by permission of Dr. Edward Smith, an allegorical painting of uncertain date or meaning. The chief figure represented is a cat, almost of life-size, reclining in a somewhat clumsily-fashioned wooden car; elevated behind her, on the back of the car, is a pigmy figure holding over her an umbrella, and kneeling in front is another pigmy fanning her with a fly-flapper. By the side of the car, habited in a black suit, is a figure riding on a snail. The car is being drawn along by four pigmy figures; at the opposite side of the picture a figure, clothed in crimson and wearing a golden helmet, is half sitting, half squatting on a sort of throne, up to which leads a flight of steps; a lighted lamp suspended in the tree above the helmeted figure would seem to imply that some sort of sacrifice is going on. Some of the figures are in an imploring attitude, and addressing the throned figure; one especially seems pointing to a child seated at the cat's feet, and between the cat and this child is a diminutive figure in an imploring position towards the cat. At the extreme left, on the platform where the throne stands, is a figure habited as an Augustinian friar holding a wand, and at the end of the wand a purse for alms. Behind, and on a level with the throned figure, is a pigmy beating a tambour. In the course of his observations, Mr. Campkin ventured to conjecture that the subject might have some reference to Queen Elizabeth and Philip the Second of Spain, the latter typified by the snail, and that possibly the cat was somehow or other identified as her Majesty; the throned figure being perhaps typical of Charles V.: but as to the intended meaning of the story, such at present must be left to conjecture.

Mr. B. Clarke, F.R.C.S., contributed some notes having reference to a paper by Mr. Price, at a previous meeting, on a Roman interment at Moorfields. In examining the coffin or cist, with the small wooden tub, then exhibited by Mr. J. W. Baily, he had considered it as a matter of interest to determine the nature of the wood used in their fabrication. He observed

that the age, and exposure to a damp and penetrating soil, were good reasons for hesitation in giving a description, but that by the aid of the microscope he was now enabled authoritatively to state that the chest was of oak, and the small keg of pine or fir. He also contributed a brief account of the different modes of burial and interment adopted by the various nations of antiquity.

Mr. Edward W. Brabrook, F.S.A., read an interesting paper on Robert de Braybroke, Bishop of London, 1381—1404, and Lord Chancellor, 1382, 1383. The paper comprised a biographical notice of one who united the offices of Bishop of London and Lord Chancellor at a period of our history so especially interesting to the citizens of London as the reign of Richard II. It is printed at length at pp. 528-546 of this volume.

5th April, 1869.

JOHN GREEN WALLER, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. Henry W. King, Hon. Secretary of the Essex Archæological Society, exhibited seven roundels, or fruit trenchers, of the time of Queen Elizabeth (from the museum of that society). The set, when perfect, comprised twelve pieces. They are richly painted in gold, red, white, and green, with arabesque borders, and various fruits and old-fashioned garden flowers, interspersed with scrolls or ribands inscribed with rhyming couplets and texts from Holy Scripture. Mr. King remarked that one of them was exactly identical in pattern with one of a set of ten, described by Mr. Way, in the Transactions of the Archæological Institute, to which he referred as containing a full account of the history and uses of these interesting articles of domestic use. Those exhibited were inclosed in the original box, which had formerly borne the date 1596, now entirely obliterated, but copies of all the inscriptions, save one, had been preserved by a former possessor. The inscriptions are as follows:—

" From feare and force, of all our foes:
" Preserve us lord, and them depose.
" If any man saie I loue God, and hateth his brother he is a lyar.—John 4.
" Every one that hateth his brother is a man slayer.—John the 3."

" In trouble, lord, to the wee call,
" A patient spirit to give us all.
" A man that vseth much swering shalbe fillde wth wickedness; and ye plauge shall neu^{r} goe from his house.—Eccl. 32."

"Thy truth send down, lord from aboue,
"And give me graoe, the same to loue.
"Have noo pleasure in leyinge for the use there off is naught.—Eccl. 7."

"The loose of lyfe, of goods and landes,
"O gracious God, is in thy handes.
"Kepe ye Kings cōmandmēts. Praie for Kings and rulars. Feare ye the Lord and the Kinge. Feare God, honor ye Kinge.—1 Ps. 2."

"To fast from synne ys Chrystians Joye,
"My heart thereto o lord employe.
"Speake evil of noo man.—Titus 3. Be not hasty of thy tongue.—Rom. 5.
"Learne before thou speake.—Eccl. Talke wiselie and honestlie.—Eccl. 5."

"Repentaunce for our foule misdeedes,
"Graunt us God whose grace exceeds.
"He that will liue Godlie in Christ Jhesu must suffer persecution.—2 Timo. 3.
"We must enter into ye Kingdom of God through much trouble and aflyction.—Acts 14."

"A conscience cleare from all vnrest,
"Graunte us, O God, whose name be bleeste.
"Reach ye hand unto ye poore yt God may blease yw wth plentuousnesse. Let us doo good unto all men, but most of all unto ye houshold of faith.—Gal. 6."

A full account of these ornamental trenchers has recently been published by Mr. H W. King in the Essex Archæological Society's Transactions, vol. iv. part 4.

Mr. George Lambert exhibited and described a reve pole from the Island of Portland, being the tally rod for collecting the yearly rental paid to the sovereign of this realm as lord or lady of the manor. This rent amounts to 14*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*, and is collected by the "reve," or "reive," steward, at Michaelmas, the sum paid by each person being cut upon a square pole about nine feet in length. The villages are distinguished on this register by peculiar marks. A pole of this description is kept at the Reve Court-house (the Portland Arms Hotel), at Fortune's Well, the chief town in the island. Mr. Lambert also exhibited the half of an exchequer tally, representing a portion of the revenue of Ireland paid to the Treasury by C. Paget and J. Bainbridge, in 1813.

Mr. C. J. Shoppee exhibited a curious oil painting of Flemish origin; the subject was thought to represent St. Jerome in the study, but the chairman considered it more likely to refer to one of the ancient prophets.

As a work of art, he attributed it to the sixteenth century, and deemed it a valuable illustration to the early history of oil painting. It was doubtless of the school of John Van Eyck, so celebrated as the inventor of painting in oil, and an artist who, by his own experiments, had brought it to a state of practical perfection. His works generally exhibit much delicacy and truthfulness in matters of minute detail.

The Rev. W. S. Simpson, M.A., F.S.A., read an interesting paper "On the History and Antiquities of the United Parishes of St. Matthew's, Friday-street, and St. Peter, Cheap." The paper appears at pp. 332—391.

The Chairman exhibited and described a "hawberk" of chain mail from Northern India.

Mr. J. E. Price called attention to some drawings and sections of British and Roman Fortifications near Bristol, exhibited by Mr. G. M. Atkinson. These remains, near the Leigh Woods, Clifton, are of great interest; it was reported that they were about to be broken up for the sake of the stone for building purposes. It was hoped, however, that such vandalism could be prevented, and that a timely protest on the part of the various Archæological Societies would assist in preserving them from destruction. It was agreed that a letter should be addressed to the secretary of the Leigh Woods Building Company on the subject.

10th May, 1869.

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. John E. Price contributed some further particulars concerning "Roman Horseshoes," with especial reference to three curious examples recently found at Moorfields, and exhibited by Mr. John W. Baily.

Mr. Thomas D. E. Gunston exhibited numerous objects in clay, of various sizes, and presumed to be weights for fishing-nets. They were dredged from the Thames off Battersea, and are apparently Roman.

Mr. Henry F. Holt exhibited two examples of the ancient Costril, one with red body and glazed in a marbled pattern, having also two raised masks on either side pierced for passing a cord for suspension whilst being carried. It was found early in the present century while excavating in the Broad Sanctuary near Westminster Abbey. The second, also with a bright red glaze, variegated with white streaks, found in the City of London, 1834. The exhibition was accompanied by the following descriptive observations, contributed by Mr. Holt:—"Some misapprehension exists in reference to Costrils, which deserves attention. It has been generally considered that their production is to be ascribed to the sixteenth century, and their use principally limited to workmen, which notion has doubtless been created from the circumstance that the word 'Costril' is still used in France as

designating the small wooden barrel which workmen are there accustomed to carry. I, however, venture to suggest that both the *period* to which the Costril is now attributed, as well as its *real use*, has been misunderstood. Thus we find it mentioned in English and French metrical romances of *much earlier date* than the sixteenth century, and that it was used by the *higher classes* of society, and must have been rather an article of luxury than otherwise, and, accordingly, altogether beyond the use of the mere workman.

"I am further confirmed in my suggestions by one of the most popular of the Poet Laureate's poems. Thus, in the 'Idylls of the King,' Enid, p. 21, he wrote—

"'A youth that following with a '*costril*' bore
The means of goodly welcome, flesh and wine.'

"The word 'Costril' is evidently derived from the French 'Côté,' afterwards described in *old* French works as 'Costeret.'

"In the Lansd. MS. 560, fol. 45, the word is spelt 'Costret;' and in a now somewhat scarce work, entitled '*Glossographica*, or a Dictionary interpreting the Hard Words of whatsoever language now used in our *refined English tongue*, very useful for all such as desire to understand what they read, 3rd edit. by T. B. (Thomas Blount) of the Inner Temple, Barraster, London, 1670,' the word is thus described: *A Costrel or Castre*, a kind of bottle, to carry *wine* or *such like* in."

Mr. Holt also exhibited a Roman Medicine Bottle, found in London, in 1845, and formerly in the possession of the late Professor Quekett. It is of red earthenware, ornamented in a rude and simple manner by the "artist!" with some pointed instrument. It is supposed that the orifices at the top, as in the centre, were covered or protected by movable caps of metal or earthenware. Also six pairs of Snuffers of the sixteenth century.

Mr. W. H. Overall, F.S.A., read an interesting paper "On London Stone," calling attention to the fact that the Council of the Society had appointed a Committee to confer with the churchwardens of St. Swithin's Cannon Street as to its preservation and a proposed inscription concerning it.

14th June, 1869.

The Rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. John E. Price contributed a paper "On the Discovery of a Roman Tessellated Pavement in the Poultry."

Mr. J. Land and Mr. J. P. Emslie exhibited drawings and sections, illustrative of the pavement, the account of which is in preparation, for distribution among the members of the Society.

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Westminster: Printed by J. B. Nichols and Sons, 25, Parliament Street.

The pedigree of White, prepared in 1568, but not entered in the vellum Visitation-book, G 10, at the College of Arms, appears as follows in the volume F 1, at fol. 318:

"A Patent graunted unto Sr John White, Alderman of London in A° 1559, and in the first yere of the reigne of Quene Elizabeth, by Clar' Harvy.

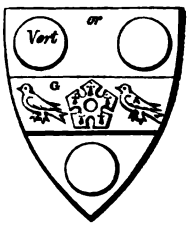
"Sr John White of London knight, who was mayor of London in A° 1563, and in the fifth yere of Quene Elizabeth, maryed to his firste wife Sybill, the doughter of Robert White of South Warmborow, in com. Sowthampton, esquyre, and by her had yssue Robert White, his eldest sonne, who ys of the age of xxiij yeres; William, second sonne, ys of the age of xix yeres; Margaret, maryed unto Lorance Hussey, doctor of the arches; Mary, maryed to Henry Offley of London, merchant. And after the Sr John White maryed to his second wyfe Katheryn, the doughter of John Soda, and wydow to Rafe Grenway late alderman, and by her hathe yssue John White, who ys of the age of viij yeres, Thomas White ys of the age of vij yeres, Katheryn White ys of the age of ix monethes."

In the margin are drawn the arms of White, impaling, 1, [Argent,] a chevron [gules], between three popinjays [vert], within a bordure engrailed [azure], for White of South Warnborough; 2, Or, on a fess gules, between three martlets sable, a rose between two pomegranates or, for Sodaye.

Some remarkable particulars of the various coats of arms borne by the brothers of Sir John White, will be found in *The Herald and Genealogist*, vol. iv. p. 113.

His widow Katharine (Sodaye) was married, a third time, to Jasper Allen, and was buried at St. Dunstan's in the East, Oct. 9, 1576, near her first husband, Alderman Ralph Greenway, who was there (as Stowe says) "put under the stone of Robert Pepper, 1559."

Sr Alexander Avenon, knt. mayor of London. = Elizabeth, daughter of John Slowz.



- Clerkin, da. of James Harvy of London, alderman. = Alexander Avenon, sonne and heire. [living 1586.]
  - Thomas Avenon.
  - William.
  - Anne, mar. to Penkevell.
  - Alexander Avenon of Worcestershire. [of Lincoln's Inn, 1559.] = Mary, dau. of Aldersey of London.
    - Alexander.
    - John.
    - William.
    - Robert.
    - Mary.
    - Margaret.
    - Anne.
- Margery, dau. of [John] Carre.
- Alice, wife to John Farington of London; after to Thomas Blackwell.
- Joane, wife to Thomas Starky of London.

NOTE.

Sir Alexander Avenon was a son of Robert Avenon of King's Norton in Worcestershire. He was of the Ironmongers' Company, of which he served as Master eight times between the years 1559 and 1578. He was one of the Sheriffs in 1561-2, and Lord Mayor in 1569-70, when he was knighted. His burial in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, which stood at the south-west corner of Wood Street, is mentioned both by Stowe and by Smith Rougedragon; but his epitaph has not been preserved.

Sir Alexander had three wives. The first was Elizabeth, mentioned in the pedigree, who was, like himself, a native of King's Norton in Worcestershire; she died during his mayoralty, on the 7th July, 1570.

But it was not long before a rich widow re-assured him; and their union was evidently hastened that she might have the honour of marrying a Lord Mayor. Just one week before his year of office expired the ceremony was performed, as thus recorded in the register of Allhallows, Bread-street: "Anno 1570, Oct. 22, was married Sir Alexander Avenon, Lord Mayor, and Mistress Blunden, widow, by license within his own house." This lady was Alice, one of the daughters and heirs of Thomas Huchen, citizen and mercer, and she was married three times. Her first husband was Hugh Methwold, mercer, by whom she had issue William her son and heir. Her second husband was John Blundell, mercer, by whom she had issue one son, Philip, who died before her, and eight daughters, whereof five were married, and their husbands are named in her epitaph. Dame Alice died Nov. 21, 1574, in her 61st year, and has a fair monument still in St. Lawrence Jewry, of which the inscription will be found in the Histories of London.

The name of Sir Alexander's third wife is said to have been Agnes Sampto.

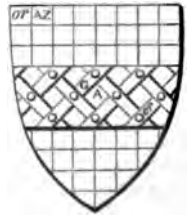
The death of Sir Alexander's daughter, Mrs. Starkey, occurred whilst he was Sheriff, and the funeral is thus described by Machyn in his Diary: "1562. The first day of August was buried Mistress Starkey, the wife of Master Starkey, skinner, and the daughter of Master Avenon, sheriff of London, with xvj clerks singing, and x. poor women in mantel frieze gowns, master sheriff the chief mourner, and after [him] twenty mourners in black, both men and women; and master Busken made the sermon."

The arms of Sir Alexander Avenon were granted to him by patent dated 9 Eliz., and were thus blazoned: Ermine, on a pale gules a cross flory gold, on a chief sables a billet of the third within a masklin between two escallops silver. Crest, a parrot's head erased proper, two gemelles about his neck gold, holding in his beak gules a branch of olive vert, between two wings per pale vert and gules.

The arms of his wife Elizabeth Slowz, as drawn in the pedigree, have not been found elsewhere; but in Burke's *General Armory*, nomine Slough, occur five variations of the same materials.

In Dr. Prattinton's Worcestershire Collections, preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, may be found many entries of the Avenon family, extracted from the register of the chapelry of King's Norton.

..... uxor ejus. = Sr William Harper, maior of London. = Alice, dau. of Tomlinson, ob. 10 Oct. 1569. = Richard Harison of Shropshire, 1st husband.



Beatrix Harison, unica filia, nupta Prestwood.

NOTE.

Sir William Harper was the son of William Harper of Bedford. He was of the Merchant-taylors' company, Sheriff in 1556, and Lord Mayor in 1561, and then knighted. "He dwelled in Lombard strete, where Mr Butler now dwelleth, but was buried at Bedford, where he was borne." (William Smith, Rouge-dragon, writing in 1603.)

He died Feb. 27, 1573, aged 77, and was buried in St. Paul's church at Bedford, where still remain his effigies and that of his second wife in brass plates. He is represented in a full suit of armour, over which is his alderman's gown (engraved in Fisher's *Illustrations of Bedfordshire*).

Sir William Harper was the founder of the School at Bedford, the benefits of which have been very largely extended in modern times in consequence of the vast increase in value of its estates, which were originally thirteen acres and one rood of meadow, lying in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn. (See Carlisle's "Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales, 1818," vol. i. pp. 1—26.)

A small volume, entitled *The Bedford Schools and Charities of Sir William Harper*, compiled by James Wyatt, 1856, 8vo. contains the history of the endowment, the act of parliament, and scheme of rules for its management, together with what is termed "a memoir of Sir William Harper," occupying eleven pages, but relating few facts beyond the incidents regarding his shrievalty and mayoralty contained in Machyn's Diary, and some particulars of his marriages which are not correct. His portrait, engraved by W. Richardson, and copied in Mr. Wyatt's book, is not certainly authentic, being taken from the series of Elizabethan lord mayors, engraved in wood, some of which serve for several lord mayors, as described in Granger's *Biographical History of England* (edit. 1824), vol. i. p. 299.

When the school was rebuilt in 1767, his statue was placed over its door, with a Latin inscription; and he has also a monument in the church, with a Latin epitaph, of the last century. These were both appointed to be erected by the act of parliament passed in 1764.

Sir William Harper's arms were granted to him by Barker, Garter. They are painted in G 1, at fol. 3, but no pedigree was entered. The surname of his second wife is not known, though her arms appear in the pedigree; her christian name, Margaret, she inserted in her husband's epitaph.

In the Visitation of Surrey, 1623 (C 2, fol. 253), is a pedigree of Harper with exactly the same arms, and signed by Henry Harper, then of Camberwell; but how related to the Lord Mayor is not stated.

John Draper of Flintham, in com. Nottingham, ar.=.....

Thomas Draper of Flintham.=..... filia et hæres..... Auger et uxoris ejus filiæ et heredis ..... Urswick.

Thomas Draper of Flintham.=..... filia ..... Ketleby. Robert Draper,=..... dau. and coheyre of ..... Fyfeild.

Johannes Draper.=..... filia ..... Gunstone. Mathew Draper of Camberwell. Benett, wife to John Fromonde. Elizabeth, wife to John Bowyer.

Thomas Draper. William Draper. Sir Christopher Draper, k[t], third sonne, mayor of London 1566.=Margaret, dau. of Henry Greene of Essex.

Benett, wife to William Webbe of London. Anne, wife to Sir Wolstan Dixye, alderman of London. Brigida, wife to Stephen Woodroff of London.

NOTE.

Sir Christopher Draper was an Ironmonger, Master of that Company eight times between 1557 and 1581, Alderman of Cordwainers' ward, Sheriff in 1560, Lord Mayor in 1566-7, and then knighted. He was buried in the church of St. Dunstan's in the East, and his epitaph is printed by Stowe with the date 1580, altered in later editions to 1560. Both dates must be incorrect, as he was elected Master of the Ironmongers for the last time in April 1581.

The inscription states that his daughter Bridget, after the death of her husband Stephen Woodroffe, became the wife of Sir Henry Billingsley, Lord Mayor in 1597. But her first husband, before Woodroffe, was Hugh Unton, who died Nov. 1562, and an abstract of whose will may be seen in the memoir of that family, prefixed to *The Unton Inventories*, 1841, p. xx. He was one of the sons of Hugh Unton, or Umpton, for whom a yearly obit was kept by the Drapers' Company.

Sir Christopher's two other sons-in-law both also attained the chair of chief magistrate, Sir Wolstan Dixie in 1586, and Sir William Webbe in 1592.

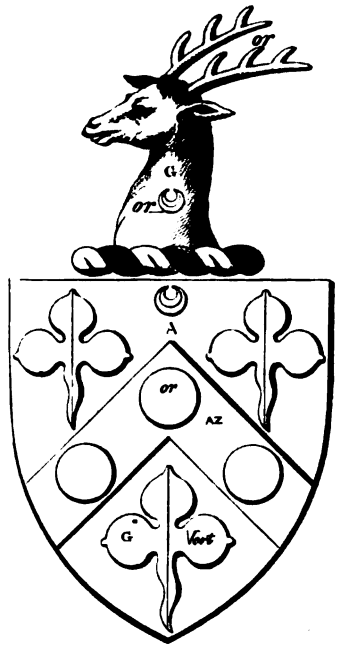
The pedigree of Draper has recently been printed more than once. See the Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, 1836, vol. iii. p. 150; the Collections of the Surrey Archæological Society, vol. iii. p. 220; and Nicholl's History of the Ironmongers' Company, 4to. 1867, p. 520.

The pedigree of the Drapers of Flintham is recorded in the Visitation of Nottinghamshire, made in 1614, and printed in Thoroton's History of that county, p. 133, Throsby's edit. vol. i. p. 253. It commences with John Draper of Flintham, who by Sibilla his wife had a son John, also of Flintham, living 9 Hen. V. This John married Elizabeth, daughter of ——— Wimondham of Claxton, co. Leic. and is the John named first in the London Visitation.

Matthew Draper, esquire, of Camberwell (named in the opposite pedigree), married Sence, daughter of William Blackwell of London, esquire, and died July 21, 1577. Their kneeling figures, having between them a table with open prayer-books, are engraved, from a brass in Camberwell church, in Allport's *History of Camberwell*, 8vo. 1841, p. 134.

"A patent grawnted unto Xp'ofer Draper by Harvey, alias Clarenceux, for the confirmation of the arms which were borne by Draper of Melton Mowbray of antiquity." (F 1, fol. 55.)

The arms granted are: 1. Draper; 2. Draper; 3. Auger; 4. Urswick. (as engraved in the opposite page). In G 1 they are drawn a second time, impaled with Gules, a lion per fess argent and sable, armed azure, crowned or, on the shoulder an annulet of the fourth, for Greene of Essex.



Reginald Rowe of Kent.=.....

Robert Rowe of Kent, 2nd sonne of Renold.=.....

Sir Thomas Rowe, knight, Lord Mayor of London 1569.=Mary, dau. of Sir John Gresham, knight.

John Rowe, eldest son.

Henry Rowe, 2nd son.

William Rowe, 3rd sonne.

NOTE.

Sir Thomas Rowe was of the Merchant-Taylors' company, Sheriff in 1559, and Lord Mayor in 1567. He died Sept. 2, 1570, and was buried at Hackney. Of his monument there is an engraving made for Mr. Rowe Mores in 1752, and it is inserted in Robinson's History of Hackney, 1842, vol. ii. p. 8. For his pageant or show see Herbert's City Companies, i. 199, and his will, ibid. p. 504. "He dwelled in Bishopsgate strete, where his sonne Sr Henry Rowe now dwelleth." (William Smith, Rouge-dragon, writing in 1603.)

A full pedigree of this family of Rowe will be found in *The History and Antiquities of Tunstall, in Kent*, by Edward Rowe Mores, F.S.A. printed as the first number of the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, 1780, 4to. and one also in Nicholl's *History of the Ironmongers' Company*, 1866, p. 530.

John Rowe, the eldest son of Sir Thomas, was Sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1584, but died during his shrievalty, and left no male issue.

The second son was afterwards Sir Henry Rowe, Lord Mayor in 1607. The eldest daughter and coheir of his great-grandson Anthony Rowe of Muswell Hill, co. Middlesex, esquire, was married to Trevor Hill, Viscount Hillsborough, and is represented by the Marquis of Downshire.

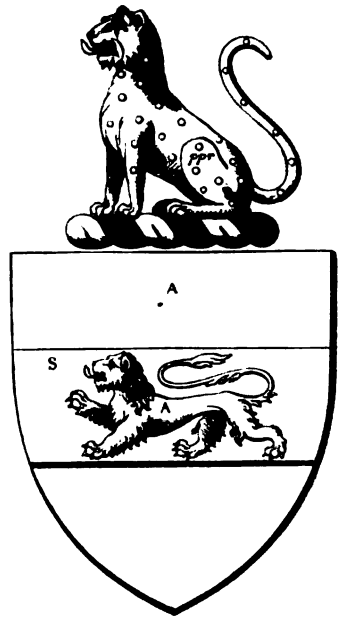
William, the third son, was of Higham Hill, Walthamstow, and was grandfather of Anne Rowe, the heiress of that branch, who having been married to Edward Mores of Great Coxwell, co. Bucks, gentleman, became grandmother of the antiquary Edward Rowe Mores.

Sir William Rowe, Lord Mayor in 1592, was cousin to Sir Thomas, and son of Thomas Rowe of Penshurst in Kent.

In five generations nine members of this prosperous family (including the three Lord Mayors) attained the rank of knighthood.

Sir Thomas Rowe had a grant of his arms by a patent of Garter and Norroy in 1566. (F 1, f. 313 *b*.) In the Visitation-book, G 1, the coat is drawn a second time, impaling Gresham, Argent, a chevron erminois between three mullets pierced sable.

"1559. The ix day of October was master Rowe the alderman's daughter married in Saint Martin's at the well with two buckets [otherwise called St. Martin Outwich,] to a merchant; and there were many worshipful men and women there; and there was a sermon; and afterwards to his place to dinner; and he gave ij C. pair of gloves; and at night there came two as goodly masques as has been seen." (Machyn's Diary.)



Thomas Gerrard of Sittingborne in Kent.=.....

Laurence Gerrard.=.....

John Garrard.=.....

Willielmus Garrard de Dorney, in com. Buk. miles,=Isabell, dau. of Julinus Nemaior London. 1555, sepultus in ecclesia Sancti Magni prope pontem London. | thermill of Coventry, in com. Warr. gent.

Sir William Garrard of Dorney, knt.=Elizabeth, da. of Thomas Rowe, knt. Lord Maior.

George, 2nd son.

Peter, 4th son.

Sir John Garrard, knight, maior of London, 3rd sonne.

Anne, w. to George Barne, son and heir to Sr George Barne, knt.

John. Henry.

William. George.

Thomas Garard, 1st son and heir.=..... dau. of Sr William Clark, knt.

Anna. Judith.

Martha. Catarina.

NOTE.

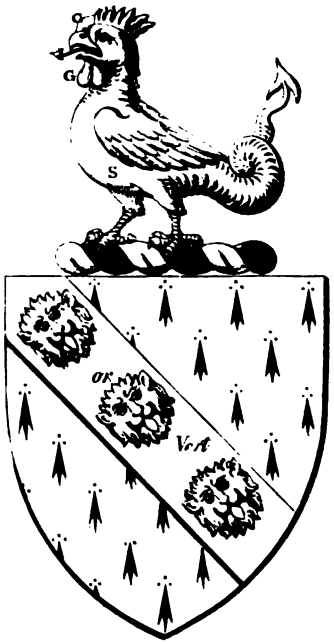
Sir William Garrard was of the Haberdashers' Company, Sheriff in 1552, Lord Mayor in 1555 (see his pageant described in Machyn's Diary, p. 96). "He dwelled at y^e^ Pissing Conduit in S^t^. Xp'ofer's parish: But buried at S^t^. Magnus, in wch parish he was borne. He died ye 27 Septemb. 1571." (Catalogue of William Smith, Rouge-dragon.)

Sir William Garrard is mentioned by Stowe among the persons interred in St. Magnus, as "a grave, wise, and discreet citizen, equal with the best and inferior to none of our time;" and it is added that he had "a fair monument," which had been repaired by his son; but the epitaph is not preserved.

The epitaph of his son, Sir William Garrard of Dorney, who died 17 Nov. 1607, æt. 70, will be found (imperfect) in Lipscomb's *History of Buckinghamshire*, vol. iii. p. 276. It is placed on a large monument with kneeling effigies of himself and wife, seven sons and eight daughters, in Dorney church. His wife was a daughter of Sir Thomas Rowe, but whether the daughter whose marriage is described by Machyn (see p. 21) is uncertain.

Sir John Garrard, the third son, of whom Rouge-dragon remarks in 1603: "He dwelleth in S^t^. Martin's Lane, betwene Canwikstrete and the Old Swann," was also a Haberdasher, Sheriff in 1592, Lord Mayor 1601-2, and then knighted. He married Jane, daughter of Richard Partridge, haberdasher; "they lived comfortably together 43 years," having had thirteen children, whereof five died young. She died Jan. 24, 1616; he May 7, 1625, aged 79, leaving two sons and six daughters surviving. They were buried at St. Magnus, where a monument was erected in 1629 by Benedict Garrard, gentleman, their youngest son. See the epitaph in Stowe, edit. 1633, p. 844.

Sir John Garrard, son of Sir John, was knighted at Whitehall, Feb. 26, 1614-15, and created a Baronet Feb. 16, 1621-2. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Barkham, Lord Mayor in 1621. The family maintained its connection with the city of London, and Sir Samuel Garrard, the fourth Baronet, was Lord Mayor in 1710. The baronetcy became extinct on the death of Sir Benet Garrard, the sixth Baronet, in 1767, when the name was assumed by Charles Drake, esq. as heir descended from the third Baronet, and who is now represented by Charles Benet Drake-Garrard, esq. of Lamer Park, Wheathampstead. See the pedigree printed in Clutterbuck's *Hertfordshire*, vol. i. p. 514.



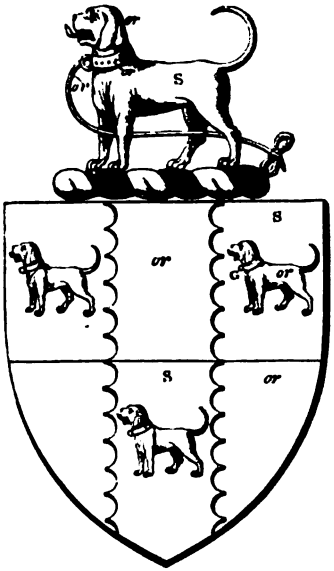
John Langley of Yorkshier, esquier.=.....

- Robert Langley, 1st son, of Althorp, in com. Lincoln. = Emme, dau. of William More of Yorkshier.
  - William Langley, 1st son, ob. s.p.
  - Thomas Langley, 2nd son. =.....
    - William Langley.
    - Thomas Langley.
    - Francis Langley.
  - 1. Joane, dau. of John Potkyn. = John Langley of London, alderman, third son. = 2. Ursula, dau. of William Tilsworth of London, goldsmith, widow to George Beresford of London, leather-seller.

NOTE.

Sir John Langley was a Goldsmith; he was Sheriff in 1566, and Lord Mayor in 1576, during which year he was knighted. He was buried in the chapel at Guildhall, "in the vault under the tomb of John Welles," who was mayor in 1451, and renewed and decorated that edifice.

The arms given for Sir John Langley's first wife Joan Potkyn,—Argent, on a fess between three talbots gules, as many lozenges of the field,—are, in the alphabet of arms appended to the Harl. MS. 1463, assigned to "Potkin of Kent."



Joane, dau. of John Daborne of Goldeford, in Surr, 1 ux. = Sir William Allen, knt. Maior of London 1572. = Mary, dau. of Simon Long of the Isle of Wight, ux. 2.

William Allen, sonne and heire.

Rafe, 2nd son.

1. Joane, wife to Thomas Starkey of London, skynner.

2. Sibell.

3. Margaret.

Martha.

Dorothy.

Judith.

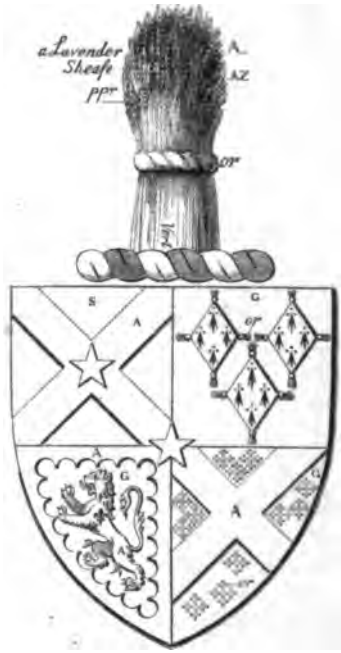
NOTE.

Sir William Allen was the son of William Allen, citizen and Poulterer. "He was first free of the Leathersellers, afterwards a Mercer, and dwelled when he was Sheriff in Bow lane, when he was Maior in Tower strete; but buried at St. Botulphes without Bishopsgate, in which parish he was borne." (William Smith, Rouge-dragon.) He was "elected Sheriff for the Queen" at the Merchant Taylors' feast (which is described at some length in Machyn's Diary), July 1, 1562, and was Lord Mayor in 1571-2.

His mother, under the name of "mistress Chalenger, widow," was buried at St. Dunstan's in the East, Aug. 21, 1558. (Machyn.)

Joane his first wife died in childbed of her ninth child the 22nd of May, 1560, as stated in an epitaph at St. Leonard's, Fish street hill. (MS. Lansd. 874, fol. 10*b*.) At her funeral there were many mourners in black, and the Masters of the Hospital with their green staves; with the company of his craft (then the Leathersellers), and that of the Clerks. Gowns were given to poor women; and the mourners went from the church to his house, and had there spice-bread and wine. (Machyn, p. 235.)

On Monday the 16th Nov. 1562, was married at Bow church master Allen the Sheriff's daughter to master Starkey, merchant and Skinner; there were present many worshipful men and women, and master Crowley did preach. And afterwards a great dinner. (Ibid. p. 296.) This was a few months after master Starkey had lost his former wife, the daughter of master Avenon, one of the Sheriffs of the preceding year, as previously related in p. 15.



Mary, dau. of Hugh Leighton of Leighton, in com. Salop. = Sir Lionell Duckett, knt. Maior of London. = Jane, dau. of Humfrey Pakington, esq. ux. 2.

George Duckett, died young.

Thomas Duckett, sonne and heyre.

14

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